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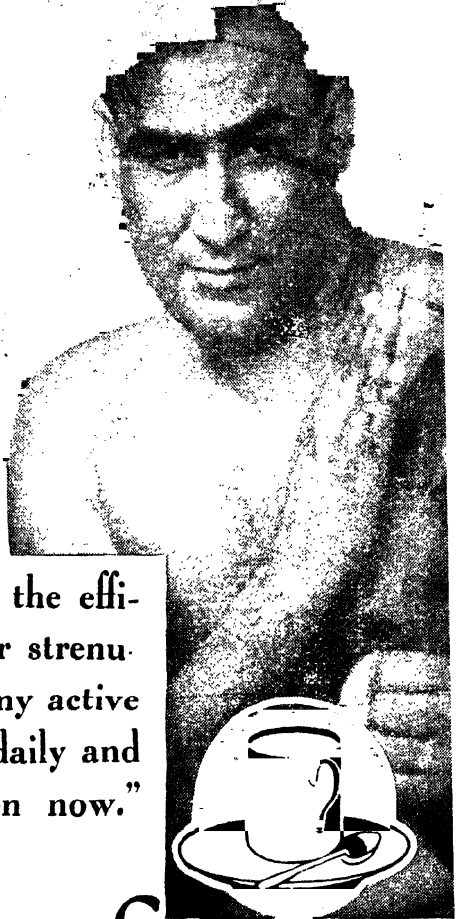
THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1940

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B. D. Chatterjee,
Bengal's veteran
sportsman and coach,
writes: "Tea is a
fine stimulant for
athletes, boxers and
footballers and as a
trainer I have always
put a high premium on the effi-
cacy of tea drinking after strenu-
ous exercise. During my active
days I took lots of tea daily and
I take it regularly even now."



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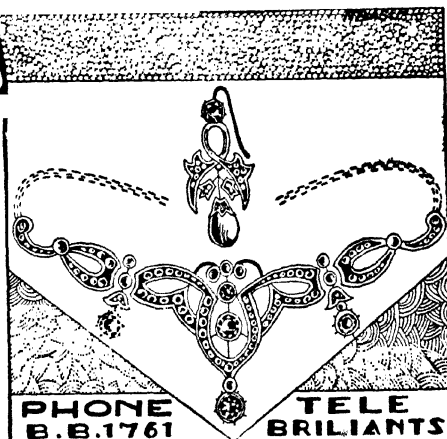
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1940

THE SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RÂY

III

AUTHORSHIP GOING A-BEGGING

WE had occasion to observe incidentally in the preceding article that in the time of Shakespeare and his predecessors, drama had not, as a piece of literature, asserted itself. The playwrights produced their pieces in obedience to the call of the theatre-managers and usually parted with the copyrights for a definite sum of money and the productions belonged to the repertoires of the companies.¹ The dramatist, as was the general custom of the day, retained absolutely no interest in the play and consequently had nothing to do with the publication of it. The theatrical manager might or might not accord his consent to the publication of the dramas and many of them thought it against their 'peculiar profit' to have those pieces printed

¹ When an author sold his piece to the sharers or proprietors of a theatre, it could not be performed by any other company, and remained for several years unpublished; but when that was not the case, he printed it for sale, to which many seem to have been induced from an apprehension that an imperfect copy might be issued from the press without their consent. The customary price of the copy of a play, in the time of Shakespeare, appears to have been twenty nobles, or six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence.—Malone, Vol. III, p. 159 *et. seq.*

lest the curiosity of the public would be satisfied and the play would fail to attract a good audience. Indeed, it is definitely known that Nashe, Heywood and Marston each had copiously apologised for their adopting a very unusual course of seeing some of their dramas through the Press. Thus in his famous book, *The Terrors of the Night* (1593) and elsewhere Nashe apologetically observes :

“ As touching this short gloss or annotation on the foolish Terrors of the Night, you partly are acquainted from whose motive imposition it first proceeded, as also what strange sudden cause necessarily produced that motion. A long time since hath it lain suppressed by me, until the urgent importunity of a kind friend of mine (to whom I was sundry ways beholding) wrested a copy from me. That copy progressed from one scrivener’s shop to another, and at length grew so common that it was ready to be hung out for one of their signs, like a pair of indentures. Whereupon I thought it as good for me to reap the fruit of my own labours, as to let some unskilful pen-man or noverint-maker starch his ruff and newspade his beard with the benefit he made of them.”

Marston, who dedicated his works to oblivion,¹ so careless was he of his posthumous fame, is constrained to publish some of his works and offers an argument that if he himself does not publish them others would do and would thereby do him greater injustice.

Similarly Thomas Heywood, a prolific writer who, as he himself claims, is the author of some 220 plays mostly by himself and few only in collaboration with others, offers more than once convincing arguments for departing from the usual custom. In his *Rape of Lucrece*, he speaks :

“ . . . Though some have used a double sale of their labours. first to the stage and after to the press, for my own part I here proclaim myself ever faithful to the first and never guilty of the last. Yet since some of my plays have (unknown to me, and without any of my direction) accidentally come into the printer’s hands, and therefore so corrupt and mangled (copied only by the ear) that I have been as unable to know them as ashamed to challenge them, this, therefore, I was the willinger to furnish out in his native habit.”

1

“ Let others pray
For ever their faire poems flourish may,
But as for mee, hungry oblivion
Devour mee quick, accept my orizon.”

In another of his works, "If you know not me you know nobody," Heywood says :

" Some by stenography drew
Put it in print, scarce one word true "

and hence justifies his publishing the work. Heywood on one occasion has a fling at Ben Jonson for his superintending all his works in a folio edition, thereby seeking permanence of his works as literature and observes :

" True it is that my plays are not exposed unto the world in volumes, to bear the title of works (as others) ; one reason is that many of them by shifting and change of Companies have been negligently lost ; others are still retained in the hands of some actors who think it against their peculiar profit to have come in print ; and a third, that it never was any great ambition in me, to be in this kind voluminously read."

But, indeed, this author too was forced unwillingly to publish his works mainly on the same grounds that actuated Marston to publish his. These instances go definitely to show that in the Elizabethan days publication of works added no feather to the authors' cap. Thus, sons of nobility born with silver spoons in their mouths could well cultivate letters and muses but under all circumstances they took scrupulous care to see that none of their works was published. Indeed, the general custom of the day was the circulation of these works in manuscript among the chosen friends of the author.¹

Domestic tragedies are always published anonymously (Malone). Let us come to a few concrete cases. In the history of early English drama it may be well established that anonymous plays were generally very common and many of them, today, 'are probably due to untraced pens.'

According to George Saintsbury, " The large majority of Elizabethan plays which may be classed as domestic drama proper are anonymous."² Even *Gorbuduc*, the earliest English play to be written

¹ Elizabethan poets appear to have had little desire to see their works in print. They wrote to please their friends, or for their own delight, not for the general public. Their poems were passed about in manuscript or read to their friends, and then might, perhaps, find their way into some of the popular miscellanies of verse. Few of Raleigh's poems appeared with his name during his life-time, and it was long after his death before any attempt was made to identify or collect his scattered verses. Louise Creighton—*Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, Vol. IV.

² *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. VI, p. 95.

in blank verse, was published surreptitiously and hesitatingly. Similarly of *Tamburlaine* and *The Spanish Tragedy* E. K. Chambers observes that "Marlowe's authorship of *Tamburlaine* is a matter of inference; it is only by an accident that we know *The Spanish Tragedy* to be of Kyd's.¹ Then again the famous play of *The Battle of Alcazar* (1594),² as Boas³ puts it, is almost undoubtedly from Peele's hand and falls under the heading of anonymous plays.

From the above extracts and examples, it may be clearly understood, why so many dramas—some of which have survived to our day and are considered as of surpassing excellence—have had their authorship beyond our means of identification and are very often matters for speculation and conjectures.

A notable instance is afforded by *Edward III*, which in some places at least approached the master-hand of Shakespeare. It was published in the first place anonymously, its author perhaps never for a moment expecting that his production would ever be handed down to posterity. For nearly a century and a quarter nobody cared to enquire of its authorship, until Capell in his *Gentleman's Prologues* (1760) ascribed it to Shakespeare on the simple ground that no one else could ever produce such a masterpiece. In this connection it needs to be observed here that there was much in common among the Elizabethan writers so that it is extremely difficult to tell definitely the name of the author from internal evidences alone. Of Marlowe, who wielded his blank verse with remarkable effect, Sidney Lee remarks, "He had his imitators from whom he is not except in his most exalted moments always distinguishable."³ What is true of Marlowe is literally true of all poets and dramatists belonging to the age. In order to determine the authorship of any particular play, internal evidence must be coupled with external ones, but these too, when considered alone, would mislead critics in ascertaining definitely from whose pen the play has emanated. Thus at one time it was firmly believed that *Mucedorous*, *Fair Em* and *Merry Devil of Edmonton* were three plays composed by Shakespeare, for no other reason except that these three plays were bound together, labelled

¹ To quote Steevens: "It appears from Heywood's *Actor's Vindication* that Thomas Kyd was the author of *The Spanish Tragedy*."

² Boas *Shakespeare and his Predecessors*.

³ S. Lee. Article on Marlowe—*Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 185.

" Shakespeare Volume I " and kept in the library of King Charles II. In fact, for this casual circumstance these three plays had been included in the third folio of Shakespeare.

The unreliable nature of the merely external evidences may further be noticed from the following fact. It was traditionally accepted at one time that the famous play " Sir John Old Castle " was the production of Shakespeare's pen, perhaps due entirely to the enormous popularity it enjoyed among the theatre-going public. Subsequently, with the discovery of Henslowe papers in the library of Alleyn's Dulwich College, it has been proved beyond doubt to be a joint-production of as many as four dramatists, namely, Drayton, Hathway, Munday and Wilson. Thus it may be observed here that neither the internal nor the external evidence alone could establish the authorship of an anonymous Elizabethan drama. In order to arrive at the most plausible decision regarding the disputed authorship both internal and external evidence (as many of them as are available today) need be considered.

Now, why this policy of publishing plays anonymously was so commonly pursued and what was the relation of the dramatist with his dramas ? In the preceding chapter we have tried to show the actual status of the playwrights in the society and this question of position and status was somewhat responsible for the anonymous publication of plays. Besides, the Elizabethan authors were, as a rule, more concerned with the immediate object of earning their livelihood, cared more for a paltry sum of money, three to five pounds, the usual price of a manuscript in those days, than the perpetuation of their name and fame. If Shakespeare represents the Elizabethan poets in general, the following observation of Samuel Johnson would appear exceedingly illustrative :

" It does not appear that Shakespeare thought his works worthy of posterity, that he levied any ideal tribute upon future times or had any further prospect than of present popularity and present profit. When his plays had been acted, his hope was at an end ; he solicited no additions of honour from the reader. . . . So careless was this great poet of future fame that, though he retired to ease and plenty, while he was yet little *declined into the vale of years*, before he could be disgusted with fatigue, or disabled by infirmity, he made no collection of his works, nor desired to rescue those that had been already published from the depravations that obscured them, or secure to the rest

a better destiny, by giving them to the world in their genuine state."

In fact, the Elizabethan writers had no definite notion regarding permanent literature and could never dream for a moment that even the corrupt and mangled lines from their pens would ever be considered fit subjects of most careful study by persons who would follow them after a lapse of three or four long centuries. Ben Jonson was an exception, but he had to bear flings from fellow dramatists for his self-consciousness in superintending the publication of his complete works in a folio edition.

Thus nobody would wonder to come across instances where publishers, theatre managers or even the players were found to take liberties with plays by their predecessors or contemporaries.¹ Sir Sidney Lee, in his article on the life of Marlowe in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, adduces a notable example. To quote him:

"As in most of Marlowe's plays, some buffoonery figures in the extant texts of 'Tamburlaine'; but Marlowe's reprobation in the prologue of the conceits of clownage seems to clear him of responsibility for it. Richard Jones, the publisher, in his preface states that he purposely omitted 'some fould and frivolous gestures digressing and in my poor opinion far unmeet of the matter.' " A peep over the pages of the invaluable Henslowe's diary will reveal how ostentatiously this custom of rewriting and retouching of old plays was followed towards the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. Even Ben Jonson, who at times scoffed at the custom and ridiculed those who took up the task as *play-patchers* and *play-dressers*, could himself claim no exemption from the charge he levelled against others. From the following entry in the said diary it appears that he himself did not hesitate to rewrite earlier productions from others' pens.

"Lent unto Mr. Alleyn, the 25th September, 1601, to Lend unto Bengemen Johnson upon his writing of his adicians in Geronymo the some of XXXXS."²

It is indeed curious to note how modern critics differ in their opinions on the authorship of any particular play. Some picked up

¹ We have a sufficient instance of the liberties taken by the actors, in an old pamphlet by Nash, called *Lenten Stuff, with the prayse of the red Herring*, 4to 1599, where he assures us that in a play of his, called *The Isle of Dogs*, "Foure acts, without his consent, or the leaste guesse of his drift or scope, were supplied by the players."—Malone, Vol. I, p. 354.

² Henslowe's diary (Edited by W. W. Greg), Vol. I.

examples will greatly impress our readers and at the beginning we would like to quote Tucker Brook, who, in his *Shakespeare Apocrypha*, observes of *Thomas Lord Cromwell*:

"Tieck and Schlegel, to their lasting discredit, have defended the genuineness of this play, and Ulrici also is inclined, against his better judgment, to accept it as a very early work of Shakespeare, anterior to 1592. Hopkinson assigns the main part of the performance to Greene, but he alone of English critics would like to establish Shakespeare's connexion as reviser of the greater part of the comic scenes"

Regarding the authorship of *The Troublesome Reign of King John* (1587), Malone suggests Marlowe as the author while Pope suggests Shakespeare in collaboration with Rowley. Fleay in modern times attributes this to the credit of Greene, Peele and Lodge. Similarly *Locrine* has been assigned to Marlowe by Malone, to Peele by Fleay, to Greene by Brooke and to the collaboration of Peele and Greene by Robertson. Again, the authorship of *The Taming of a Shrew*—the source play of Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* has been attributed by different critics to Kyd, Marlowe, Greene and Peele by turns.

Now it will, indeed, be interesting to adduce here a few typical examples as to the nature of evidences which have gone, though accidentally, to fix the authorship of several well-known dramatic pieces. Take, for example, Greene's *Orlando Furioso*. The question of its authorship would ever have remained unsolved had it not been for the chance discovery of the following lines:

"Master R. G., would it not make you blush — if you sold *Orlando Furioso* to the Queen's players for twenty nobles, and when they were in the country, sold the same play to Lord Admiral's men, for as much more? Was not this plain coney-catching, M. G." ¹

It has been observed above that Marlowe's authorship of *Tamburlaine* is a matter of inference.²

"The only external contemporary testimony to Marlowe's authorship of the piece is a reference by Garbriel Harvey to Marlowe, under the pseudonym of 'Tamburlaine,' in 1593."³ (*Dict. Nat. Bio.*—Marlowe.)

¹ *Defence of Coney Catching* (1592); here R. G. and M. G. denote Robert Greene and Master Greene respectively.

² See *ante*, p. 4.

³ Moreover in his *Mourning Garment* Greene again ridiculed 'the life of Tomlivolin,' i.e., Tamburlaine.

Let us consider one more example and that of the famous piece *Arraignment of Paris*. Its authorship too would puzzle the most devoted critic until the following lines were searched out from Nashe's epistle to Greene's *Menaphon*. In the said epistle Nashe refers to Peele "whose first increase the *Arraignment of Paris* might plead to your opinions his pregnant dexterity of wit and manifold variety of invention, wherein (*me indica*) he goeth a step beyond all that write."

From the above it is thus evident why so many dramatic pieces of undoubted merit have come down to us whose authorship often baffles the critic. Indeed, scores of manuscripts have been lost to us simply because nobody ever cared to preserve them. Warburton, who edited Shakespeare in 1747, had his table littered with several rare manuscripts of plays labouriously collected by him. But as they were lying unused and apparently neglected, his cook tore out the pages of the manuscripts and used them as covers for the pies, served on the table. Hence it is found that "of the 280 plays mentioned by Henslowe about one in seven survives." According to G. B. Harrison, "very little is known of what was happening in the Elizabethan theatres before 1592, although at that time there were three London theatres and several London Companies who must between them have been producing at least fifty new plays a year. Yet of the plays written for the professional companies between 1560 and 1590 less than half a dozen have survived in print. As yet no one thought that such plays were worth printing, reading or recording."

Very many plays of this period have come down to our hands not from authentic stage copies but from manuscript copies subsequently procured, as necessity arose, from the reading public who might have been in possession of these.¹

Of *Honest Man's Fortune* and *Bonduca*, Chambers records :

"The two latter must have been recovered before the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647 was printed, and when a transcript of *Bonduca* was wanted it was supplied not from the sources indicated but from the author's 'foule papers' when the transcript

¹ John Donne (b. 1573, d. 1631) was one of the best writers of love lyrics but ultimately became a priest in Anglican orders.

"In 1614, when about to cross the Rubicon, Donne thought of hurriedly collecting and publishing his poems before the doing so could be deemed an actual scandal to his office. He had, apparently, no autograph copies, at least of many of them, but was driven to apply to his friends."—Grierson, *Camb. Hist. of English Lit.*, Vol. IV.

came to be made part of the necessary material was missing and the book-keeper wrote in apology :

'The occasion why these are wanting here, the booke whereby it was first Acted from is lost : and this hath beene transcribed from the fowle papers of the Authors which were founde '." ¹

We now propose to turn our attention to the publications of our immortal poet. Of his thirty-seven plays only seventeen were published before 1623, the year of the publication of the first Folio, excluding *Pericles—Prince of Tyre*, which the Folio-editors thought wise to leave behind, thirty-six pieces from Shakespeare's pen were included in the Folio, so that as many as twenty plays were published in the Folio for the first time evidently with Shakespeare's name as their author. From the adjoining table it will be apparent that the seven anonymous productions are doubtlessly from Shakespeare's pen, because, had it not been so, Heminge and Condell, the poet's fellow actors and managers of the Globe theatre, would not have included them in the Folio.

Year.	Plays First published with Shakespeare's name.	Anonymous plays credited to Shakespeare's name.	Remarks.
1594		Titus Andronicus	
1597		Richard II, III, 2nd Quarto newly Romeo and Juliet.	corrected and augmented.
1598	Love's Labour's Lost	Henry IV	
1599	Henry IV	Henry V	
1600	Midsummer Night's Dream, Merchant of Venice, Much Ado about Nothing.	Titus Andronicus	
1602	Merry Wives of Windsor.	Henry V	
1603	Hamlet		
1604	Hamlet, Henry IV ¹		

¹ E. K. Chambers, *Life of William Shakespeare*, Vol. I, pp. 125 and 151.

Year.	Plays First published with Shakespeare's name.	Anonymous plays credited to Shakespeare's name.	Remarks.
1608	King Lear, Henry IV		
1609	Troilus and Cressida	Romeo and Juliet	2nd Quarto this year of T. and C.
1611	Hamlet	Titus and Andronicus	
1613	Henry IV		
1619	King Lear, Merry Wives	Henry V	
1622	Othello		
1623	Henry IV		

Now the Folio is the most authentic record of Shakespearean productions and "it requires," as Sir E. K. Chambers holds "deference as coming from men who were in the best position to know the facts."¹

These plays were generally popular and edition after edition became exhausted within a very short space of time. It is a puzzle proper to account for this because there were a large number of plays which were claimed to be of Shakespeare practically on no ground except their popularity and vague initials, *e.g.*, W. S., W. Sh., and so on. These initials were rather fabrications of unscrupulous stationers and the question of their authorship can be summarily disposed of.

Let us take these publications in chronological order. The year 1594 saw the publication of the first anonymous quarto of *Titus Andronicus* and there was no other Shakespearean publication that year. This play has now been declared professedly of Marloweian type and is unquestionably the work of Shakespeare's nonage. Besides there is Ravenscroft's evidence in 1687, that is about three-quarters of a century after Shakespeare's death, that this play was the work of some unknown or forgotten dramatist and Shakespeare was only responsible for its revision or retouching. But most of the scholars would dismiss Ravenscroft's statement as a mere tradition without any corroborative evidence.

¹ *Life of William Shakespeare*, Vol. I, p. 207.

In 1595 *Loocrine* was published with an initial W.S. which may mean William Sly or Wentworth Smith. We may safely discard it from the list of our author's works.

There has been no publication of Shakespeare's work during 1596 except Edward III—an apocryphal one—so that we leave it aside.

The year 1597 has been a very productive year so far as Shakespearean publications are concerned. *Richard II*, *Richard III* and *Romeo and Juliet* came out of the press anonymously in the course of this year.

In 1598 Shakespeare's name was printed as the author for the first time on the title page of *Love's Labour's Lost*. Within a year copies of *Richard II* and *Richard III* were all exhausted and in 1598 these two quartos were reprinted with Shakespeare's name as the author. Over and above this, both parts of *Henry IV* were brought out anonymously. It is curious to note that though our poet had gained much popularity among the theatre-going public, still his works appeared mostly anonymous while, simultaneously, the piratical publishers were taking advantage of his popularity to father on him several pieces from others' pens.

There is no new publication in 1599; the second quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* was out this year and that anonymously but simultaneously the 2nd quarto of *Henry IV* came out with Shakespeare's name as the author on the title page.

Midsummer Night's Dream, *Merchant of Venice*, *Much Ado about Nothing* and *Henry V* were all published in 1600. Of these only *Henry V* was published anonymously and others with the author's name. *Henry V* is said to be the most favourite hero of Shakespeare and it is strange to observe that this play, too, was published anonymously. From this year the practice of publishing anonymous plays were, however, discontinued.

Commenting on the rate of his dramatic production Sir Walter Raleigh, in his *William Shakespeare* (English Men of Letters series), observes:

"There is good reason to think that many of his comedies are recasts of his own earlier versions now lost to us. It is wrong to suppose that these earlier versions were revised from motives of literary pride. . . . When the theatre came to its maturity, complete 5-act plays with 2 plots . . . were required to fill the afternoon. The earlier and slighter plays were then enlarged and adapted to the new

demands. It was not easy, even for Shakespeare, to supply his best works . . . at the rate of 2 plays a year. For certain years he almost did it . . . and the effort killed him. . . . No man . . . could live through the work that Shakespeare did from *Hamlet* to *Anthony and Cleopetra* without paying for it in health."

George Saintsbury and Sir E. K. Chambers also support the views of Sir Walter Raleigh.

From the beginning of his career Shakespeare, as we can gather to-day, was more anxious for money than for fame. He was quite glad to see that the Globe Theatre attracted a large audience during the performances of his plays. It did not matter much whether this or that one of his dramas was genuinely or fraudulently published by piratical publishers, only if the box-office return of the Globe Theatre were not affected. It appears that from 1600 onwards there had been no further anonymous publication and before 1598 there was no publication with name.

Considering the position of the playwrights in society, the author of *Venus and Adonis* and *Rape of Lucrece*, the publication of both of which was undertaken by Shakespeare himself, might have decided not to publish plays in his own name, but when in 1600 he realised that the atmosphere had changed and publication with name might not bring him positive disrepute in public estimation, he discontinued the practice of anonymous publication. But this explanation necessitates the presumption that Shakespeare had some responsibility for the publication of his plays. This notion, however, does not seem to be correct, for there is absolutely no evidence to prove that any of our poet's dramas was ever published from his autograph manuscript. Had Shakespeare taken any interest in the publication, he could certainly have forwarded his autograph manuscript to the publishers. In all probability he would then have adopted certain caution against spurious publications published in his name.¹

All plays of Shakespeare have been handed down to us 'from the printed quartos and the 1st Folio ; there is no record that a single dramatic piece of Shakespeare has been published from the author's

¹ Of the sixteen plays of his that were published in his life-time, not one was printed with his sanction. He made no audible protest when 7 contemptible dramas in which he had no hand were published with his name or initials on the title page while his fame was at its height.—S. Lee, *Life of William Shakespeare*, p. 396.

autograph manuscript.¹ "The canon of Shakespeare's plays," says Chambers in his *Life of William Shakespeare*, Vol. I, "rests mainly on the authority of title pages." "There is confirmation for some of the plays in contemporary references, for instance by Francis Meres in his *Palladis Tamia* (1598) ; John Weever in 1599 speaks of *Romeo and Juliet* and either *Richard II* or *Richard III* as Shakespeare's ; Gabriel Harvey in or before 1601 of *Hamlet* ; Ben Jonson in 1619 and later of *Julius Caesar* and *Winter's Tale*. The Revel's accounts of 1604-05 assign to him *Measure for Measure*, *Comedy of Errors*, and *Merchant of Venice*, but leaves *The Moore of Venice*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Henry V* and *Love's Labour's Lost* anonymous."²

A more probable explanation which the present writer can suggest is that during those years nobody was particular about the authorship—either the poet himself or the readers at large. Shakespeare was no exception to this rule, and up to the year 1598 all plays were anonymous. But from 1598 the publishers began to realise the necessity of publishing the names of the authors, particularly of Shakespearean productions, and they began partly to follow the old course and partly to adopt the new one. By 1600 Shakespeare was sufficiently popular among the theatre-going public as also the general readers and hence it was expected that Shakespeare's productions would command a wider sale. Thus from 1600 onwards we find no anonymous play of Shakespeare.

¹ Of the manuscripts of his works not a single line is extant. we do not know exactly how far several of the works attributed to Shakespeare are really his.—Brandes, *Life of William Shakespeare*, Vol. I.

² The Accounts of the Revels at Court in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, containing entries showing performances at Court of "The Moor of Venis," "The Merry Wives of Winsor," "Mesure for Mesure" by "Shaxberd," "the Plaie of Errors" by "Shaxberd," "Love's Labours Lost," "Henery the fifth" and "the Marchant of Venis" by "Shaxberd" (twice, being "againne commanded by the Kings Matie"), all in 1604 (O.S.), of "the Tempest," and "ye winters nightes Tayle" in 1611, all by the King's men, and of the performance before the Court at Wilton, Dec. 2, 1608 (L. 96, 133, Notes in the *History of the Revels Office under the Tudors*, ed. by E. K. Chambers, and *Supposed Shakespeare Forgeries*, by Ernest Law).

A REVIEW OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN CONGRESS PROVINCES

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THERE is no denying the fact that to-day India is very backward in industries and has to depend on other countries for many manufactured goods consumed by her people. But history shows that, judged by the standards of past days, she not only met all her own requirements in the way of manufactured articles but also exported large amounts to foreign countries. In very early days, Pliny objected to the vast sums paid to India for the purchase of manufactured goods saying ‘In no years does India drain our empire of less than fifty-five million sesterces (approximately 6½ million rupees) giving back her own wares in exchange which are sold at one hundred times their prime cost.’ Sir Henry Cotton stated that in 1787 the exports of Dacca muslins to England amounted to £300,000 (approximately 4½ million rupees) and that by 1817 they had ceased altogether. When Clive entered Murshidabad in the days of Serajadula he described it as being “as populous and rich as the city of London.” It was the silk industry which lay at the root of its prosperity. To-day, the fate of Dacca has overtaken Murshidabad. These two instances, taken from Bengal, are typical of what has happened in different parts of India and it is therefore that a well-known authority has stated it as his considered opinion that “European traders were first attracted to India not for her raw products but by her manufactured wares.”

It has to be remembered in this connection that the articles exported by India in those days were artistic in finish and made their appeal to the wealthy and cultured classes of both the East and the West. They consisted of fine cotton and silk fabrics, silver-ware, lacquer work and similar other artistic handicraft. These were all the products of cottage industries and were manufactured with the primary object of selling them to the nobility and the gentry of India and of exporting them abroad. It cannot be denied that the people engaged in their production and distribution were prosperous so long as there was an active demand for them. To-day, the demand for similar

things is equally keen but our artisans and handicraftsmen have lost touch with the consumers and when the products of their labour find a limited market, all the profits are absorbed by middlemen and they have to be content with a mere pittance. As a matter of fact, almost all these industries have died out. The very few which yet survive are in a moribund state. It is also equally well-known that through lack of opportunities to exercise their art, the present race of craftsmen are losing the skill for which their ancestors were famous.

These age-old handicrafts may be revived and the people who for generations had followed them and who to-day have been compelled under economic stress to become agriculturists, can go back to their ancestral occupations for which they are eminently fitted by their heredity. Mr. Madhusudan Das, who spent a fortune in an attempt to revive the arts and crafts of Orissa, speaking at the East Indian Association, London, mentioned to one advantage of the caste system in which a particular industry has been followed for uncounted generations which produces remarkable physical adaptability among the workers. In this connection he referred to the children of the silver-smiths of Orissa who have done filigree work for centuries. These, with a single dexterous twist of the thumb of the left hand, can bend a small piece of silver wire in many different and intricate patterns—an operation of which the ordinary man would, according to him, be incapable even after months of strenuous and continuous practice.

It is well-known that in the different provinces, the Congress Governments were putting forth their best efforts to revive these old cottage industries of the artistic type and were maintaining agencies for giving training in them as also finding a market for these products. From my personal experience, I may mention that very solid work has been done in this particular direction by Bihar and Orissa.

Experience has shown that new methods have to be followed in order to improve the quality as well as the output. It is therefore that experts are busy making improvements in the primitive tools used by these artisans. The aim of this is to increase the output and thus reduce the cost of production. In certain places, attempts are being made to harness power for running the improved machinery designed by experts. In other instances, new designs likely to appeal to present-day taste are being evolved. It is hoped that these technical improvements will stimulate an increased demand for these manufactured goods both in and outside India. The former will mean the replacement of

foreign manufacture and the latter—the export of home-grown raw materials in the form of finished goods which every one must be aware is more profitable.

Once it is admitted that industrialisation is a necessity, the question which naturally suggests itself is in what order should they be taken up in any organised effort towards the industrial regeneration of our motherland. Obviously attention should, in the first instance, be directed towards the encouragement of those industries, the raw materials for which are found plentifully in India and finished products from which are consumed by the people of this land. In other words, our efforts should be first directed towards meeting our domestic needs. Along with this, we should also aim at manufacturing those things upon the purity of which depends the preservation of health. This naturally implies the production of home-woven cloth out of hand-spun thread, the production of hand-pounded rice and whole-meal flour, of oil pressed with the help of cheap machinery to prevent all chances of adulteration, brass, bell-metal and leather work and similar other cottage industries.

This has engaged the earnest attention of National India which has spoken through its leader Mahatma Gandhi. His observations on this point are worth quoting. He said, “The bulk of the population is agricultural, and Indian agriculture involves very hard work for certain short periods and almost complete inactivity for the rest of the year. These periods of inactivity are, in the great majority of cases, spent in idleness. But where the cultivator pursues some craft which will employ him and his family at times when they are not required in the fields—a craft in which continuity of employment is not essential—the proceeds of that craft are a saving from waste and therefore a clear gain.”

The one thing common to all industries of this type is that the plant necessary for carrying on the work is not expensive and, with ordinary care, will last for years. Working at home and with the assistance of the members of his own family, the craftsman works for longer hours and under more satisfactory conditions than the industrial labourer. Lastly, he can always rely on the assistance of the female members of his family who otherwise would be without any remunerative work during the time that they assist the bread-winner.

It is needless at this late hour to remind any Indian that ever since Mahatma Gandhi came to have a predominant voice in shaping the

policy of the Congress, he has insisted that it should direct a large part of its energy towards uplifting the masses. Under his guidance, the Congress has grown into an All-India representative body representing sections and interests and naturally including among its members very large numbers of industrial and agricultural labour. Under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, our national leaders have come to realise that, in order to strengthen the Congress as well as to attract the masses in still larger numbers to its ranks, it is essential that systematic attempts should be made to improve their lot. The limits I have set myself in this article preclude any discussion of what the Congress is trying to do in order to assist the masses living in urban areas, and therefore, no reference to these measures can be made here.

The adoption of beneficent measures for the rural masses is probably the most satisfactory method of ending communalism. It is, I contend, the only way to prove to the world at large that our All-India national organisation is non-communal, for it is always prepared to assist every son of India irrespective of the religion he professes. The systematic adoption of such a policy throughout the length and breadth of India for an uninterrupted succession of years must, in the end, convince our now ignorant brethren that the Congress where Hindus are in a majority on account of their numerical predominance in our motherland, makes no invidious distinction between members of different religious or social groups. The good effects of this policy cannot be expected to manifest themselves immediately for prejudice, particularly of the communal type, dies hard specially when there are selfish mischief-mongers whose only task seems to consist in fanning communalism everywhere and under all circumstances.

In my view, the desire of Mahatma Gandhi to help the rural areas has manifested itself through the Congress Governments in the programme of rural uplift in which the development of cottage industries plays no insignificant part. It is only want of space which prevents me from giving some account of the different types of work done in the headquarters of the All-India Village Industries Association almost under the eyes of Mahatma Gandhi. I shall, however, content myself with saying that the lessons taught here are being learnt, perhaps slowly but none the less surely. And what is more, the different Congress ministries so long as they were in power, were trying their best to encourage systematically the methods which have stood the test of experience. In an article which has already appeared in

"The Calcutta Review," I made an attempt to indicate what some of these steps are. I shall here content myself with giving a bird's eye view from an All-India standpoint.

The cottage industries which are receiving the greatest encouragement are those concerned with the provision of healthy and adequate food, adequate clothing, healthy homes, medical aid, sanitation and education. So far as the present article is concerned, we have to confine ourselves to the first two of these items. It was pointed out some time ago that while the average Briton consumes 2,400 lbs. of food and drink in the year, the average Indian consumes between 400 to 500 lbs. about a fifth of this quantity. We know that to-day India does not produce sufficient food to meet all her requirements and it is therefore that in all the Congress provinces agriculture, specially of the intensive type, was being encouraged.

The problem of starvation was also being approached from another angle. Only too often the food that is available to the masses loses much of its value on account of the loss of its vitamin and mineral contents. In other cases, it is adulterated by fraudulent manufacturers or middlemen in order to increase their profits. It is therefore that, under the inspiration of the All-India Village Industries Association, the co-operation of which was sought by every Congress province, improved rice-husking implements and bullock-driven flour mills were being introduced extensively in rural areas. Very cheap and efficient types within the means of villagers have been evolved and unpolished rice and whole-meal flour are gaining in popularity. Similarly, a particular type of village *ghani* worked by bullocks has been contrived which combines maximum output with minimum exertion. I was informed that, with the use of this improved type, it is now possible for pure *ghani* oil to compete with unadulterated machine-pressed oil. Devices for making *gur* out of date-palm, palmyra and cocoanut juice are in use in all parts of our country and the villagers are now producing pure *gur* (jaggery) for their own consumption and also for sale.

Arrangements encouraging the use of improved methods of catching fish and of curing them were made by the Madras and Bombay Congress cabinets in appropriate fishing centres on their sea-coast. Bihar also took steps to improve pisciculture in its tanks and rivers. These are providing and will continue to provide increasing amounts of healthy food and will also help the fishermen who are among the Harijans to increase their earnings.

Mahatma Gandhi and his lieutenants always anxious to help those who have none to think of them, have all along taken great interest in the Harijans. They realised the immense possibilities of trade in skin, hide, horn, bone and manure. I was informed by the expert in charge of this particular type of work at the Wardha centre that in India 30 million cattle only die every year of some kind of disease. In addition, we have to think of the million or more of goats, sheep, buffaloes, etc., slaughtered for food. Then we should think of other animals such as dogs, donkeys, etc. The skins of all these animals can be tanned in village tanneries and the carcasses can be made use of in different ways. In all the Congress provinces, there are organisations for teaching *Chamars* and other Harijans improved methods of flaying, making glue from the fleshings, fat from the entrails, gut from the intestines, manure from the blood and flesh, bone-meal and bone-dust. Easily followed processes for tanning, the making of footwear and other leather goods are also taught. As is natural, the greatest progress in this direction has been made in the Central Provinces where Wardha is situated. I was gratified to see here Brahmin, Bania and Chamar youngmen and boys working at all the processes mentioned above.

With the introduction of measures calculated to bring young people in increasing numbers into schools under the Vidyamandir, the Basic Education and the Wardha schemes and also with the phenomenal success of the drive against adult illiteracy which figures so largely in the Congress educational programme, there will be an ever-expanding demand not only for books, slate and slate pencils but also for paper. With increase in the percentage of literacy, more people will take to keeping their accounts, writing letters, etc. It is desirable that the poor villager should be able to supply all his requirements in this direction through rural agencies. To purchase foreign or even machine-made paper is to encourage unemployment and loss of purchasing power by the rural masses which they can ill afford. It is therefore that a special process for making paper by hand has been evolved. Its merit lies in the fact that it can always utilise the waste material available in villages. Instruction in this method was being given to young men in every Congress province.

There are two other items which require mention. These are bee-keeping which, so far as I could gather, has not as yet made any appreciable headway and the manufacture of soap from easily available

vegetable fats such as Mahua oil. This is slowly growing in popularity specially in Bihar, Orissa and the Central Provinces.

Apart from the very valuable work done by Mahatma Gandhi in other directions with which we are not concerned here, probably his greatest contribution towards the solution of the problem of poverty and unemployment specially in the rural areas has consisted in the impetus he has given to the production and distribution of hand-spun and hand-woven fabrics. As stated elsewhere, spinning and weaving practised as cottage industries have, next to agriculture, supported the largest number among our people and with the use of machine-made cloth a majority of these have been thrown out of employment.

With that keen insight into fundamentals which characterises our great national leader, Mahatma Gandhi initiated almost single-handed the campaign for *khadi*. Very soon, he attracted a number of enthusiastic followers. Then came the foundation of the organisation now known as the All-India Spinners' Association. One of the most striking things about this Association is that it has its headquarters at Ahmedabad, one of the largest centres of the cotton mill industry. This, to my mind, clearly indicates that hand-spun and hand-woven cotton fabrics have a sphere all their own and also that so long as they are confined within this sphere, there cannot be any competition with machine-made cotton stuff.

In the opinion of National India, one of the methods of relaxing the terrible grip of poverty from which the rural areas are suffering is to provide the masses with profitable subsidiary occupations. But these must be of such a character that they can be practised by the largest number of people, can be taken up and laid aside at any moment and further that their pursuit must not require expensive implements. Hand-spinning meets all these requirements and fulfils a genuine need.

According to the League of Nations the *per capita* allowance of clothing per annum should be round about 30 square yards. Taking into account the climatic conditions of the greater part of India and the grinding poverty of the masses, this can probably be reduced to 20 square yards without any very great hardship. As a matter of fact, however, the annual consumption of cloth per capita in India is somewhere about 11 square yards. The people are too poor to be able to buy sufficient cloth for their normal requirements. This explains the half-clothed if not the practically naked condition of some of our masses.

It is the aim of the All-India Spinners' Association to make every home in India, specially in the rural areas, self-sufficient in respect of cloth by *khadi* production. Under these circumstances, it is obvious that the people engaged in this work should themselves wear *khadi*. With this end in view, in many provinces part of the wages of these people is being paid in the form of *khadi*. My information is that, as a matter of fact, the greater part of the *khadi* produced in each province is consumed within the province itself. This shows that we are tending to become self-sufficient in the matter of clothing. As the earnings of those engaged in this type of industry are the lowest, very strenuous efforts have resulted in fixing the minimum rate of three annas for a day of eight hours of efficient work.

It is much to be regretted that, taking advantage of the growing demand for *khaddar*, unscrupulous men are having it manufactured by sweated labour receiving unbelievably low wages. Vigorous steps have been taken to put a stop to this type of exploitation and legislation to that end was passed in practically every Congress province.

Khadi has been growing in popularity and to-day its use is common not only among the poorer people in the rural areas but also among the well-off. Its production and sale were greatly encouraged after the Congress came into power. My personal knowledge extending over Bengal and Assam justifies me in stating that there was a time when the use of *khaddar* was regarded as an outward sign of "disloyalty" and there were many who used *khaddar* in their homes but never outside. But it is not so now. Large purchases were made by the Congress Governments, local bodies like District and Local Boards, Municipalities, etc. Many Indian States are also patronising *khadi*.

I propose to give here certain figures from the latest available report of the All-India Spinners' Association in order to give my readers some idea of the immense progress made by the *Khaddar* movement. All these figures are for the year 1938 and have, in certain instances, been rounded off for the sake of convenience. Total production 125 lakhs 60 thousand square yards; value of amount produced Rs. 55 lakhs. Total number of registered spinners 2 lakhs 82 thousand who received Rs. 21 lakhs 55 thousand as wages, total number of registered weavers about 19 thousand who received about Rs. 12 lakhs as wages, total number of registered artisans 6 thousand 8 hundred who received Rs. 5 lakhs 65 thousand as wages. Total number of

registered *Khaddar* workers about 3 lakhs 1 thousand who drew as wages the by no means inconsiderable amount of rupees 39 lakhs 20 thousand. These figures do not include those spinners, weavers and artisans whose work is not controlled by the All-India Spinners' Association. There are no official figures as regards their number or the wages drawn by them. It has, however, been stated that not less than another 3 lakhs are engaged in the production of *khadi* though probably they draw wages at rates lower than the minimum rate fixed by the All-India Spinners' Association.

The above figures conclusively demonstrate the wisdom shown by the different Congress cabinets in encouraging the production and sale of *khaddar*. National India holds that the grants these Congress Governments have made for this purpose need no justification. They prove beyond the slightest shadow of any doubt that the leaders of the Congress are really interested in the welfare of the masses and are taking steps in order to ameliorate their lot and this they are doing irrespective of the faith professed by those benefited by these measures.

There is still another direction in which the concern of the Congress ministers for the masses manifested itself. This has been the creation of new opportunities for the training of suitable men in industries. The scope of this article will not permit any reference whatsoever to the arrangements for technical and vocational education in their higher branches. It is, however, a well-known fact that institutions for imparting theoretical instruction and practical training in handicrafts and cottage industries were started in all the provinces administered by the Congress. Some of these were financed by the respective provincial Governments while others were in receipt of grants from the provincial revenues. Where equally good institutions are to be found in every province, institutions which I have visited and admired, it would be invidious to pick out one or two for purposes of description. Stipends were also given to deserving people, so that, if necessary, they can go out of their native province in order to undergo some special kind of training for which facilities do not exist in their own province. A most gratifying feature of their activities has been that in addition to the facilities available to all, seats have been reserved for members of the Muslim community, for Harijans and for the aboriginals. This rules out any question of victimising the minority for the benefit of the majority.

The last matter to which attention has to be drawn is the establishment of museums where specimens of our arts and crafts are kept. These are useful not only for purposes of propaganda and sale but also to encourage the people to still further efforts. The policy of having emporiums under Government supervision where the products of cottage industries are offered for sale is another wise move. These have been started at the capital of every Congress province and it is rumoured that gradually such museums and emporiums will be located in every district headquarters.

It has been urged repeatedly that if India is to develop industrially, she must imitate the West by establishing large factories and replacing manual labour by machinery. It may be pointed out that conditions in India where cottage industries have been flourishing for thousands of years are different. Neither with present-day higher ethical standards are we prepared to view with unconcern the appearance of congested cities, of unhealthy conditions of work often in a depressing climate and the deplorable struggles between capital and labour in our fair motherland. To our regret, we always see these blots on civilisation in those parts of India where large-scale production under the factory system has made its appearance. We believe that efforts to remove them should go hand in hand with decentralising industry as far as possible so that the problem may not grow more and more difficult of solution with every day that passes and with every step taken for the extension of industrialisation in India. We are aware that large-scale power production must come but we contend that it should be confined to its lowest possible limits and that, from the very beginning, every attempt must be made to eliminate those defects which characterise large-scale production on the factory system in the West. We further hold that it is feasible for the two types of industry to flourish side by side and to meet distinct needs. For instance in Japan workers in cottage industries produce not only art products but also indispensable articles for daily consumption and yet these cottage industries are flourishing side by side with mills and factories engaged in large-scale production. Similarly, according to Beatrice and Sidney Webb, though Russia has industrialised herself largely, she meets 50 per cent. of her internal requirements with the products of cottage industries carried on under the co-operative system.

We have also to remember that there are certain things in our favour on which we do not lay proper emphasis. The first and, to my

mind, the most important of these is the remarkable vitality of these cottage industries. Dynasties contending for political supremacy have come and gone but these industries vitally connected with our social and economic system, have successfully withstood the ravages of time. The indigenous artisan is better acquainted with and is always willing to suit the individual tastes and requirements of his customer. For instance, the *sari*, however coarse, may be woven with a particular type of border. The goldsmith or the silversmith always makes jewellery of the pattern favoured by the individual customer while even the household metal vessels are made according to particular designs. It is needless to emphasise that the standard machine-made article can never fulfil this requirement. One may even go further and suggest that, provided the price of handicraft products is not actually prohibitive, this tendency towards having articles made to individual requirements will grow stronger and stronger specially if education spreads largely among the women.

Then again, signs have already appeared in the West which clearly indicate that when electricity has assumed its proper place as a satisfactory source of power and when power derived from air and water are harnessed to industries, many of these will tend to go back to the countryside. Industry will be decentralised by the manufacture of parts in different centres each devoting itself to a specific task with consequent increase of efficiency due to division of labour. With the migration of labour to rural areas, the pestiferous rookeries where industrial labour is lodged to-day will disappear and there will be an all-round improvement in its condition. Why should we not anticipate this state of things and, as we are re-building our industrial system from the foundation upward, why should we not encourage suitable cottage industries improving their quality and outturn in such a manner as to enable them to stand competition with machine-made goods ?

The vitality of the cottage industries of India which have stood rude shocks for ages is wonderful and they will reappear in their former splendour and vigour as soon as the people are made to realise the wonderful possibilities of various improvements in the different technical operations involved in the process of manufacture.

CREATIVE DISEQUILIBRIUM IN FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM *

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THE DIALECTIC OF PROGRESS

IN case it be possible to concede to history any lesson for mankind it is perhaps nothing more edifying than that man's welfare is always to be in crisis. There is to be no peace while there is progress and there can be no progress while there is peace. Peace in progress is as great a contradiction in terms as progress in peace. The logic of human history must have to postulate a crisis after crisis, a disharmony after disharmony, the continuous series of *dvandvas* (conflicts) and disequilibria, and the eternal stream of challenges to the *status quo* at every so-called synthesis. It is but the privilege of man that his freedom is perpetually in crisis, his democracy is never without a crisis, and that his socialism cannot afford to be without a crisis at every turn. These crises, conflicts, *dvandvas* and disequilibria are by all means creative or evolutive almost as a matter of course.

There is no finality in creative disequilibrium. The dialectic of revolution knows no ultimate synthesis. From this attitude to history and conflicts both Marx as well as his *guru* Hegel are to be treated as incomplete, partial and, therefore, fallacious in their philosophical interpretations of the world-process or the evolution of the human *Geist* (spirit). Their analysis of the societal trends does not reach far enough and is marked by a palpable shortcoming. Hegel's position is entirely fallacious when in his *Philosophy of Religions* (1832) his dialectic stops at Christianity as the terminus of man's religious experiences or discoveries. His logic of evolution has failed to envisage any creative disequilibrium after the birth or development of the Christ-cult. Equally imperfect as a guide of cultural evolution is the Marxist thesis in the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), nay, in Lenin's *State and Revolution* (1917). The Marx-Lenin hypothesis comes down to the alleged "withering away of the state" and the "proletarian

* A paper for the Second Indian Political Science Conference, Lahore, January, 1940.

revolution." There are no indications in the Marx-Lenin gospel as to the eventual developments of creative disequilibrium in the realm of the human spirit and the societal achievements after the annihilation or automatic dissolution of the state. The proletarian revolution is taken to be the last word in man's progressive march.

The Marx-Leninian analysis is as unacceptable as the Hegelian. The spirit of man cannot by any means be taken ever to attain its final or absolute stage. The logic of the spirit must have to admit the infinite and unlimited possibilities of new revolutions undoing the shortcomings of the older revolutions. The last term in the series of spiritual progression is not an item of human destiny. It is never likely to come.

Lenin's dialectic failed to visualize the crisis after the synthesis embodied in the proletarian revolution. But what he failed as a speculator to foresee or indicate he experienced in his practical life as the architect and statesman of that revolution. The crisis of the proletarian revolution, bolshevism, sovietism, communism or proletarian dictatorship was experienced by him from 1918 to 1921. And so came the creative disequilibrium once more into evidence. And that is embodied in the New Economic Policy of 1922. This is a revolution after the revolution of 1917. It embodies a challenge to the communist synthesis of *The State and Revolution*.

Whatever has been happening in Soviet Russia since 1922 has been in the main but a challenge to or corrective of that last word, finality or absolute. And this is in keeping with the correct dialectic of progress.

LENINISM II AS A CHALLENGE TO THE SYNTHESIS OF LENINISM I

There are two Lenins. The first Lenin, the Lenin of 1917-21, is the theorist, the philosopher, the idealist. As theorist and philosopher he was the uncompromising prophet of ruthless and radical or extremist communism, involving as it does class-struggle on an international scale. But the second Lenin, the Lenin of 1922, is the statesman, the *Realpolitiker*, the seasoned worker in the field of patriotism and social service for his Russian people. As such he commenced virtually on a clean state, with hardly any memories of his past, so to say, more with an eye to the realities of the Russian sociology than to the ideals of a Utopian communistic state of all nations and classes.

In the world at large the most impressive figure is that of Lenin No. I, *i.e.*, of Lenin the prophet and the metaphysician of the communistic Utopia. That Lenin has grown into a myth, the *avatar* of what anybody and everybody chooses to describe as the highest perfection in social justice or the worst embodiment of human misery.

Bolshevism or communism as prevalent in Russia since 1922 is to be sharply distinguished from that glorious or inglorious myth. Lenin No. I, had been dead and gone two years before Lenin the man of flesh and blood died. Under Bolshevism or communism of the N. E. P., *i.e.*, Leninism No. II, the technique and methodology of administration in the Bolshevik state in regard to economic interests did not look radically different from those in the non-Bolshevik states which likewise had long been used to municipal socialism and *étatisme* of one denomination or other. One fact is undisputed. Russia was already on the way to modernism in technocracy and industrial organization and a more or less constitutional-democratic government. Communism of the Marxian theory, *i.e.*, of Leninism No. I, was conspicuous by its absence except perhaps in the ideologies of radicals like Trotsky who were discontented with the Stalin regime as too moderate and bourgeois.

The expulsion of Trotsky from Russia (February, 1928) implies the addition of another nail to the coffin of Leninism No. I. The entire decade from the commencement of the first five-year plan has been a period of smooth sailing for Leninism No. II, which it has been the lot of Stalin to inherit and manage. Stalin's purges of 1936 and 1937, consummated in a ruthless manner, as they were, indicate once in a while that Leninism No. I is trying still to get re-born and raise its head against Leninism No. II. But it should appear that Leninism II has met the social and cultural conditions of the Russian people somewhat adequately and that the mood for re-embarking on an experiment with Leninism No. I is not widespread or powerful in Russia as Dimitrov's *United Front: The Struggle against Fascism and War* (1933) is likely to confirm.

The five-year plans (1928-32, 1933-37, 1938-42) are essentially economic measures corresponding to the economic development or *Swadeshi* (national industry) movement schemes in non-Bolshevistic, *i.e.*, the so-called bourgeois and capitalistic countries. In other words, technocracy and industrialization of the West-European or American standard have been sought to be introduced in the shortest possible

time. For all practical purposes the Russian people is trying to accomplish under the Soviets of the twentieth century some of those industrial-capitalistic transformations which ought to have been undertaken by the Czars in the nineteenth. The economic and social backwardness of Russia in *Swadeshi* is being made up to a certain extent and the Russian people is trying to catch up to the modernisms of western Eur-America.

In the meantime it is possible to touch upon certain ideological landmarks in Bolshevik thought. Stalin as the formal and spiritual heir of Lenin has been giving shape to and developing the ideals implied in Leninism No. II. In June 1931, for instance, the rewarding of skill, initiative and ability was declared by him to be an article of economic creed. The principle of equality of wages was abandoned and replaced by that of payment of wages according to results. This carried along with it the system of piece-work payments as well as unequal payments for unequal work. It is self-evident that in Stalinism as thus formulated and practised is to be found the gospel of traditional classical and conventional bourgeois economics.

Stalin's rejection of the cult of equality and establishment of that of inequality is a powerful element in the dissolution of the pure communism of propagandists. It has served to render communistic philosophy assimilable to a considerable extent to the non-communistic or capitalistic and property ideologies.

For, it is to be remarked that contemporary capitalism is through and through socialistic, *i.e.*, moderated, dominated and multiplied by the demands of the working classes. Socialised capitalism as prevalent in the economic *Realpolitik* of today can somewhat easily offer *camaraderie* to the capitalistic communism of Leninistic socialism No. II, as propounded by Stalin in 1931. More or less each is to be described as representing aspects of what may be indifferently called neo-capitalism or neo-socialism.

During the period of the *Gosplan II* (1933-37) communism marched steadily along the lines of neo-capitalism or neo socialism as thus defined. Differences in the standard of living as due to state-service—the paraphernalia of Lenin's state-capitalism—were not only tolerated but actually promoted. Unequal earnings constituted the norm of the labour market. Stores, restaurants and apartment houses were virtually classified or graded according to the social, *i.e.*, income status of the officials.

It is in this *milieu* that we have to place Dimitrov's theory of uniting the communists and non-communist socialists and other nondescripts. The policy of the Soviet *rapprochement* with bourgeois France (1935) and later with Nazi Germany (1939) has likewise to be seen in the same perspective.

In February 1938 met, along with the introduction of the third five-year plan, the first Parliament of Bolshevik Russia at Moscow. It is interesting that the constitution has provided for a bicameral legislature. Among the general principles of the Bolshevism as now rendered into the positive law of the constitution it may be noted that the suffrage is universal enough to compromise the formerly disfranchized "class enemies." In other words, there can be no equation between the Bolshevism of 1938-39 and the previous Bolshevisms since 1918. We have today a Bolshevism that has abolished class-struggle and constitutionally believes in national unity and class solidarity. Another item of considerable importance is embodied in the principle that no distinction is to be made between the peasant and the industrial worker in regard to the exercise of suffrage. The Bolshevism of yesterday and day before yesterday considered this distinction to be the life-blood of communism. Last but not least, non-communists can be admitted to both the Houses. The logic of the present Bolshevik constitution, therefore, is thoroughly nationalistic.

THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL BASIS OF ETERNAL DISEQUILIBRIUM

Evidently the present situation in Bolshevik theory and practice does not represent a condition of stable equilibrium in the march of freedom, democracy and socialism or communism. It should not be reasonable also to jump at establishing a perfect equation between the neo-socialism of Stalinist Russia today and the neo-socialism of the socialistically most advanced among the other countries. There are neo-socialisms and neo-socialism. But it is possible to see without difficulty that Leninism II has already furnished an effective rejoinder to the alleged finality of the synthesis as embodied in Leninism I.

The fallacy of finalistic interpretations—as those of Hegel, Marx, Lenin and others are—is derived from their inveterate monism and thorough-going absolutist or totalitarian character. They fail to recognize the eternal *dvandvas*, dualities or conflicts existing in the human *psyche* and inter-human or societal relations. As the complexities

and multiplicities of the moral and spiritual *Gestalt* (form-structure) of mankind escape their adequate attention they naturally overlook the inevitableness of disequilibrium of some sort or other prevailing at every stage or phase of life's processes. But the unending nature of disequilibrium follows as a matter of course from the very psychosocial morphology of man.

The dualities, *dvandvas* or conflicts, are observable in every domain of thought and activity. For instance, dichotomies like the medieval nominalism and realism, Heine's Platonic and Aristotelian natures, Schiller's naïve and sentimental poetry, Nietzsche's Apollonian dream and Dionysian frenzy, Jordan's active (less impassioned) and reflective (more impassioned), Spitteller's Promethian fore-thinker and Epimethian after-thinker and man of action, Worringer's empathy (feeling-into) and abstraction, and Ostwald's classic and romantic have been described and analyzed by Jung in *Psychological Types* in order to examine to what extent his own pair of opposites, namely, the extravert and introvert, can be applicable in those historic instances. We may add here the duality injected into cultural and social achievements by Sorokin, namely, sensatism and ideationalism (although he has also a third item, idealism, which is taken to be a balance between the two).

There are serious doubts as to whether a genuine balance, synthesis or harmonizing of the *dvandvas* is a fact in the individual or societal complex. But in almost every instance a juxtaposition of the polarities or a modification of the one by the other is to be regarded as the feature of universal human experience. Mixtures and amalgams of romanticism with the classical disposition, of sensatism with ideationalism, the Apollonian with the Dionysian, the extraverted with the introverted are what we generally come across in the character-*Gestalt* of individuals or groups.

Among the exponents of the leading philosophical "isms," therefore, we find, as Hocking concludes his *Types of Philosophy*, that not many are "perfectly typical." Spencer, for instance, is not a "pure naturalist," for he believes that there is a reality "though unknowable, beyond or behind nature." Dualism can be ascribed to Plato, and yet he is an idealist because "he describes matter as a certain sort of non-existence." As regards Aristotle, he is a realist by all means and yet his metaphysics is idealistic. And again, "divergent lines of thought go out from Socrates, all claiming their

rootage in that great character; and the same may be said for Descartes, Kant, Hegel." In William James, finally, it is hardly possible to find any system. Idealism, realism, pragmatism and mysticism, "all coexisted without achieving a final consistency." None of these thinkers can be contained in an "ism." They defy classification.

Toennies's dichotomy, *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society), points likewise to an abstraction. He himself treats this polarity or *dvandva* as artificial or even arbitrary. All the forces of "society" remain in close connection with their "community" basis, with the historical forms of living and acting together. He speaks of the epoch of society (marked by the social will of convention, politics and public opinion) as following the epoch of community (marked by the social will of feeling, custom and religion). But there is a tendency for the community during the epoch of community to tend towards the society. On the other hand, during the epoch of society also the community continues to exist although somewhat in decline so that the "reality of social life" may be maintained. Here, as in other instances, the empiric or factual reality is an amalgam. And wherever there is an amalgam there is the possibility of a conflict or a disequilibrium.

In regard to man's orientations to law and the legal institutions it is questionable whether in every instance one can vouch that man is exclusively ethico-metaphysical (Kantian) or politico-positive (Austinian). To believe that man obeys law simply because of the fear of punishment is as unreasonable as to admit that law would be followed for no other reason except the instinctive reaction to the majesty of law, the call of conscience, the categorical imperative. We shall be more within the region of probability if we accept that the human *psyche* in general is the theatre of both these drives, the internal as well as the external.

About the duality, pluralism or complexity of every personality, we may be convinced from the economic activities also. *Homo Oeconomicus* is neither exclusively capitalistic nor exclusively, socialistic. It is interesting that, historically speaking, the first Factory Act in England belongs to the almost first days of the factory establishments. The intervention of the state or *étatisme* as well as individual liberty in business enterprise has been almost coeval. The economic *Gestalt* knows at every stage what may be called *laissezfaire-etatism* or *etatistic laissezfairism* but never a pure *laissez-*

faire or pure *étatisme*. This is but another way of saying that economic reality is a series of capitalistic socialisms or socialistic capitalisms from beginning to end. At no point is it possible to detect a hundred-per-cent capitalism untouched or unmodified by socialism or a hundred-per-cent socialism supremely indifferent to the impacts of capitalism. Corresponding to the eternal demo-despotocracy of political psychology there is the eternal social-capitalism of economic relations. Neo-socialism and neo-capitalism are also parallel economic categories to match the political neo-democracy and neo-despotism. "Neo" in economic matters has to be understood in the same sense as in political, *i.e.*, with reference to the impacts of time on old values.

In politics, as in legal, economic, moral and other social interests the element of time and its values is a permanent modifying factor. "Neo" phenomena are, therefore, the eternal realities of man's spiritual growth and development whether as individual or in group. The basic process or content of these "Neo" phenomena or modifications, etc., is *dvandva*, conflict, disequilibrium. Finality or absolute or the last term is the farthest removed from the factual "neo" or time-values in human personality.

DISEQUILIBRIA IN THE INDIAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT

Categories with "neo" are the results of time in its impact upon moral and spiritual values. They point inevitably to the fact that creative or evolutive disequilibrium is not an isolated or statical phenomenon but that it moves in a series that knows no last term and that it is perpetually giving rise to impacts upon the old forms and relations. The Indian freedom movement furnishes illustrations of this eternal dialectic of progress no less than the socio-economic and political movements elsewhere.

The Government of India Act (1935) has transferred a good deal of power into the hands of the Indian people. Indian polity is already neo-despotic. From July 1937 to November 1939 the Indian National Congress ran the ministries of eight Indian provinces—the majority of the regions in India. Creative disequilibrium of the Indian people, its challenge to the *status quo* could not, however, stop at the consummation or synthesis as embodied in this neo-despotism. The crisis of the war in which the British Empire has been engaged since September 1939 has given a rude shock to that synthesis. But in the meantime

many other problems have succeeded in raising their heads and declaring their existence. They are diverse and heterogeneous and can hardly be solved by any one simplistic formula.

Down to 1935 India's struggle for freedom implied, in the main, a conflict with the British Empire. As long as the national defence and foreign relations, etc., of India are in British hands that aspect of the conflict cannot cease. Indeed, the resignation of the Congress ministries (November 1939) is an embodiment of that conflict. Leaving that question—India's relations with the British Empire—aside for the time being we can see that the synthesis of 1935-37 cannot be accepted as the absolute in the estimation of the Indian folk.

In the first place, it is the pecuniarily higher placed individuals and relatively prosperous families, Hindu and Moslem, that are lording it over in the present situation.

Secondly, the power including the loaves and fishes is being enjoyed today as ever before by the socially higher placed individuals and families, *i.e.*, birth-oligarchy, both Hindu and Moslem.

[And finally, none but the men and women who can read and write, *i.e.*, the literate individuals and classes, can acquire social position and political power in the system that is. And this means that some ninety per cent of the entire Indian population, Hindu no less than Moslem, continues to be outside the self-determined exercise of power.

The anti-democratic, anti-socialistic, in other words, the anti-freedom conditions of the Indian *milieu* are too palpable. They point to four different but equally strong and well-rooted targets of the growing Indian democracy, socialism and freedom movement. The despotism or oligarchy (1) of the British element involved in the connection with the British Empire, (2) of economic Nawabs and bourgeoisie, (3) of social Brahmanocracy, Hindu and Islamic, and, last but not least, (4) of the so-called educated classes is the tremendous *status quo* to which the creative disequilibrium of today has to attitudinize itself in the interest of the next synthesis.

It is patent to everybody that both Hindus and Moslems as political animals suffer at the hands of the richer classes. It is also quite well known that in the social system of the Hindus the so-called *Harijans*, the depressed classes and lower castes, have to suffer deep indignities and profound iniquities. But it is not equally obvious that such social indignities and iniquities constitute the lot of millions, in reality, the majority, among the Moslems also. Class or caste distinctions of a

social order are generally held to be repugnant to Islam. But already the Momins of Moslem India have been organizing themselves against social and other inequalities just like the depressed classes of the Hindu society. Every province, nay, every district, has perhaps its own tale of social injustices of some sort or other experienced by lower class Moslems.

The position of the Momins among the Indian Mussalmans throws much light on factual inequality in social relation in spite of the formal equality preached by a religion. The Momins are said to constitute some fifty per cent of the total Moslem population in India. Occupationally they live as a rule by the hand-loom industry. They feel that they are treated with the utmost contempt and tyranny by the other classes among the Moslems. A fair, just and equitable treatment has been denied to the Momins by the "upper-caste" Moslems. The Momins have, therefore, established an All-India *Jamaitul Momineen* with provincial branches in order to press their just demands on the social oligarchy. Altogether, they may be described as constituting the "depressed classes" of the Moslems and their demands go as far as the distribution of seats and services in the Assemblies, Councils, Corporations, Municipal and other Boards between themselves and other Moslems on a 50-50 basis. Naturally, therefore, from the standpoint of democracy and socialism, i.e., of freedom, the Mussalmans have the same war against despotocracy or oligarchy of birth and race to wage as the Hindus. The spiritual basis of Hindu-Moslem unity in India today and tomorrow is positive and fundamental.

Then there is a tremendous caste distinction and class inequality engendered among the Moslems on account of the chauvinism of those Moslem families which by genealogical affiliations, genuine or spurious, can trace their origins to the Moslem stocks outside India, e.g., from Afghanistan and Central Asia to Arabia, Egypt, Abyssinia or other parts of Africa. These families are alleged to continue and represent the blue blood of Islam. They constitute the social Brahmanocracy, the oligarchy of upper castes, among the Indian Moslems. There is a peculiar racialism among the Moslems of India and this is entirely anti-democratic and anti-socialistic. Such Moslems of India as are not lucky enough to claim blood-bonds with the extra-Indian Moslems feel in their daily lives that they are treated as *pariahs* by the alien-descended Brahmans of Moslem society. It is to be understood that this feeling of depression, pariahdom and inferiority has to be painfully

experienced by the majority of Indian Moslems. For, humanly speaking, the number of alien-descended Moslems cannot by any means go beyond a few thousands throughout the length and breadth of India. It is this peculiar Moslem despotism or oligarchy based on foreign blood-affiliations which constitute a social tyranny of no mean order. It is against this inequity that the millions of the Indian-born and Indian-descended Moslems have to carry on a life-and-death struggle in the interest of their manhood, creative personality and freedom. It is nothing short of a war of the Indian elements against the foreign factors for the enjoyment of power in the Moslem society.

Perhaps nowhere is the Moslem Brahmanocracy or upper-caste oligarchy more despotic than among the Bengali Moslems. It is too well known that the number of Bengali Moslem families that can claim blood-relationship with the extra-Indian Moslems from Afghanistan to Arabia or Africa can if at all be counted at fingers' ends. So there has arisen a snobbishness and hypocrisy among a certain section of the Bengali Moslems. This consists in trying to claim their descent from Moslem families outside of Bengal, say, from Bihari, Agra, Oudh or Punjabi Moslems. Anything non-Bengali is enough to satisfy the vanity and superiority-complex of these handfuls of Moslems *vis-à-vis* their several million Bengali-born and Bengali-descended co-religionists. This kind of non-Bengali and non-Indian birth-chauvinism or race-despotism is as a rule claimed and propagated by those Moslems, who in very recent years happen to have acquired a little bit of worldly esteem on account of a few doses of economic prosperity or of one or two relatively high-salaried posts in Government service. And very often the pretensions of such persons to non-Bengali or non-Indian descent rise in proportion as they get a lift in salaries. The millions of Bengali Moslems—peasants, artisans, sailors, boatmen, clerks, schoolmasters and so forth—are not in a position by the highest stretch of their imagination or fabrications of horoscopes to link up their blood-corpuscles with the Moslem Brahmans of extra-Bengal regions from Bihar to Baghdad. They feel, therefore, a kind of social torture which is identical with that to which the alleged lower castes among the Hindus are used.

Numerically, be it observed, the depressed Moslems (*i.e.*, those Moslems for whom it is impossible to claim or even dream of non-Indian or non-Bengali blood-contacts) do not represent a smaller proportion of the Indian Moslem society than the so-called lower caste

Hindus of the total Hindu society. Moslem Brahmanocracy has been of late trying to impose a non-Bengali language, the Urdu or Hindusthani, upon the Bengali-speaking, Bengali-born and Bengali-descended Moslems as their "mother-tongue" or official tongue. This is another item that is engendering an inequitable class-distinction among the Moslems of Bengal. The ability to speak Urdu and (or) write Urdu is being considered among the "upper caste" Moslems as a token of superiority. The despotism of foreign race or blood (non-Bengali or non-Indian as the case may be), on the one hand, and the despotism of a foreign language, on the other, are the two despotisms under which the overwhelming majority of the Moslems of India (and especially of Bengal) has to smart. This problem of social injustice and terror affects not only the Moslems of the Indian National Congress but also and especially the rank and file of the Muslim League. In the interest of Indian freedom comprising as it does democracy and socialism the depressed classes of the Moslems have, therefore, no less serious a struggle than those of the Hindus. One of the universal targets of Indian freedom movement at the present moment is bound to be the Brahmanocracy of birth and caste despotism, both Hindu and Moslem.

The fourth target of the united Hindu-Moslem freedom movement is the despotism of the so-called educated classes. In East and West everywhere and especially in modern times a vast amount of social superstition has grown round the persons who can read and write. These literates are known as the *intelligentszia* and described as the natural leaders of society. Consciously or unconsciously they exercise a tyranny upon those who cannot read or write, i.e., the illiterates. In India today some nine-tenths of the entire population belong to the illiterates. The extent and depth of the social tyranny based on the ability to read and write is, therefore, enormous. The problem of the illiterates and their inferiority-complex is not identical with that of the poor. It is independent of wealth considerations and has to be treated as such in the struggle for freedom. It should likewise have to be examined separately from the question of inferiority-complex as associated with birth, blood or race considerations. In any case, the despotism of literacy (miscalled education) is no less dangerous and demoralizing than the despotism of wealth and the despotism of birth. In all countries of the world the illiterate is so automatically postulated to be a worthless and inferior person—nay, also dysgenic

or cacogenic in human values—that the subject requires a close examination. The claims of the literates to superiority deserve an intensive analysis.

Profound disequilibrium of all sorts is prevalent in the socio-political *milieu* of India today. It is but continuing the disequilibria of yesterday and day before yesterday. The fundamental logic of the eternal disequilibrium in the march of progress—in freedom and democracy—is to be sought the ubiquitous and permanent presence of the *avidya*, the irrational, in the psycho-social complex. It is interesting to observe that although a thorough-going Hegelian, even Kohler in his *Lehrbuch der Rechtsphilosophie* admits the existence of the irrational as an element in life and society. According to him history is not a logical process, it is full of irrationality and lapses. “Unreason and brutality operate side by side with wisdom and stability.” The *digvijaya* (world-conquest) of freedom and democracy is accordingly to proceed haltingly, tentatively. The spirit of creative man in its adventures for more freedom, more democracy and more socialism has got to get used to the stages and degrees, as well as the gradualness and provisional character of every disequilibrium initiated by it for the furtherance of human progress.

PRICE CONTROL

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THE function of price in a competitive exchange economy based on private property and freedom of contract is to adjust demand to supply. Whenever supply falls short of demand at a particular price, the price moves up and cuts off a part of the demand which becomes non-effective at the higher price level, and a new equilibrium is established between the reduced supply and the shrunken demand at a different price. The great merit of the price mechanism, when allowed to operate without interference, consists in the fact that the price it establishes is the minimum for which a thing can be offered for sale under competitive economy for any considerable length of time. Where, of course, competition is inoperative, the price system loses some of its beneficial characteristics ; and in a world of huge industrial units and closely knit national and international business combinations, the field of free and effective competition is being progressively circumscribed ; and State interference with the machinery of automatic price fixation is becoming increasingly necessary to protect the interests of the consumers. In peace time, however, over the greater part of the industrial field in capitalistic countries, prices are allowed to be regulated by free competition without interference by State action. It is in time of war that, as in so many other fields, conscious regulation by the State is substituted for the automatic working of the price mechanism.

Why is it so ? It is because the outbreak of war gives such a violent shaking to the economic system—and these jerks may continue to recur off and on during the continuation of hostilities, as one country after another joins the war, or as economic blockade is instituted or intensified—that established contacts are ruptured and chances of anti-social action multiply before new moorings are found. In the initial stages of the war, dealers with stocks of foreign goods, particularly if the goods are the products of enemy countries, anticipate a reduction or cessation of future supplies, and either begin charging higher prices immediately, even though the supplies are plentiful for the time being, or by withholding stocks from the

market in anticipation of higher prices in the future, bring about a scarcity of supplies and cause an immediate rise of prices. The consumer also intensifies the rise by trying to lay in a stock of goods the prices of which they anticipate rising. This kind of action on the part of dealers is familiarly known as profiteering and it is against this kind of action that price control is immediately directed. This is, however, a passing phase, though one which causes the greatest amount of public resentment. It may be tackled in various ways, such as by Excess Profits Duty, Anti-Profiteering Acts or Price Fixation. A scheme of price fixation, with which I am primarily concerned here, works by means of regulations laying down that prices charged are not to exceed, or exceed by not more than a certain percentage, the prices ruling on a particular date, say, 1st September, 1939, as in India, or 1st August, 1939, as in Great Britain. The objection to fixing a particular date as the basic period for purposes of comparison is that it may either hit hard or treat too leniently dealers of goods which are subject to seasonal variations of price, according as the basic date fixed is one when ordinarily the price of the goods is at its lowest or highest level. Further, dealers of goods the prices of which happen to be unduly depressed at that particular date, are prevented from being put on a footing of equality with the dealers of other goods in future. There is also the further contention to be reckoned with that a dealer in fixing his price is entitled to take the replacement cost into account. Without going into the question of the justice of this claim, it may be pointed out that from the purely administrative point of view, it would be impossible to distinguish between existing and renewed stocks from time to time ; and different levels of prices cannot be adopted for the two kinds of stocks.

As there are numerous articles, and varying grades of each one of them, not all of equal importance, it would be very vexatious and would give rise to endless litigation, if the maximum price of each were to be regulated by the price fixing machinery set up. The Indian Ordinance, therefore, has taken under its protecting wings a small group of important classes of commodities like the common food articles, salt, coarser kinds of cloth, kerosene and medicines ; leaving the prices of the vast majority of other articles to be regulated either by Anti-Profiteering Acts or by the free play of the forces of demand and supply. It is essential for the success of this scheme that the

regulation should be equally operative through all the different stages of the productive process, *viz.*, manufacturing, wholesaling and retailing. Further, either the regulations should be framed by the Central Government or there should be close co-operation and co-ordination among the different Provincial Governments ; otherwise it would be unfair to prevent the retailer of, say, cement in Bihar from charging higher prices, when the wholesaler in Calcutta from whom he purchases is permitted to raise his price. The economic effects of price control by means of Excess Profits Duty, Anti-Profiteering Acts and Price Fixation would be different. Under the first, and to the extent that the Excess Profits Duty is not evaded, price increases are permitted and the Duty acts as a concealed form of taxation on the consumers, particularly on consumers of imported articles, in proportion to their consumption ; under the second, price increases are permitted only to the extent to which costs have been raised ; and under the third, either price increases are not permitted at all, or permitted only to the extent thought justifiable by the regulating authority. It should be noted, however, that because prices are prevented from rising, it does not necessarily follow that excess profits are not being earned or that there is no profiteering. Such profits would accrue in spite of stability of prices, if costs are reduced as a result of works running continuously at full pressure, goods finding ready sale without price cutting, dilution of labour, temporary suspension of Factory Acts, etc. Accurate costing and careful keeping of records of prices are thus necessary for the effective working of the price fixing machinery.

Once the initial disturbances due to the outbreak of war have been mastered, there remains the question of price policy in war-time. Some rise of the price level is inevitable, if the war lasts for any length of time. It manifests itself first in the prices of articles produced in enemy countries, and here prices record their maximum rise. In spite of laws against trading with enemy countries, the supply of such goods need not be entirely cut off, inasmuch as such goods may be imported through neutral countries. Goods imported from allied countries advance in price, due to the smaller production of such goods in the country of origin, owing to man power having been partly withdrawn either to fight at the front or to produce munitions, etc., more urgently needed, greater war risks, higher transport cost and limited shipping accommodation. Goods from neutral countries

too rise in price, though to a smaller extent, partly due to war risks and partly to exchange depreciation. Of the goods produced in the country itself, even if the country is not actively participating in war operations (as is the case with India), some goods would rise in price due to greater demand abroad as for jute bags ; others such as medicines and iron and steel goods produced within the country, due to shutting out of competitive imports ; still others rise in price as their production in the country is dependent on materials imported from abroad, such as sugar machinery. Prices of different goods are connected with one another in such devious and intricate ways that changes in the prices of some important classes of goods bring about sympathetic changes in the prices of most other goods as well, provided every one is able to safeguard his own interests. Such an assumption, however, is hardly true of any country, and least of all is it true of India ; with the consequence that uneven price changes adversely affect the economic condition of different classes in the community.

What is the duty of the Government with regard to such rises in price ? Where the rise is due to an increase in cost, the Government cannot but allow it unless it is prepared to subsidise the article, as the British Government did in the case of bread during the last war. Where, however, the rise is due to scarcity of supply brought about by controlled production within the country, or controlled imports due either to restricted shipping accommodation or deliberate curtailment of the imports of inessential articles with a view to maintaining exchange and financing the essential imports, the Government might institute price control and prevent the exploitation of scarcities. But in that event, it should be noticed, as Sir William Beveridge points out in his article on " War Without Waste " in *The Times*, that " first, control of prices without assurances and control of supply is nugatory and disastrous ; and second, that keeping the price of any article in keen demand below what the consumer would pay for it almost inevitably leads to rationing or other control of consumption."

Another important cause of rise of prices in war-time is inflation of currency. Past experience has demonstrated without a vestige of doubt that if the war is a prolonged one, inflation in one form or another is bound to occur. If there is an increase in consumers' income brought about by enlarged Government expenditure without

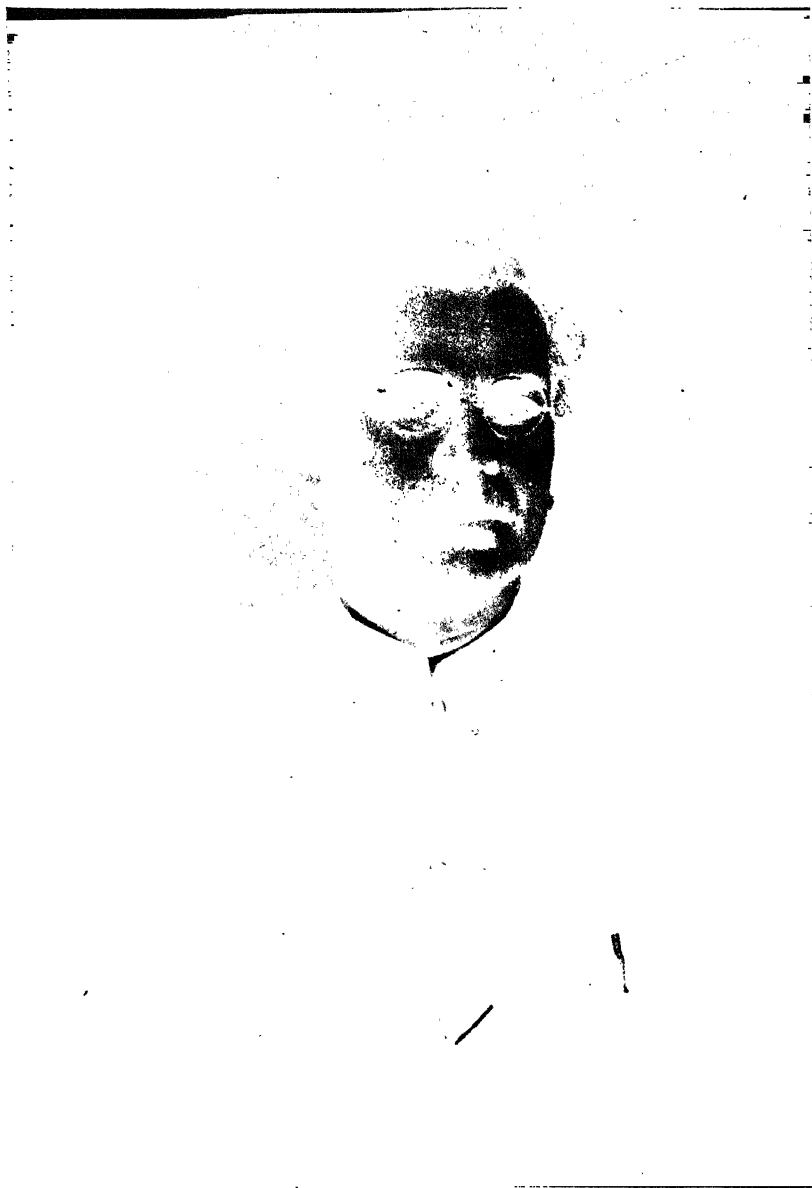
a corresponding increase of goods on which the income is spent, prices are sure to rise. But Government, which is the biggest single consumer in the community, may, in its own interests, try to control prices, at least of essential goods, in order to keep its own expenditure down. If, by a policy of rationing supplies and controlling consumption, combined with a system of price control, it can create a surplus unspent income in the pockets of consumers, then this surplus income may be made available to the Government for war expenditure either by taxation or by inducing it to be invested in war loans. There is also the further incentive to control the prices of the necessities of life in order to keep down the cost of living of the working classes, whose income, as past experience has repeatedly shown, does not keep pace with the rise of prices; and who, therefore, naturally become restive and discontented. This every Government, particularly democratic Governments, would try to avoid in war-time. There is yet another reason which might induce the Government to keep down the rise in price level in war-time. One of the recognised methods of financing war expenditure is by raising loans. Loans incurred in war-time, when prices are inflated and interest rates high, are repaid (or at least interest payments are continued) in peace time when prices are deflated and interest rates lower. This enhances considerably the burden of war debts. In order to reduce this future burden Governments are now attempting to control both interest rates and price levels in war-time (*vide* the reduction of the Bank-rate in England from 4 to 2 per cent. within less than two months of the declaration of war). Though, therefore, it appears from what has been said above that the Government is vitally interested in stabilising prices in war-time, yet it is not possible for it to attempt to control all prices. The utmost it can hope for is to control the prices of important standardised commodities, with the consequence that rises are concentrated on the prices of uncontrolled goods; thus laying the Government open to the charge of being unfair in its treatment of the different sections of the community.

What is the bearing of all this argument in relation to India at the present juncture? The profiteering and forestalling tendencies manifest at the outbreak of hostilities have been effectively dealt with by the Defence of India Rules and the country is gradually settling down to war conditions. Scarcity may manifest itself in regard to imported goods due to submarine and aerial warfare, limited shipping

accommodation, etc., and prices may rule higher than costs, and some amount of control over supply and prices may prove desirable ; but for the present the control mechanism set up by the Government does not in general apply to imports. Scarcity due to controlled production necessitated by the diversion of material and human resources to war purposes is not likely to manifest itself in India and price control is not called for on this score. Even the feared rise in house-rents proves on a reference to the experience of the last war, to be not such as to call for special intervention on the part of Government. There remains, however, the important cause of rise in prices due to increase of cost and inflation. It is proposed to control this on the " cost plus " basis. If the war drags on and war materials and food-grains come to be purchased in large quantities for export, if Indian fighting forces are substantially enlarged and the expenses of Indian troops fighting abroad are met out of Indian exchequer and if war loans are raised in India, prices and costs are bound to rise. Even were none of these things to happen in India, but if there is inflation and rise of prices in the United Kingdom, it is bound to produce repercussions on Indian prices unless the exchange rate is deliberately manipulated in the interest of price stability in India. The history of Indian prices during the last European war (1914-18), however, shows that the prices of goods produced in India rose much less than the prices of imported goods. Thus the index number of prices of articles of export rose from 100 in 1913 to 129 in 1918, while the corresponding index number of the prices of imported articles rose from 100 to 247. Among the important commodities the prices of which rose considerably in India during the last war were metals, cotton and jute manufactures, coal, salt, sugar, ghee, wheat and kerosene. We have seen that the maximum rises occurred in the case of imported goods (naturally enough, when we remember that maritime freights alone rose to anything from eight to twenty-seven times the pre-war rates in the course of the first three and a half years of war). Since the last war, however, our industrial production of cotton manufactures, metals and sugar has increased considerably, and their prices are not likely to increase so much during the present war as they did during the last war. The rise in the price of salt was partly due to the increase of salt duty during the last war and the same may be expected during the present war too. The conference of Marketing Officers held recently at Delhi pointed out that the fixing of prices presents

enormous difficulties and that price fixing should, therefore, be resorted to only in special cases. In my opinion, as indicated by the experience of the last European war, the price fixing machinery recently set up should take under its protection a selected group of important commodities such as those indicated above, and keep careful records of prices, supplies, production costs, distribution charges, etc. The prices of most other commodities may be left to be regulated by the free play of the forces of demand, supply and competition. It may be pointed out here that Indian prices had not recovered from the last slump (1930-34) quite to the same extent as prices in manufacturing countries like the United Kingdom ; and since the middle of 1937 there has been a further set back. As is well-known, the Indian rupee, at the current rate of exchange, is undervalued in relation to sterling. I, therefore, agree with the view expressed by the Provincial Marketing Officers at Delhi that the agriculturist is entitled to look forward to some increase in the price of his produce and it is undesirable for the present to check any rise in the price of agricultural produce that may come his way. In fact prices of agricultural produce are more influenced by weather conditions than by the exigencies of war. The price index of food-grains during the last war increased from 100 in 1913 to 134 in 1918, yet the increase did not exceed 14 per cent. during the first three years of war, though some allowance has to be made here for the rise in exchange rate which has the tendency of keeping down prices.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW—



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BRIDGING THE GULFS *

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ONE of the objects with which the Indian Political Science Association was started last year was to bring together students of political science and persons engaged in the active pursuit of politics. It is often said that politicians live from day to day and from hand to mouth. Although this indictment seems to be too severe, the fact remains that few politicians find time to go to the roots of political questions or to take comprehensive views of public matters requiring immediate decision. They are, generally speaking, so engrossed with the present and the near future that they are apt to lose sight of the ultimate consequences of the measures adopted by them. The result is that statesmen often find it difficult to correlate their actions with their professed principles. On the other hand, there is a tendency on the part of political thinkers to be so enamoured of theories that they often become oblivious of the existence of facts. Besides, as most of the scholars are not in active touch with public affairs, they hardly find opportunities to test their theories in the light of experience. This circumstance fosters a mentality which is not favourable to the proper appreciation of the realities of the situation at a particular moment. Thus there arises a gulf between politicians and political theorists. Our Association seeks to bridge this gulf. But the application of this principle of bridging gulfs may be extended to other spheres of thought and action. In India, the divergences are so many and so great that it may perhaps be found useful to consider to what extent this principle may be applied to the existing political situation of the country. Therefore, I take this topic as the subject of my brief discourse at this Conference.

Opinion differs in India on the value to be attached to the ideas of realism and idealism in politics. This difference is more temperamental than fundamental, and it is not impossible to reconcile the views of the advocates of the two schools of thought. Nothing of enduring value can be achieved in a country unless its people are

* Delivered as Presidential Address at the Indian Political Science Conference held at Lahore on January 2, 1940.

influenced by high ideals, but it should be remembered that ideals which have no relation to the facts of the situation tend to become idols. On the other hand, while an intimate touch with facts is essential in the conduct of public affairs, too great an emphasis on realities leads to stagnation. Therefore, a combination of idealism and realism is the best means of ensuring the growth of a healthy public life in India.

The apparent antagonism between the claims of the individual and of society furnishes a ground for controversy. Individualists suggest that society exists for the individual, while socialists maintain that society is of greater importance than the individual. The difference arises from the fact that undue emphasis is laid by each side on one aspect of the problem. But if a balanced view is taken, it will be found that there is no real conflict between the two rival theories. Man is born an individual, but he is born in society. Therefore, he has two aspects, one individual and the other social, and both these aspects are interdependent. In fact, while society is the creation of individuals, individuals themselves are the products of society. Modern socialism is in a considerable degree the reaction from the extreme individualism of the first half of the nineteenth century. In India, society and individual have been reconciled through the ages, and it ought not to be a difficult task to bring about the same reconciliation at the present day.

Capitalism is a particular phase of individualism. The phenomenal growth of large-scale industry after the commencement of the Industrial Revolution led to a concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a small number of persons in every economically advanced country of the world. Thus arose a conflict between the rich few and the poor many. In order to avoid the evils of the capitalistic system, various forms of socialism were advocated, the most extreme of these forms being communism. This form of socialism was established in Russia two decades ago, but during the period of its existence it has undergone considerable modification. The system is still in the experimental stage, but the politicians and economists of all countries may learn valuable lessons from the partial success which it has already achieved. It should, however, be remembered that the circumstances in which this great experiment was and is being tried in Russia are very different from those in India. Besides, the methods adopted for introducing and maintaining the system hardly appear to be suitable for India.

Large-scale industry is beginning to make a headway in India, although so far its progress has not been very rapid. This is, therefore, the most opportune moment when we should carefully examine the merits and defects of capitalism. Considerable amount of labour legislation has already been enacted in India in order to improve the lot of the working class. But it would be taking too optimistic a view of the situation to think that all that was needed has been done. As for the theory of socialism, it seems that Marx's economic interpretation, whatever may have been the case in other countries, has found only a limited application in the history of India. Man has not lived in this country by bread alone in the past and is not likely to live by bread alone in future. But it cannot be denied that the economic motive is one of the most important motives which influence men in India as elsewhere. It may not be possible to bring about absolute equality among individuals, but equality of opportunity should be afforded to all in the greatest measure possible. Capital is an essential factor in industry, but it ought to be available without bringing in its train the evils usually attendant on capitalism. Competition should be supplemented, and in a considerable measure replaced, by co-operative effort. Time will show whether it will be possible to bring about a compromise between capitalism and socialism by mitigating the rigours of the former and making the latter more consonant with human nature. Meanwhile, serious efforts should be made to rid the capitalistic system of its undesirable features.

A conflict between the ideas of stability and change gives rise to considerable difference of opinion. The advocates of order seem often to ignore the necessity for progress, while those who favour change often forget that order is the most essential condition of progress. An appeal to reason, however, convinces us that too much insistence on stability arrests all development, while too frequent changes open the door to chaos and confusion. Again, the question of the pace of progress gives rise to a controversy about the respective merits and demerits of evolution and revolution. If we bestow serious thought on the question, we become convinced that evolution should be regarded as the normal process and revolution can be justified only in the most extreme circumstances. The true test by which the desirability or otherwise of a resort to a revolution should be judged is whether its consequences are likely to be beneficial or disastrous. A light-hearted talk about the creation of a revolutionary mentality

in the country is fraught with the most dangerous possibilities. The ultimate aim of revolutionists is the establishment of a new order. Thus nothing is more absurd than the cry which is often heard, "Long Live Revolution !"

Revolutions in other countries mostly take a violent shape, but in India a non-violent revolution is suggested by many of the revolutionists. This is due to the influence of Mahatma Gandhi whose abhorrence of violence has created a healthy atmosphere in Indian politics. Almost all political parties have now adopted non-violence as their creed or policy. Whether or not this attitude will be permanent depends very largely on the attitude of the authorities who control India's destiny. Non-violent resistance as a means of attaining aims is consonant with India's tradition. Although this method was mostly applied in respect of non-political matters, instances are not wanting in the history of India of its application to political issues. The historian, James Mill, records that in 1815 the residents of the city of Benares adopted the policy of non-violent resistance when a house-tax was first sought to be introduced within its municipal limits.

But while politically-minded Indians have agreed to use non-violent weapons in their fight with the British Government, many of them do not see eye to eye with Mahatma Gandhi in respect of the effectiveness of these weapons for other purposes. They do not think that non-violence is likely to be of any use for defence against an invading army either from the west or from the east. They, therefore, urge that India should be fully equipped in all the branches of its fighting force,—the army, the navy, and the air force,—that the distinction between martial and non-martial races be removed, that Indians be appointed as commissioned officers in all the ranks of the defence service, and that a large volunteer force be created on a national basis. Thus a compromise is sought to be made between the rival doctrines of violence and non-violence. Nor is there any inconsistency in the view that, while violence should not be used as a weapon of offence, force is necessary for the purpose of defence so long as other countries remain wedded to the cult of force. Mahatma Gandhi's creed of non-violence in thought, word, and deed, at all times and in all circumstances, will remain an ideal to be realised when the cult of force will give place to the creed of reason in every country of the world.

The differences based on divergences of race, colour, religion,

language, and culture serve as great impediments to the progress of the country. The theory of racial superiority has been rejected by all political thinkers, and, in spite of Hitler's attempt to revive it, is not likely to be accepted again. But, in India, this policy is still in vogue as a fundamental part of her administrative policy. The colour bar, despite solemn pledges of its removal, continues to be a fruitful source of irritation and discontent. Amongst Indians themselves diversity of religions is productive of a wholly irrational and erratic attitude. If the essence of all religions really be the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, religion should be a unifying factor. But, unfortunately, the reverse is the case in India at the present moment. Differences based on religion were, until recently, the causes of strife and discord in many European countries, but a better state of things has been brought into existence by the separation of politics from religion. The most recent instance of such separation is to be found in Turkey, where a phenomenal progress has been made possible within a short period of time by the adoption of such a policy. As for the observance of religious rites, the followers of every religion should be left free. If cow-sacrifice and devotional music be regarded as religious rites, surely one community can perform them without wounding the susceptibilities of the other communities. What is needed to avoid a conflict is a spirit of tolerance and accommodation, and there is no reason why this should not be forthcoming. It is worthy of note that the Congress has recently taken up the question and instructed all its town and village Committees to persuade the people to avoid all causes of conflict and to spread ideas of amity and goodwill among all classes.

A large number of languages is used in India, but this fact is not an insuperable obstacle in the way of achieving political unity. The English language has so far helped to a great extent the inter-provincial communication of thought, and there is no reason to think that its spread will be checked in future. Besides, some of the Indian languages are making such tremendous headway that any one of them may in course of time become the *lingua franca* of the country. Such development, however, should be left to follow its own natural course, and any artificial stimulus given to one language in preference to others is likely to produce more harm than good. The compulsory teaching of Hindusthani in the schools of the Madras Presidency has given rise to much dissatisfaction. It would be wise to make Hindusthani an

optional language and to abandon the attempt to force it on unwilling persons. Culture, if it is real, should improve the relations between the different classes of society. But, unfortunately, it has formed a basis of conflict in recent years. It should be regarded as a fortunate circumstance that India is a land of many cultures, for, if proper steps are taken, a synthesis of these cultures may lead to the formation of a higher and nobler culture than what exists in any other part of the world.

Coming to purely political issues we find that differences of opinion exist in India as in other countries in regard to the functions of government, though these are of less vital importance here than elsewhere. The idea of an all-embracing, all-pervading State has never found favour in this country. On the other hand, the view that the functions of government should be restricted only to the maintenance of external security and internal order is considered to be extremely inadequate. The State will have to play a very important part in the development of the political, economic, and social life of the people, but it will be desirable for it to adopt a policy of non-intervention in regard to questions like religion, culture, and language. Such a policy is likely to promote harmony and goodwill among the different sections of the population. While the State should be the supreme organisation, the autonomy of institutions created for special purposes ought not to be interfered with.

As for the form of government, democracy has been accepted as the most desirable form by all the political parties in India, although a few persons have recently expressed doubts as to its suitability to the conditions of the country. Dictatorship, whether of the right or of the left, is wholly unacceptable to India. Some critics say that democracy is foreign to the traditions of the people. Nothing can be farther from truth than such a statement. In ancient times, republican governments existed in many parts of the country. Even after monarchy had become the prevalent form of government, democratic tradition continued to exist, especially in the sphere of local administration. This fact did not escape the attention of the more careful among the early European observers. For instance, Samuel Laing, an eminent thinker and a distinguished member of the British House of Commons, who came out to India as a Finance Member of the Government, remarked in 1862: "India is not altogether devoid of that spirit of self-government which characterises the Anglo-Saxon, for in her

village communities and *panchayats* can still be found traces which remind us that the Hindu, as well as the Englishman, is descended from a common stock of Aryan ancestors."

Democracy possesses elements of strength as well as of weakness. In order to derive the largest measure of benefit from the working of this system of government it should be our earnest endeavour to secure its good features and eschew its evil aspects. The type of democracy which we should try to establish in India ought to be one in which it may be possible to combine popular association and control with guidance by "the wisest, the most intelligent, and the best." We should also place the highest ideals before our eyes. The aim of government in India ought to be nothing less than "the greatest good of the greatest number."

Democratic government is often described as the rule of the majority. This is not quite correct. In a true democracy every variety of opinion is heard and the legitimate interests of every section of the population are safeguarded. The practice of deciding disputed questions by the device of counting heads is an arrangement adopted for the sake of convenience. It does not imply that the majority has an inherent right, apart from the reasonableness of its action, to ride roughshod over the desires of the minority. The rigour of the doctrine of majority rule is, as a matter of fact, greatly softened by a spirit of compromise in every democratic country. Indeed, as Lord Acton points out, "the most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities." Democracy is government by discussion and persuasion, and this fact is calculated to bring about harmony in the relations of the different classes of people in India.

Indian opinion is almost unanimous in respect of the desirability of establishing responsible government at the centre as well as in the provinces. The manner in which the Congress ministers have worked the limited measure of responsibility in the provincial field during the last two years and a half affords ample hope for its future success. But there is considerable difference of opinion as to the composition of the cabinet. Until a few weeks ago, six of the autonomous provinces possessed homogeneous cabinets, while in the remaining five provinces the cabinets were constructed on the coalition principle. The advantage of the homogeneous cabinet is that the formulation of policy is easy, and the programme can be carried out expeditiously and

without much difficulty. But in a unified cabinet the minority parties remain unrepresented, with the result that their co-operation is not available. A composite cabinet is helpful to the growth of solidarity among the different sections of the people. It must be admitted, however, that it is difficult to form a coalition between representatives of parties which differ widely and fundamentally not only in outlook but also in respect of the goal. But no great harm is likely to ensue if further experiments are made in forming coalition cabinets in the provinces.

This brings me to the discussion of the existing party system in India. Some of the parties are founded on political principles, while others are based on racial, communal, or class considerations. The Congress Party is the biggest and the most influential of all the parties in India. Its assertion that it seeks to represent the people of India as a whole has been described in certain quarters as a claim verging on totalitarianism. This is an unfair accusation. The Congress does not represent the interests of any class or community but represents the political aspirations of the Indian nation. In that sense it is a national, and not a sectional, institution. Surely, it does not put forward the absurd claim that it represents the views of every individual and every class in India. The Congress Nationalist Party has the same goal as the Congress Party but it differs from the latter mainly in regard to its attitude towards the Communal Award. The Socialist Party is a group within the Congress whose object is to establish democratic socialism in India. The outlook of the Hindu Mahasabha is national, although its membership is restricted to the followers of a particular religion. The Indian Christian Association has recently adopted a national attitude in respect of political questions. The other parties are frankly communal both in composition and in outlook. The net result of the activities of some of the parties has been an enormous growth of communalism in the country in recent years.

The situation in respect of parties in India is a very complex one, but it is not more complex than the party situations in most countries of continental Europe. The party system is a useful, if not an indispensable, adjunct of democracy; but its demerits are as serious as its merits are undoubted. In a country like India, where the multiple-party system prevails, the demerits tend to outweigh the merits. Narrowness, arrogance, and intolerance have already become the marked characteris-

tics of the attitude of some of the parties in their dealings with others. Besides, the complaint is often heard that a rigid enforcement of party discipline is tending to impair individual liberty. It should be remembered that an indiscriminate or a too frequent use of the disciplinary rod often defeats its own object. Nor should it be forgotten that an excess of party spirit is destructive of the spirit of nationalism.

This brings me to the question of Indian nationalism. There are some critics who say that racial, religious, and linguistic differences are so great in the country that the growth of Indian nationality is well nigh impossible. This is a superficial view. Geographical distinctness, identity of economic interests, a common tradition of suffering, and a keen desire for freedom and self-rule bind together the different elements of Indian society in an indissoluble bond and constitute the bases of a fundamental unity. Differences exist, but they are not of so serious a character as to hinder permanently the growth of nationalism in the country. It is true that in recent years the differences have in some cases taken a more or less acute form, but this state of things must be regarded as a passing phase. By mutual tolerance and forbearance the divergences can be made to assume insignificant proportions. As a matter of fact, a considerable degree of national feeling already exists in the country, and the future of Indian nationalism is by no means so dark as some people assume it to be.

Nationalism is an indispensable necessity for India for enabling the country not only to gain freedom but also to retain it. But it is not an unmixed good for all countries, and in all circumstances. 'My country, right or wrong' is a doctrine which is full of mischievous implications. A crude form of patriotism encourages the desire for national aggrandisement. The history of ill-conceived nationalism is the record of disastrous struggles between country and country and between race and race. The present war in Europe is the outcome of aggressive nationalism. India should be on her guard, from the beginning of her career as a free nation, against the growth of a feeling of aggression among her people.

Aggressive nationalism, when successful, takes the form of imperialism. This is a great evil, for it has been responsible in the past for the enslavement of free nations, the exploitation of weak countries, the destruction of cultures, and the dwarfing of the human race. The

services rendered by imperialist countries to the subordinate races are exceedingly small in comparison with the wrongs inflicted on them. Imperialism is one of the most important causes of war. A clash of imperialisms led to the European War of 1914-18. Some of the participants in the present war, if not all of them, have been actuated by imperialistic aims. India herself has felt the full weight of imperialism ; and although there have been some redeeming features in the system of British rule in India, the people of the country are not in a mood now to tolerate it any longer. A British minister said a few days ago that imperialism no longer governed the relations between England and India. If this be a correct statement, it is to be welcomed as a happy augury for the future relations between the two countries.

The only safeguard against aggressive nationalism and imperialism is internationalism. While every individual should be proud to regard himself as a unit of his nation, he should feel equally proud to be a unit of the great human race. Internationalism is not the antithesis of nationalism ; it is the extension of the nation-idea to humanity. It was a noble impulse which urged President Woodrow Wilson to take the initiative in founding the League of Nations. But this institution has failed to attain most of the objects for which it was created. On the economic side it has done good work. It has also done a considerable amount of useful work in regard to questions relating to education, sanitation, and public health. Further, it has served as a clearing-house of information on many important subjects. But on the political side, its failure has been almost complete. Among the causes of its failure may be mentioned the non-participation of the United States, the association of the League with the Versailles Treaty, and the non-provision of an international army or police force under its control. But the most important cause of the failure of the League has been the existence of weak nations side by side with strong nations wedded to an imperialist policy. The League is now practically dead, however, it is to be hoped that out of its ashes will soon arise a new League of Peoples, resplendent in glory and full of life. This can, however, happen only when India becomes independent, when imperialism becomes a thing of the past, and when all nations of the world, strong and weak, become free. It will be then, and not till then, that there will be a real parliament of man and a true federation of the world.

While internationalism is an ideal in advance of nationalism,

provincialism is a retrograde idea. Unfortunatley, a great deal of provincial-mindedness has become evident in India since the advent of provincial autonomy. This has been due, in the main, to narrowness of outlook. It is quite natural that a big country like India should be divided into provinces for administrative convenience. But if provincial feeling is allowed to grow unchecked, it is sure to stand in the way of the healthy growth of nationalism. One phase of provincialism, however, is not unjustified. A demand has been made that the existing provinces of India be reconstituted on a linguistic basis. This is a fair and natural demand which should be complied with soon. On the same principle and as a corollary to this re-arrangement, the boundaries of the older provinces should be re-adjusted if it be found that these contain inhabitants speaking languages different from their own.

The question of representation in the legislatures and the local bodies is a source of acute difference in India. The system which prevails at present is not the representation of the people but the representation of races, creeds, classes, sexes, and special interests. Separate electorates have been provided in the existing constitution for Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, the Sikhs, the Scheduled Castes, landholders, European commerce, Indian commerce, and the Universities. Special representation has been thrust upon women in spite of their protests. It has been remarked that the object of this system is "the vivisection of the body politic of India." But the justification urged in its favour is the existence of differences. It is true that there are many differences in India, but no useful purpose is served by exaggerating them. In some cases, differences have been deliberately fostered. Nor has the demand for separate electorates been entirely spontaneous. The consequence of this system of separate communal representation has been an enormous growth of dissensions between race and race, between class and class, and between community and community. Separation has led to the demand for further separation, and antagonism has taken the place of harmony. This system of representation, therefore, must be regarded as an evil, and in the interests of the unity and peace of the country it should be removed at the earliest possible moment.

Recruitment to the public services is a subject which has given rise to a great deal of controversy. For a long period beginning with the establishment of British rule in this country all the superior

services, both civil and military, were manned almost exclusively by recruits from Britain. The solemn pledges given by the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 were honoured more in the breach than in the observance thereof. But in recent years, a gradual, though slow, process of Indianisation has resulted in a considerable proportion of the higher offices being filled by the children of the soil. The subordinate posts have always been mostly held by Indians. The services question has two aspects, one public and the other personal. The former relates to the needs of administration and the latter refers to the opportunities of individuals for securing profit and position. It need hardly be said that the first aspect is far and away the more important, but, unfortunately, greater emphasis is often laid on the latter. The fact is well known that, while administrative policies are formulated by the ministries in the provinces and the Executive Council at the centre, the actual carrying out of these policies devolves on the members of the various services, superior as well as inferior. Thus the success or failure of the administration depends very largely on the ability and integrity of the officers. Therefore, the qualifications which should be insisted on for recruitment to the services should be the maximum available.

Unfortunately, both at the centre and in some of the provinces, certain percentages have for some time past been fixed for recruitment from the different communities, and in the case of some of these communities only the minimum qualifications have been demanded of the candidates. This has resulted in a considerable deterioration of administrative efficiency, and it is apprehended that a continuance of this policy will be a source of greater harm in future. If the question be considered from the personal point of view, it is found that the system involves great injustice to those persons whose qualifications entitle them to employment but who are declared ineligible on the ground of their colour or creed. Besides, the non-recognition of the principle of equal opportunities for all cannot fail to create discontent. But the system is sought to be defended on the ground that, as all the communities in India are not equally advanced, special treatment is necessary in order to give encouragement to the less advanced communities. The true way of getting out of this difficulty, however, lies in affording adequate educational facilities to the less advanced communities and not in giving them unfair advantages. Further, it is argued that this is a method of securing the goodwill

of the specially favoured communities. If it be thought desirable to purchase communal harmony even at the price of the loss of administrative efficiency and the sacrifice of equity and fairness, the percentage of reservation should not be high, and it should be definitely laid down that the reservation would automatically diminish year by year. Unless merit alone is accepted as the ultimate test, there will be no incentive on the part of the backward sections to make serious efforts to reach the level of the more advanced sections of the population.

Another matter connected with the public services deserves attention. While the administrative officers should be under the control and supervision of the ministers, they should not be unduly interfered with in the discharge of their responsibilities. For the successful working of self-government in India it will be necessary to create a body of efficient and conscientious officers who will perform their duties fearlessly and without the expectation of favours. But this will not become possible unless a substantial measure of freedom is secured to the various services under Government.

Coming to the question of the future constitution of India we find that differences of opinion which exist as to the goal of India's political aspirations are not of a serious kind. Complete Independence has been adopted as the ideal by the Indian National Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Muslim League, while the Liberal Federation still clings to the ideal of Dominion Status. The difference between the two ideals, however, is one more of nomenclature than of substance. According to the definition adopted at the Imperial Conference of 1926, which was ratified by the Statute of Westminster, 1931, a Dominion is equal in status to Great Britain, and is independent in every aspect of its external as well as its domestic affairs. Besides, the provision that the association of a Dominion with the other parts of the Commonwealth of Nations should be free implies that the right of secession is guaranteed to it. It may be argued that the ideal of Complete Independence carries with it greater prestige and honour than the ideal of Dominion Status, but in the modern world national prestige and glory should be considered to be of less value than peace and goodwill among nations. Lastly, if the question be looked at from the practical standpoint, it would be found that isolation may be attended with greater risk and difficulty than free association with a Commonwealth of Free Peoples.

This controversy regarding India's political goal has a history

behind it. In 1906, the Indian National Congress accepted 'Self-government obtaining in the self-governing British colonies' as its goal. In 1920, the goal was changed to 'the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means.' In 1927, the Congress declared the goal of the Indian people to be 'Complete Independence.' In the following year, however, the Congress passed a Resolution to the effect that, if the constitution embodied in the All-Parties' Committee Report, which was based on Dominion Status, was accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament before the 31st December, 1929, it would be acceptable to the Congress. But as this condition was not complied with in the course of the year, the Congress in 1929 declared the entire scheme of the All-Parties' Committee Report to have lapsed and urged "all Congressmen to devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of Complete Independence for India."

Thus it appears that time has been the most essential factor in the evolution of India's political goal. This fact has, however, been ignored by the authorities in India as well as in England. On the 31st October, 1929, the Governor-General stated that it was implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as therein contemplated, was the attainment of Dominion Status. The Government of India Act, 1935, was discreetly silent about the matter. But Lord Irwin's declaration has recently been reiterated by the Governor-General as well as by the Secretary of State. Politically-minded India, however, is not in a mood to accept Dominion Status as a goal to be reached in the distant future. If Dominion Status is granted immediately, it is likely to be acceptable to the country. The gulf between the goal and the immediate objective is not unbridgeable, and if the British Government is able to take the right step without delay, cordial relations of a permanent character may be established between India and Britain.

The existing system of government, with democracy in the provinces and autocracy at the centre, is an anomaly, and the sooner it disappears the better for all concerned. An All-India Federation is contemplated in the Government of India Act, 1935, but many of its provisions are unacceptable to the Indian National Congress. The strongest exception is taken by the Congress as well as by most of the other political parties to the reservation of defence and foreign relations, the enormous powers vested in the Governor-General and the Crown Representative, indirect elections, nomination of States' representatives by the

Rulers, and the system of representation in British India by special electorates. The Muslim League is opposed to the Federation because it apprehends domination by the Hindu majority. The Indian Princes are not fully satisfied with the privileges which have already been granted to them and want further concessions to be made in their favour.

The objections raised by the Congress are based on sound principles, and can be easily met if the British Government can make up its mind to part with real power. For the satisfaction of the Muslim League safeguards may be provided in the new constitution of the country. If the Princes, instead of being guided by sentiment, take a reasonable and far-sighted view of the situation, they will become convinced that, by joining the Federation, they will not only safeguard their own positions but will be able to play a worthy part in the political evolution of the whole country.

The advent of the war in Europe has led to the suspension of activities connected with the inauguration of the Federation in view of the pre-occupation of the Government, but the scheme has not been abandoned. The war has indeed created a new situation fraught with immense possibilities for good or evil according to the manner in which it may be handled. India, true to her ancient traditions, has extended her moral support to the Allies and is willing to co-operate with Britain in the prosecution of the war. But, in order that such co-operation may be effective and whole-hearted, the British Government should make a friendly gesture. The question of bargaining does not arise at all. India's desire for freedom is age-old; nor is the demand for its recognition a new one. Indeed, the present is the most opportune moment for Britain to recognise India's right. It is not clear what special difficulty there can be in applying the principles of democracy and self-determination to the case of India.

Unfortunately, the declarations of the high officers of Government in this regard, both in England and in India, have so far been most disappointing. The statement of His Excellency the Governor-General did not evince any desire on the part of the Government to meet the wishes of the people. The suggestion regarding the formation of a Consultative Committee was entirely beside the point. But the tone of His Excellency's speech was mild and conciliatory. The speeches of the Secretary of State were even less helpful towards a better understanding between Britain and India. This was rather

surprising, for the Marquis of Zetland had always enjoyed the reputation of being not only an astute politician and an erudite scholar but also a fair-minded man. But the least helpful speech was that of Sir Samuel Hoare, some parts of which were harsh in tone and provocative in spirit. Besides, his treatment of the controversial topics was most unsatisfactory. On the question of communal differences he said: "We have shown our good faith in the matter. We showed it when we made the Communal Award." Surely it would have been better for his own and his country's reputation if Sir Samuel had cited some instances of good faith other than that of the Communal Award. If the Award had been a fair and equitable one, the situation in India to-day would have been entirely different. Sir Samuel observed further: "But in spite of the Award these divisions exist." The truth is that it is not in spite of, but because of, the Communal Award that divisions exist and have become greatly accentuated. The so-called Award gave an unfair advantage to some of the parties, which naturally encouraged them to clamour for more such advantages. On the other hand, it treated one party in a most inequitable manner, which created a feeling of intense discontent.

It should be said, however, to the credit of many British statesmen outside the Government that they showed a great deal of fairness and foresight in dealing with the situation. The names of men like Lord Samuel and Mr. Wedgwood Benn will always be remembered as earnest advocates of a policy of friendship between Britain and India. The more enlightened section of the British press also gave full support to India's demands. *The New Statesman and Nation* wrote: "India, indeed, is the crux. We are on our trial before the whole civilized world. From Washington to Moscow every impartial onlooker is asking the question that Indians have posed: Is this a war for the imperial *status quo* or for a new democratic world-order? The same question shapes itself in the mind of the German people. Not to-day, but some months or years hence, the answer it frames on our record may decide the issue of this war. If we dare give India liberty, we shall win the leadership of all free peoples. But if we meet a rebel India with coercion, will any one in Europe or America mistake us for the champions of democracy?"

The sum and substance of the declarations of the British Government is that they have special responsibilities to the minorities and the Princes and obligations to the British commercial community, and that

so long as these problems are not solved, no constitutional advance will be possible in India. The problems have been created or fostered by the British Government, and now to throw the burden of solving them on the people of India is hardly fair. But the problems, though complex and difficult, are not absolutely insoluble. A solution, however, will be possible only if goodwill is available on all sides. The attitude of the majority party must be conciliatory, and the demands of the minorities should be based on reason and commonsense. It would be inconsistent with all principles of political science and all canons of equity to urge that the minorities should have a permanent veto on the majority. Nor can any minority, however important and powerful, be given the right to hold up the progress of the country on the ground of the possibility of its interests being affected. The British Government can show their sincerity by taking the initiative in the matter. If they agree to do so, let them take courage in both hands to create the proper machinery for dealing with the problem. But if they do not, they will be charged with advancing a specious plea in order to perpetuate their rule in this country.

The only satisfactory machinery for settling all differences as well as for considering the details of the future constitution of India is a Constituent Assembly. It is true that a Constituent Assembly is generally formed after a successful revolution. But there is nothing to prevent the formation of such an Assembly in India by a friendly arrangement with Britain. This body should be constituted on the basis of proportional representation, so that all minorities and special interests may be represented on it. There should be no communal representation. If the Constituent Assembly be formed on the basis of separate electorates, the representatives will be swayed by communal considerations, and this will stand in the way of satisfactory decisions being reached on national lines. In order to allay the fears and suspicions of the minorities it may be laid down that only such decisions on communal questions as are carried by a somewhat larger majority than a bare one, say three-fifths, would be given effect to. It will be one of the main duties of the Constituent Assembly to provide safeguards in the new constitution for the minorities in the shape of fundamental rights to be guaranteed by an appeal to the Federal Court or, if necessary, to an international tribunal.

India's attitude towards Britain has never been one of uncompromising hostility. Dadabhai Naoroji pleaded for co-operation all his

life. Surendranath Banerjea offered active co-operation even after repeated disappointments and in the face of a growing public opposition to his policy. Mahatma Gandhi, after pursuing for a time a policy of non-co-operation, is again ready for co-operation. The bulk of the people is still prepared to co-operate, provided that co-operation can be offered on fair and honourable terms. Will British statesmanship rise to the occasion and make it possible for India to march side by side with Britain in defence of democracy and freedom and for the good of humanity ?

The urgent need of the hour in India is harmony and goodwill. This can be secured by an enlightened sense of citizenship and a unity of purpose. We must all think of our country first and of everything else afterwards. As for unity, what is necessary and desirable is unity in diversity, not absolute uniformity in thought, sentiment, and action. Therefore, let our motto be: "In things essential, unity ; in things non-essential, liberty ; in all things, charity." If we render not mere lip-service to this motto but make it our rule of conduct in our daily relations with all individuals, and races, and communities, most of the existing gulfs will be bridged soon and India's cherished ideals will be realized at no distant date.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF HARDY'S DETERMINISM—II

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SCIENTIFIC thought was taking vast strides after the year 1859 when Darwin published his epoch-making work "On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection or The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life." The new theory of Darwin had two far-reaching effects: (a) It contradicted the teachings of Biblical orthodoxy or that account of natural origins which among devout Protestants was authoritatively recorded in prose in the Book of Genesis and in poetry in Milton's "Paradise Lost"; (b) It gave a staggering blow to a principle widely known as "Purpose," "Final Cause," "Providence" and "Design." Darwinism created the impression of reducing nature to an all-prevading and ceaseless flux without refuge or anchorage. Life had always worn an aspect of generation and decay by the Platonic-Aristotlean idea that the forms which it embodied were permanent and by the Christian idea that it was a manifestation of eternal benevolence. Now all these notions which provided spiritual solace to many seemed to disappear into a flow sweeping blindly or without origin, destination or fixed landmarks.

Darwin proposed to reconcile evolution with traditional ethics through the conception of adaptation. Some degree of mutual aid or sociality and sympathy is a condition of the survival of a race and is, therefore, as "natural" as the self-seeking propensities. Conscience may be construed in this sense as a sort of favourable variation. An evolutionary ethics based on practically the same ideology had been developed by Spencer independently of Darwin but under the influence of Comte. The element of struggle, he held, is characteristic of the brutes but human conduct is guided by two principles:—

- (a) Absence of mutual hindrance and injury.
- (b) Mutual co-operation and assistance.

Both in the case of Darwin and Spencer wish was father to the thought. The principles suggested above are the best lines of advancement, but humanity is far from approaching it. Hardy also contemplates a future moulded this wise, but experience of the individualistic tendencies made him despair of any such hopes. He says: "We call our age an age of Freedom, yet freedom under her incubus of armaments, territorial ambitions snugly disguised as patriotism, superstitions and conventions, of every sort, is of such stunted proportions in this her so-called time, that the human race is likely to be extinct before Freedom arrives at maturity."¹

Huxley (1825-95), on the other hand, presents natural life as the antithesis of the moral life. In the natural life the individual exploits his superiority, and the weak are allowed to suffer the fatal consequences of their weakness; whereas in the moral life as envisaged by Spencer and Darwin, the weak are protected by the self-sacrifice or existence of others. We know that Hardy finds himself constrained to accept rather the painful conclusions of Huxley than the optimistic estimate of human nature as given by Spencer and Darwin. It is in Nietzsche that we have the most blatant spokesman of the necessity and justification of natural life. Let the strong man assert his strength, and in this way guarantee the future of the race. It is this idea that links the evolutionary principles of Darwin, untrammelled by ethical considerations, with the ethics of Nietzsche. The latter, though he came early in his life under the formative influence of Schopenhauer, reversed the ethical implications of his pessimistic philosophy. Instead of stressing compassion and the moral to combat "Will," the Naturalistic Philosophy of Nietzsche, developed in the light of "the Survival of the Fittest," puts a premium on Egoism. This is also the undercurrent of Leslie Stephen and Huxley's speculation.

The one great difference between the two groups of Evolutionary empiricists, Spencer and Leslie Stephen and Darwin and Huxley, is that the latter in their quest for knowledge do not speculate as to the nature of the unknown. Darwin kept the life of a scientist apart from that of a man of faith and religion and hence did not attempt to tackle the metaphysical problem of the Primal Force. Spencer identified it with the Persistence of Force. Leslie Stephen professed

¹ "The After-Years of Thomas Hardy" by Florence Emily Hardy, Chap. X.

his ignorance. We have already referred to the influence of this on George Eliot. Just about this time Edward von Hartmann's book "The Philosophy of the Unconscious" came to enjoy a widespread popularity. He was the most original among the disciples of Schopenhauer and wanted to construct a new monism that might escape the opposite errors of Hegel and Schopenhauer. The former, identifying the real with the rational, was unable to offer any satisfactory account of the irrational and changing aspects of the world; while the latter, identifying the real with the Blind Will, was equally unable to account for order and purpose. This reconciliation was effected by Hartmann by discovering the principle of the Unconscious which partakes both of reason and will. It is called "The Unconscious" because it underlies the very process of natural development in which consciousness appears.¹ Hartmann accepted materialism so far as it teaches that consciousness is conditioned by the brain, and argued that consciousness cannot be the cause of its own condition. But the principle which produces the brain and the whole system of physical nature must nevertheless be regarded as spiritual because it exhibits intelligence. It resembles consciousness in that it acts as if it deliberately adopted ends and selected the means to realize them. Spirit thus divorced from consciousness, may be identified with the "force" of physics. It explains the biological phenomena of growth and of intelligent, though unwitting, adaptation. So the Divine Principle is reduced into a mere hypothesis, not much different from the persistence of force expounded by Spencer. Its supposition was based on pragmatic considerations. The ethics of Spencer and Hartmann was too much for their metaphysics, and, therefore, a liaison was effected. When a writer like Hardy who read with avidity Mill in the sixties and was fairly closely acquainted with Leslie Stephen and his works came to synthesise his observations and analyse them to verify the hypothesis of Spencer or Hartmann, as well he might have done mentally, he failed to verify it. Unknown he has no doubt about. He calls it the "Unconscious," the Primal Being, the Absolute, an expression from the philosophy of Hegel,² the Will or "Immanent Will,"

¹ Hardy often evokes "Unconsciousness" not as an intelligent but blind force. It must be borne in mind that he was not attempting a reconciliation like Hartmann.

² The following excerpt will show the critical interest that Hardy had in Hegel's system. He cannot accept that the absolute is rational:

"May, 1887. Reading in the British Museum. Have been thinking over the dictum of Hegel—that the real is the rational and the rational the real—that real pain is compatible with a formal pleasure—that the idea is all, etc.; but it does not help much. These venerable

reminiscent of the "Will to Live" of Schopenhauer. He had no doubt about a force behind the Universe but he would not share the view of Hartmann¹ and call it divine or intelligent, rather he would accept the position of Schopenhauer and call it a virulent force intent on spinning man to his own ruination unless resisted and overcome. A metaphysical synthesis was never his objective nor his serious attempt. But he did capture the philosophical atmosphere of his time and gave various shades of meaning to the power behind the Universe. This attempt to read metaphysics and natural ethics in the knotty affairs of men resulted in a deterministic outlook on life. meaning by Determinism (a) inevitability due to the working of physical forces, including in this expression the physiological and psychological habits, (b) the presence of an Immanent Will or Unconsciousness which had not the attributes of intelligence imposed on it by Hartmann.

The Deterministic philosophy of Hardy finds confirmation in Haeckel (1834-1919). In his "Riddle of the Universe" (1899) he offered a solution of all metaphysical riddles in terms of two fundamental laws. Of these two great solvents the first was "the Law of Substance"—the fundamental law of the constancy of matter and force.² The second great solvent was "the Universal Law of Evolution," by which life emerges from psycho-chemical conditions, "psychoplasm" from protoplasm, and neuroplasm from psychoplasm. Life is the energetic aspect of protoplasm, unconscious mind of psychoplasm, and consciousness of the associative centres of the brain. The "Monism of Cosmos," which is established on these two basic principles, of substance and evolution, proclaims the absolute dominion of "the great eternal iron laws" throughout the universe. It thus shatters, at the same time, the three central dogmas of the dualistic philosophy—the Personality of God, the Immortality of the Soul, and the Freedom of the Will. Samuel Butler also discredits the meaningless use of God in his usual

philosophers seem to start wrong; they cannot get away from a prepossession that the world must somehow have been made to be a comfortable place for man. If I remember, it was Comte who said that metaphysics was a mere sorry attempt to reconcile theology and physics." —"The Early Years of T. Hardy" by F. Emily Hardy, p. 234.

¹ Rutland quotes from Hartmann's "Philosophy of the Unconscious," Chap. XII, Pt. 3, to show that both Hardy and Hartmann believe in the devastating effect of love. Our point is that Hardy differed from Hartmann in his speculation about the ultimate nature of Reality, though he accepted much of Hartmann's philosophy of the Unconscious. See Rutland's "T. Hardy", p. 255.

² Cf. Spencer's "Principle of the Persistence of Force."

bantering tone "as long as there is an unknown there will be a God for all practical purposes ; the name of God has never yet been given to a known thing except by way of flattery."¹ These opinions of Haeckel and Butler are also the philosophical views of Thomas Hardy.

There is one more problem which deserves consideration in a discussion of the philosophical aspect of Thomas Hardy's work and the influences that shaped it. It is the problem of human personality. He believes in a primal force and in the inexorable nature of the physical laws. In a mechanistic world the freedom of will is illusory and each personality is nothing but an efflorescence of the Will. He accepts the philosophical position of Schopenhauer who believed that the Will in the lowest stadium appears as mere matter, it rises much higher when an activity follows upon a stimulus. "Finally the Will objectifies itself in organisms that do not have to wait for the stimulus, but are motived by thought-objects."² These require brains in which the highest objectification of the Will presents itself. Thus human beings may be regarded as mere phenomena so far as their personality is concerned. But there is something real in them too. They are ultimately the manifestation of the Will. "The body is, on the one hand, my idea, so it is, on the other, my will; brain is the cognition of the Will, the genitals are the Will to procreate, etc."³ This view, seemingly so mechanistic, finds a counterpart much later in Dr. Bosanquet who holds that "the individual, in the end, must be an adjective of the universe."⁴ He is prepared to accept the self's transient existence ending in its absorption within the universe. Both Schopenhauer and Hardy find in Napoleon an illustration *par excellence* of the Will evolving in the course of its blind urge into a superman. "Something of Schopenhauer's apotheosis of Will," says Will Durant, "was due to that magnificent and bloody apparition of the will made flesh in the little Corsican ; and something of his despair of life came from the pathetic distance of St. Helena."⁵ It is in this conception of human personality that the most moving tragedy takes its birth. This was also the Greek notion of our individuality. Like Hardy they illustrated in the

¹ "The Note Book of Samuel Butler" (1912), p. 325.

² Erdmann, "History of Modern Philosophy," Vol. II, p. 623.

³ Erdmann, "History of Modern Philosophy," Vol. II, p. 624.

⁴ J. E. Turner, "Personality and Reality," p. 101.

⁵ Will Durant, "The Story of Philosophy," p. 326.

person of great heroic figures the influence of the blind powers that Schopenhauer called "Will." The collision of Greek tragedy is

" The dire strife
Of poor Humanity's afflicted Will,
Struggling in vain with ruthless destiny."

It was natural for a man with Hardy's cast of mind to turn to the Greek dramatists for inspiration.¹ Like Sophocles he delights in the conflict of laws, he was powerfully attracted by the ironies of fortune. In his plays Sophocles gave, like Hardy, an exposition of his Determinism.² There is little to choose between this and fatalism—the doctrine that nothing which the individual can do in any way affects the fate to which he is destined. Being a child of heredity and the urge of the blind will, he is at the mercy of chance. Determinism makes the factors which work out tragedy specific, however inexplicable in their nature some of these may be. On the other hand, Fatalism abjures all attempt at analysis. In the Greek plays we feel the presence of a super-human destiny brooding over the tragic character. It seems to take a malignant delight in the ruin of men and women we admire for their excellence. Antigone in her distress cries:

" They mock me. Gods of Thebes! Why scorn you me
Thus to my face,
Alive, not death-stricken yet ? " ³

The Chorus replies :

" The cause
Is some ancestral load, which thou art bearing." ⁴

Another strand in Greek thought which we also discover in Hardy is the belief that fatal consequences follow the slightest warp or

¹ Hardy's fondness for Greek plays may be judged from the fact that he inquired of Moule who was a fine Greek scholar if he would not have to go on reading some Greek plays in the course of his training as an architect. To this Moule replied that if he had to make an income in some way by architecture in 1862, it could be hardly worth while for him to read Aeschylus or Sophocles in 1859-61. Hardy had secretly wished that Moule would advise him to go on with Greek plays. See "The Early Years of Thomas Hardy" by F. Emily Hardy, pp. 43-44.

² The Doctrine that all events are the inevitable result of antecedent conditions, and that the human being, in acts of apparent choice, is the mechanical expression of his heredity and past environment.—Will Durant.

³ Sophocles, "Antigone" p. 26 (E.M.L.S.).

⁴ Sophocles, "Ajax," p. 53 (E.M.L.S.).

twist in the character of a flawless man or woman. In " Ajax " Mariner remarks :—

" Why will you grieve over what's past and done ?
It cannot now be altered, not to be." ¹

Both are vexed over the unhappy lot of man who is driven by an inexorable destiny and yet it is some human weakness that could have been resisted and was not and has, therefore, plunged the poor creature into misery and ruin.

" As the God wills, every man laughs and mourns." Tecmessa exclaims :—

" O my Lord Ajax, in the ills of men
There is none sorer than Necessity

so the Gods willed it
And thy right hand determined." ²

An ironic fate leads Oedipus to kill his own father and marry his own mother; when the revelation comes to him he is thunderstruck and wishes that he might not have been saved alive and perished in the cruel gyve.

" Not then had I become
My father's murderer
Nor wedded her I have my being from." ²

This deterministic outlook on life, which made Hardy so pessimistic in his writing from 1870 to his death and drew him to seek inspiration from the Greek dramatists, can be traced back to the first half of the nineteenth century. A pessimistic wave sweeps over England and the continent and finds expression in Byron ³ in England, in De Musset in France, in Heine in Germany, in Leopardi in Italy, in Pushkin and Lermoutof in Russia. It culminates in a profoundly pessimistic philosopher—Arthur Schopenhauer. In France it leads to the Catholic revival. From 1830 to 1848 there follows an extraordinary Anglomania. The French Romantic Movement (1830-50)

¹ Sophocles, " Ajax," p. 56 (E.M.L.S.).

² Oedipus Tyrannus, p. 168 (E.M.L.S.).

³ July 2, 1865 : " Read some Horace; also Childe Harold and Lalla Rookh till past 12."—" The Early Years of T. Hardy " by Emily Hardy, p. 64.

is a search for stability and the ideal they look up to is sought in poets and writers and in politics in the constitution of Great Britain. But the intercourse so opened is not without repercussions in England. It gives impetus to religious revival in the form of Oxford Movement, and the political vision which the refugees brought with them produces a social fervour. The works of Dickens, Wilkie Collins, Disraeli and Thackeray bear witness to it. With her genius for compromise England does not surrender herself to extreme republican views in politics or Roman Catholicism in religion. The Church of England is, however, aroused to a sense of its inherent weakness, and seeks to effect a reconciliation between Science and Religion. Tennyson is the apostle of this compromise. His "In Memoriam" is a monument of the deep stirrings of the heart which seeks to find solace in faith when tormented by metaphysical problems of existence. Browning, though not of the Anglican Church, represses his doubts and difficulties and finds comfort in his creed of love. His "Grammarian's Funeral" betrays the stoicism of a man who, foiled in his expectations in this life, hopes for a better earth and better heaven in the life to come. From 1850 to 1860 England enjoys a period of comparative peace and religious and social tranquillity. Its philosophy is the philosophy of perfection, both positivism and utilitarianism hope for an evolution in which the human race would attain its full stature, the outlook is optimistic. The middle classes have asserted their rights and the aristocracy has shorn itself of some of its privileges to appease the growing discontent. The year 1848 which saw revolutions in France, Germany, Italy and Austria had no disquieting effect in Great Britain. It leaves its politics and people unruffled. And even on the continent the revolution exhausts its fury within a short time and the old order returns.

FUTILITY OF COMPROMISE

"On Compromise," though published in 1874,¹ contains Morley's cogitations over radicalism in philosophy and politics for the last ten years. He was not satisfied with the stalemate of 1850-60. His

¹ Morley had remarked as early as 1868 on reading "The Poor Man and the Lady" about its author: "If the man is young he has stuff and purpose in him."—"The Early year of T. Hardy" by F. E. Hardy, p. 77. Hardy had published "Desperate Remedies" (1871) and "Far from the Madding Crowd" (1874) containing his philosophy of life or purpose (as Morley termed it) before "On Compromise" came out.

political doctrine united the traditions of the philosophic Radicals and of the Manchester School. His articles of faith departed from the traditional Christian moulds. They were, briedy, trust in reason and in the reasonableness of mankind and a profound love of peace. The whole book is a sustained argument against compliance with the conventional standards when they conflict with one's inner convictions. So telling is the criticism of complacency, moral and religious, that a caustic critic remarked that except in the title he could find no trace of compromise in Morley's book. The anguish of soul which had been repressed so long now found expression in a writer whom a Blackburn paper described as a man who "has been occupying his time in writing a biographic panegyric of the Frenchman, Voltaire, the sceptic, cynic, and the infidel of the last century." He anticipates the stoicism of Arnold. But it was only a search for truth. The motto to the essay epitomises Morley's conviction: "It makes all the difference in the world whether we put truth in the first place or the second." It was a disciple of the great utilitarian, Mill, attacking the intuitionist philosophy of the Oxford Movement and under arms against theology. He had written God with a small 'g.' But he was no cynic and scoffer like Voltaire. In "Recollections" he tells us that his essay was inspired by a desire to counteract that demoralising habit of accommodation which was so marked a character of Anglican Churchmen in high places who subscribed to the articles when they had lost all faith in them. Morley finds in Mill's pronouncement that it is "perfectly conceivable that religion may be morally useful without being intellectually sustainable," a misleading ambiguity, a veiled hypocrisy. To him morality was not confined to conduct, but extended to intelligence and even style. He remained, unlike Mill, to the end both a determinist and a perfectibilitarian. His philosophy like the latter-day philosophy of Hardy, was individualistic. But man, he believed, was subordinate to time, the past has cut the groove. "We are likely to forget," he wrote, "in our emphasis upon individuality that we are dependent upon our predecessors for our heritage." And hence he approved of Burke's respect for "the collective reason of mankind." How near does Morley come to Hardy? It would be interesting to note his reading list. His favourite authors were the Encyclopaedists, George Sand ' (1804-76) George Eliot, Lucretius, Sophocles,

George Sand, "Litra" (1839); "Jaques" (1834), an impassioned eulogy of individualism and hot renunciation of trammels and falsehoods of philistine society.

Wordsworth, Goethe, Victor Hugo and Dante. The French influence which began with the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 is thus continued. The Catholic Revival¹ which influenced Newman to write "The Grammar of Assent" in 1870 was to find its counterpart in France in the Goncourts and Zola and in England in George Eliot, in Morley's "On Compromise," described as the "Grammar of Dissent," in Thomson, Hardy, Leslie Stephen, A. E. Housman, Arnold and Swinburne.

The undertones of the unrest which asserts itself after 1850, are to be found in the works of the Brontës: "Jane Eyre" by Charlotte Brontë was published in 1847 and the "Wuthering Heights" by Emily Brontë in 1842-48. They both depict the deepening gloom that comes over Jane Eyre, never in happy circumstances and Heathcliff, a gipsy waif of unknown parentage. The lives of the Brontës themselves have something tragic in their make-up. Theirs is not the spiritual peace which so many others seem to find in radiant faith. Another important novelist of the sixties makes her first appearance as a writer in 1834 with a translation of Tenerbach's "Essence of Christianity." This daughter of an Evangelist gradually drifts towards Positivism and ultimately joins George Henry Lewes in a voluntary union in 1859. This is a fateful year indeed. It is the closing of an old order and the beginning of a new. Dickens had published his masterpieces, Thackeray's last important work "Virginians" comes out this year and George Eliot's "Adam Bede," with a penetrating study of human nature focuses the public attention on her novels as her life had already done. In 1851 she had subscribed to the faith of Mr. Mackay "that divine revelation is not contained exclusively or pre-eminently in the facts and inspirations of any one age or nation, but is co-extensive with the history of human development . . ."² She had arrived at the conclusion that meliorism was the best of creeds, if creed one must have: "Est ce que nous sommes faits pour chercher le bonheur? Est ce la votre idée—dites moi." "Mais non—nous sommes faits, je pense, pour nous développer le plus possible."³ This statement is inspired by and finds support in Comte who says: "Notre vraie destinée se compose de *resignation* et d'*activité*."

¹ See "The Tractarian Movement" by Bishop E. A. Knox (1933), Chapter III (Oxford and France), pp. 47, 49, 50, 51, 52. Cf. "Religion in Victorian Era" by L. E. Elliott-Binns discussed by Bishop Knox. His third chapter "Oxford and France" is illuminating.

² George Eliot's Life by J. W. Cross, p. 134.

³ George Eliot's Life by J. W. Cross, p. 141—Letter to Miss Sarah Hennell, 21st January, 1855.

Such in brief is the history of the silent development of her mind which gave her the courage to break away in a violent fashion from the centuries old tradition of marriage institution. She says: "From the majority of persons we never looked for anything but condemnation. We are leading no life of self-indulgence, except indeed that, being happy in each other, we find everything easy."¹ Like Morley she believes in living up to one's convictions, and like him she longs for a change in society to ensure greater liberty of action to individuals in their thoughts and actions. She held that "the progress of the world can certainly never come at all save by the modified action of the individual beings who compose the world."² This is also the attitude of Hardy³:

"I say, not God Himself can make man's best
Without best men to help Him."

(George Eliot—"Stradivarius")

Darwin published "On the Origin of Species" in 1859.⁴ George Eliot's "The Mill on the Floss," conveying her psychological study of an over-wrought woman pining for love and embrace and dying in the most tragic circumstances, was made available to the public in 1861. The ferment that lay dormant for over a decade was now once again leavening thought. What with George Eliot's works, and the growing influence of Mill's "On Liberty,"⁵ a book extremely popular in the 'sixties and the works of Spencer, Leslie Stephen, Reade and

¹ George Eliot's Life by J. W. Cross, p. 170—Letter to Mrs. Bray, 4th September, 1855.

² George Eliot's Life by J. W. Cross p. 533—Letter to Mrs. Ponsonby (now Lady Ponsonby), 10th December, 1874. One of the charges against Hardy is that he selects isolated and out-of-the-common cases for venting his spleen upon God and society. As a meliorist he cannot, as George Eliot puts it, ignore that the worst for human weal can only result from the perfection of individuals to whom Nature has been cruel or in whom it has implanted excessive cravings for sex gratification.

³ In the first week of January, 1874, the story ("Far from the Madding Crowd") was noticed in a marked degree by the "Spectator," and a guess hazarded that it might be from the pen of George Eliot. Hardy conjectured as a possible reason for the flattering guess, that he had latterly been reading Comte's "Positive Philosophy" and writings of that school, some of whose expressions had thus passed into his vocabulary, expressions which were also common to George Eliot.—"The Early Years of T. Hardy" by Emily Hardy, p. 129.

⁴ The same year was published "Richard Feverel" by Meredith.

⁵ On July 1, 1868 he (Hardy) writes down—in all likelihood after a time of depression over his work and prospects:

"Cures for despair:

To read Wordsworth's 'Resolution and Independence.'

To read Stuart Mill's 'Individuality' (in 'On Liberty').

To read Carlyle's 'Jean Paul Richter.'—"The Early Years of T. Hardy" by Emily Hardy, p. 76.

Bradlaugh the tide turned and engulfed the tottering religions and social beliefs of the mid-Victorian period. In France Flaubert (1821-80) emphasized the need for bringing the totality of human experience into the novel. His "Madame Bovary" (1857) is a monumental work. Speaking of Baudelaire's (1821-69) "Les Fleurs du Mal" a critic remarked: "A severe and pitiless severity has entered into art as the last word in experience." This statement is equally true of Flaubert's "Madame Bovary". The Goncourts [Jules (1830-70) and Edmond de (1822-1896)] published "Renée Mauperin" in 1864. It gives a keen-eyed observation and accurate reproduction of even the trivialities of everyday life. In "Germinie Lacerteux" (1865) their naturalism is still more thorough-going. They produced in it an authoritative picture of manners and a cogent demonstration of the influence of environment upon the individual. Zola (1840-1902) set about after 1870 to display the whole panorama of the 19th century. He studied vices and crimes with faithful minuteness and focussed attention mainly on the more animal aspects of human nature. England was also awakening to this naturalistic view of life. What Lamarck had done in France Darwin did in England. He quickened the Naturalistic tendencies among the English writers of the seventies till they culminated in the work of Samuel Butler, "The Way of All Flesh," written in 1880 but published after his death. George Moore's "A Mummer's Wife" (1885) and "Esther Waters" (1894) were written distinctly under the influence of Naturalism. The first naturalistic novel in England is only ten years later than Zola's work. There is nothing strange about it. The Oxford Movement came after the Catholic Revival, Darwin after Lamarck, Mill after Comte, George Eliot after George Sand, and Butler after Zola. Just as the Goncourts form a bridge between Balzac and Zola, so does Hardy between the suppressed Naturalism of "The Mill on the Floss" and the works of George Moore. When the tide of Naturalism sweeps over England it has combined in itself the streams coming from France and Russia.

(To be Continued.)

PUSHTOO IN THE COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM

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WHEN the department of Indian Vernaculars (henceforth to be called Modern Indian Languages) was started under the Department of Post-Graduate Studies in the University of Calcutta in 1920, Pushtoo was recognised as a Basic language which it was necessary to study for a correct and thorough knowledge of the subject; it was recognised as a Basic language along with Prakrit, Persian and Pali. It no doubt caused much amusement in lay critics of the University and one came across the remark sometimes that Pushtoo was necessary “to fill the quartet.”

When the College of Fort William was formally opened in 1800 for the practical purpose of teaching the employees of the East India Company the languages and ideas of the countries they had to administer, some time had to pass before Pushtoo could be introduced into the College. The initial object soon extended into the theoretical, and we come across some correspondence about the work done on Pushtoo.

John Leyden, a noted orientalist of the period, who was sometimes associated with the Examination work of the College of Fort William, and who offered to prepare a vocabulary in the Burman and Malay Languages corresponding to a vocabulary of some Indian languages already available, was requested to report on the Dictionary and Grammar of the Pushtoo language written by Nawab Moohubbub Khan. He thus writes his report to Doctor William Hunter, Secretary to the College Council, under date 12th October, 1810:—

SIR,

I request you will do me the favor to forward to the College Council Muhabet Khan's Pushtoo Grammar and Dictionary, together with the transcript formed under my inspection and direction. Enclosure first/ No. 1/ with the Bill for the Expenditure of the transcript amounting to Rs. 67. 13 as.

The transcript of this work has been formed by a laborious and minute collation of the copy furnished by Government with another in my possession formerly procured from the author. In collating these two copies I have found the variations considerably more numerous than could have been previously expected and in comparing these variations it did not appear that either of the copies could be considered as decidedly superior to the other. I have, therefore, in all cases of variation selected what appeared to be the preferable reading, and the transcript may now be considered as considerably more accurate than either of the copies from which it has been made. In the whole of this process I have had the assistance of Moonshee Amir Muhammad, who may be considered, I apprehend, as the best Pushtoo Scholar in India and has for upwards of two years has (*sic*) been engaged in the Composition of a Grammar and Dictionary of the Pushtoo language under my direction, on an improved plan, and from authentic written materials. In consideration of the laborious part of the collation which has fallen to his share, I beg leave to submit to the College Council, whether some small gratuity might not with propriety be granted him.

With respect to the merits of Muhabet Khan's Work, I beg leave to state to the College Council, in answer to their letter of July 25th, that I consider it as a work of very considerable merit, and as a first work in the Pushtoo language, particularly valuable. As far as I have been able to discover Muhabet Khan is decidedly the first who has attempted to give a scientific Grammar and Dictionary of the Pushtoo language. As a first work in the language, the proper objects of comparison for his work are either the early Persian Loghats, previous to the Composition of the Ferhang Jehangiri, or the present Loghats of the different Turkish dialects current in the East, such as the Jughatai, and Turkman dialects.

To any of these which I have seen I consider the work of Muhabet Khan as very decidedly superior, though it is not entitled to be placed on a par with the more considerable native dictionaries of Persic or Arabic. The composition of the work in India is a circumstance which, though it rather enhances the merits of the author, detracts from those of the work, and by greatly increasing the difficulty of the execution has impaired the success that would otherwise have attended his labours.

With respect to the defects of the work, the principal one is that the author has more generally referred to the oral language of conversation than to the written language of books, and thus it sometimes happens that he has given an orthography which is rather auricular than conformable to the written and most generally approved standard of the Pushtoo Orthography. From the same cause it happens that the work is more defective in poetical and other written terms, than in those of a more popular

nature. Another defect is that the work is entirely employed on one of the two great Afghan dialects to the neglect of the other. The dialect to which his work refers is generally termed the *Serbanni*, and is current in Rohilcund, and applies best to the Afghan dialect which is used in the provinces of the English.

In compliance with the wishes of the College Council, I have thought it proper to state these circumstances minutely, but I beg leave to add that in my opinion they leave the merit of the author unimpaired, and it is only in a comparative point of view that they detract from the merits of the work. In abstract value I expect that it will be inferior to the work of Amir Muhammad when that is finished, but the spirited manner in which the work was undertaken on the suggestion of the British resident of Lucknow, and the zeal and ability with which the sketch was completed, for I know it did not receive the noble author's last hand, certainly entitled it to the distinguished notice of the Government.

As I thought it might be satisfactory to the College Council to have the opinion of a learned Afghan on the subject, I desired Amir Muhammad to write down a short note of what occurred to him respecting the merits and demerits of Muhabet Khan's work which I have enclosed (No. 2) and request that you will likewise do me the favor to submit to the College Council.

Oct. 6th, 1810.

I am, etc.,
Signed JOHN LEYDEN *

Moonshee Amir Muhammad or Emir Moohunmud, the Afghan Moonshee, received the gratuity which Dr. Leyden here recommended, as we find from another communication.† But it is more to our interest to learn that the College of Fort William did not consider Pushtoo altogether beyond the scope of its normal work. The administration of Rohilcund, in portions of which at least Pushtoo was spoken, was a charge on the British Government and the interest in the language was largely practical.

* Public Consultation. Home Department Communication No. 22, dated 12th October, 1810.

† Public Correspondence. Home Department No. 21, dated 12th October, 1810

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF SUMATRA

DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. (Cal.), D.LITT. (PARIS)

IN the history of Malaysia we find Java deservedly getting major attention. But thanks to the researches of anthropologists and pre-historians, we have come to discover the importance of Sumatra as well ; and we must remember in this connection the splendid services rendered by Edwin M. Loeb and Robert Heine-Geldern.*

Of the three old races found in Southern Asia the first, the Negrito, has not been found in Sumatra, being limited to certain zones of the Malay Peninsula, the Andamans and the Philippines. The second, the Veddoid people, are seldom found unmixed with races of other blood, the purest remnant so far traced being the Senoi or Central Sakai who may be connected with the Toala of Celebes, according to Sarasin. Traces of Veddoid blood could be found from the sources of Irrawaddy to south-west China according to Heine-Geldern. Kleiweg de Zwaan considers the Veddas of Ceylon to be the survivals of the pre-Dravidian races once occupying the whole of India. In Sumatra the more primitive Malaysians are pronouncedly Veddoid. They represent the pre-agricultural economy using bows and arrows, wearing tapa cloth but lacking pottery, metal-work and weaving.

The third race, the Malaysians or Austronesians, are believed by Heine-Geldern to have migrated from south China after 2000 B.C. Those who are relatively free from racial mixtures are called proto-Malaysians dwelling in the hilly interior of the Island like the Bataks, the Dayaks (Borneo), the Toradja (Celebes) and the Igorot (Philippines). The mixed Malays are best represented by the modern Javanese and are mainly coast-dwellers. They brought tropical plants, sugarcane, banana, bamboo, especially rice or *beras*, meaning fruit or food. According to Krom their language contains both the words for boat and sail and Heine-Geldern holds the opinion that they had some form of outrigger canoe. Thus these Indonesians probably knew both river-craft and ocean-craft which enabled them to explore the Pacific. On archaeologi-

* "Sumatra : Its History and People " by Edwin M. Loeb ; " The Archaeology and Art of Sumatra " by Robert Heine-Geldern : Published by Verlag Des Institutes Für Völkerkunde, University of Vienna (1935).

cal and ethnographic grounds Heine-Geldern has attributed the following traits to the primitive Indonesians: non-coiled pottery, mats, bone-lance points, bone tools and arrows, stone and mussel rings (as coins or decorations), stone-beads, pile-dwellings, megalithic monuments, head-hunting, cultivation of rice and millet and the possible use of tapa cloth (in common with the Polynesians).

According to Loeb, the Indonesian social organization was similar in form to that of the Negrito and the Veddoïd folks which ignored the "unilateral descent and the accompanying exogamy." Autocratic kingship was absent. The divine descent of chiefs is a Polynesian concept prevailing partially among the chiefs of Nias. Summing up the problem of the races and cultures of Sumatra, Loeb observes that "wave after wave of cultural influence had swept over the island from the direction of India, bringing certain of the groups to a high state of civilization." The primitive Malaysians of the Peninsula, so far as we could judge by the Jakun tribes, refused to assimilate any culture from India, pre-Hindu or Hindu. They had no system of sacrificial feasts but they evolved some kind of pottery of neolithic origin though this art was unfavourable. With the advent of further Malaysian settlers from the mainland, the Negritos were exterminated and the Veddoïds pushed back into the more barren parts of the island. Among the earliest traits of culture received by the Malaysians of Sumatra we find pile-houses, outrigger canoe, sail-boat, taro, yam and sago and domestication of pigs and chicken. Many of these things will migrate from Malaysia and Indonesia to far-off Polynesia, supporting thereby the theory that many important items of Polynesian culture could be traced back to the region extending from Indo-China to Sumatra and Java. The most common feature is the "men's house" which grew out of pile architecture. The people divided their villages into several hamlets each under its own leaders. They learnt the dry cultivation of rice and domesticated the buffalo and possibly evolved iron-working, before the intrusion of Hindu culture, towards the beginning of the Christian era.

The Hindus suppressed head-hunting and megalithic cults introducing a different variety of stone-work and more refined cultures as could be gathered from the religion and the soul-concept (*tondi*) of the Bataks, wet-rice culture and the plough, cotton and the spinning wheel together with the higher Hindu concepts of religion and life which enabled the primitive Malaysians to develop their crude villages

and hamlets into vast commercial and cultural empires. The Malayans like the Hindus were a composite of all races and could march ahead with the time while the Mentawai islanders which refused to admit strangers in marriage remained in a most backward state like the Kabu and allied people of Sumatra. The Mentawai has annual sacrifice and augury but lacks the ideas of higher gods, creation and shamanism which came with Hindu culture, and in this connection we quote the following significant remark of Loeb: "The Bataks and the people of Nias have derived practically all of their more advanced forms of religious beliefs from India, for the most part in post-Hindu times. Certain of these higher forms of beliefs, cults and philosophies have traversed Indonesia and have passed into Polynesia, and perhaps even, as some ethnologists believe, into the New World." One significant difference lies in this that in Indonesia the important factor in religion is *tondi* or soul-concept while in Melanesia and Polynesia it is *mana* or supernatural power.

While in Java, the land of the *Pithecanthropus Erectus*, human skeletal remains of the early palæolithic period have been found, no such discoveries have been made so far in Sumatra. Heine-Geldern, however, has classified (culturally if not chronologically) the late palæolithic tools as belonging to a Flake-culture and a Hand-Axe culture. So far the traces of the Flake-culture have only been discovered in two caves of central Sumatra. These have been connected with the Flake-cultures of Ceylon and of the caves in south-west Celebes, belonging to the late palæolithic age.

Traces of Hand-Axe culture were found in many places in the northern part of the east coast of Sumatra. These stone tools are different from the old palæolithic Hand-Axes of Europe and India, being worked almost without exception on one side only. The Hand-Axe culture of Sumatra is now admitted to be "related to the Flabinhien and early Bacsonien of north-eastern Indo-China and the Hand-Axe cultures of Siam and the Malay Peninsula." And from this analogy Heine-Geldern considers it probable that the bearers of the Sumatran Hand-Axe culture belonged to the group of Papua-Melanesoid races and that they may have been followed by primitive Malaysian peoples who transmitted the earlier neolithic or later proto-neolithic tools with rough ground edges and rubble-axes. The late palæolithic Flake-culture, on the contrary, were probably introduced by people of Veddoid origin.

The late Neolithic culture is represented, both in Sumatra and in the Nias island, by quadrangular adzes which were probably brought by the Malayo-Polynesians (Austronesians) to Malay Peninsula and Indonesia by way of China, Laos and Siam between 2000 and 1500 B.C. With these we also find beaked adzes, stone sawing, megalithic monuments, ancestral figures, head hunting, rice-cultivation, domestication of cattle and the outrigger canoe. This Neolithic culture is the same in Java and Sumatra both showing preference for semiprecious stones and refinement in stone-cutting which reflected a keen sense of beauty as well as perfection in craftsmanship.

MEGALITHIC ART OF THE NIAS ISLAND AND OF SOUTH SUMATRA

The quadrangular adze culture is closely connected with the megalithic system and it still survives, according to Heine-Geldern, in many regions of Further India and Indonesia, specially among the mountain tribes of Assam and of north Luzon (Philippines) and in the island of Nias. Connected as it is with ancestral cults and magic, this art is predominantly plastic and monumental with symbolical reliefs and statues of the deceased, etc., which play an important part in the megalithic style of south-east Asia. The sculptural reliefs decorating some of the stairs in southern Nias are considered to be the most beautiful creation of Indonesian architecture. The people of south Nias showed a remarkable preference for stone reliefs as, for example, in the scene where four monkeys are catching a shark. In central and north Nias we find stone monuments to be more and more rare. Many stone sculptures like the conventionalised figures of stags and horn-bills appear to be copies from wooden models and Nias is specially rich in wood-carving of ancestral and guardian figures, mostly naked though wearing ornaments. Many of these figures holding cups with both hands remind us of the beaker statues, of eastern Europe, Siberia and Central Asia.

The wooden architecture of the houses of the chiefs appears to strive after creating the imposing architectonic forms of the megalithic art of southern Nias. This pre-Hindu megalithic art came to be influenced later on by the Indian and Javanese motifs.

In south-west Sumatra on the plateau of Pasemah have been discovered a very important group of megalithic monument—menhirs, dolmens, cist-graves and stone images. But unlike the art of Nias which is primarily monumental and static, the sculptures of Pasemah

in the rendering of the physical world, display a wonderfully dynamic conception. The native racial tribes are rendered in a naturalistic style which, through an exaggeration of movement and passion, look like caricatures. In carving the images these south Sumatran sculptors utilise as far as possible the natural form of the stone medium. Fragments of paintings (in black, white, red and yellow) found on the inner walls of the cist-graves display the same violent movements as of the stone sculptures. These Pasemah monuments has been linked by Van der Hoop with the late bronze culture unearthed near Dong-Son, in Annam, which may be dated between 600 to 300 B.C., when this bronze culture began to penetrate Sumatra and south-east Asia from the north.

SUMATRA, CHINA AND INDIA

According to Heine-Geldern the Pasemah sculptures do not belong to the megalithic culture which reached Indonesia in the late neolithic age and that they are related to the Chinese sculptural art of the early Han period. Both the sculptures and the paintings remind us of the decorations of the tombs of the Han period; and most possibly the Pasemah art like the art of the Batak would be found on deeper analysis to be composed of heterogeneous elements of the different epochs. Heine-Geldern has characterised the three chief stylistic strata as (1) the old megalithic symbolic style, (2) the bronze age style of Dong-son (*circa* 300 B.C.), and (3) the Hindu Sumatran style following the Dong-son and the Han epochs. Specially in the art of the Bataks we find Indian influence becoming more and more pronounced: elephant (*gadja*), horned-lion (*singa*), as in Pallava art, Indian magical and astrological figures in the Batak books of divination with figures of Banaspati, Rahu, etc. Lastly we must mention the representation of the Kalmashapada-Sutasoma Jataka which the Batak, like their Burmese and Shan neighbours, use in two variants.

Thus we see that even at this infancy of Sumatran archaeology we have remarkable documents to illustrate the transition from the late neolithic to the bronze age culture and thence to the Indian and Indo-Javanese phases. About 300 B.C., Sumatra received the late bronze and early Iron age Dong-son culture: socketed bronze-celts, drums, daggers, lances and figurative painting. It was brought to Sumatra probably by merchants and colonists from south China and

north-east Indo-China. A later phase of this culture shows the stone cist-graves and the Pasemah sculptures closely related to the art of the early Han period (3rd century B.C.).

From the beginning of the Christian era to the 14th century A.D., the Hindu-Sumatran culture flourished under the influence of Hindu colonists and missionaries, both Brahman and Buddhistic, from Burma and Siam, Cambodia and Java.

Sumatra was not only colonised by the Hindus but, through more than a thousand years of close connection, it became an integral part of Greater Indian culture zone: the Pallava influences in the 7th century, the Chola domination of the 11th century, together with other intrusions from the Tamil and the Kerala regions signify South Indian contributions. Dravidian tribal names are still to be found among the Bataks, who, however, follow the father-right economy as against the mother-right of the Minangkabau. So far as North India is concerned we should remember the close connection of Buddhistic and Tantric cultures of Eastern India and Srivijaya: the relation of the Sailendras with the Pala empire and Nalanda, with Nepal and Tibet, all collaborating to develop the extreme Tantric Kāla-chakrayāna combining Buddhistic with Saivite elements, during the reign of Kṛtanagara, Maulivarman and Adityavarman.

The earliest Hindu-Sumatran stone image of Buddha found near Palembang has been considered by Prof. Krom to be influenced by the Amaravati School. Other remains found at Palembang and Djambi have been attributed to the 5th century A.D., nearly 200 years before the foundation of the Srivijaya empire (7th century A.D.) which readily came under the influence of Pallava art. A stone torso and the life-sized statue of Avalokitesvara bear the impress of 7th century Pallava art. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the four inscriptions, in Pallava script of the 7th century A.D., found in Sumatra and Bangka, we find Sanskrit words interspersed with old Malay idiom. The Sailendra dynasty of Srivijaya contributed greatly to the propagation of Mahayana in Indonesia and Malay Peninsula. Two Buddhist statues from Djambi show clear affiliation with the Gupta art of 7th century A.D. Three charming bronze images of Buddha, Avalokitesvara and Maitreya, found in the Komering river near Palembang, show the style of central Java (8th-10th centuries). In this period central Javanese influence is traced also in some architectural remains, and in Saivite sculptures. Lokanatha

with two Taras, in a bronze group, dated 1024 A.D., is found in the Batak territory of Padaung Lawas. According to Dr. Bosch the Hindu-Sumatran architecture had a special preference for brick construction interspersed with stone sculptures and brick reliefs; and from the Nagari inscriptions these brick structures are attributed to 12th century A.D. Gradually the Tantric cults and degenerate Mahayana were overwhelmed by Batak cannibalism, with the worship of Heruka and the cult of human flesh and blood as we find from the inscriptions of king Adityavarman who died towards the end of the 14th century.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Indian Educationists Meet in Lucknow

The 15th session of the Indian Educational Conference commenced on 27th December, 1939, in the Baradar Hall, Lucknow. About 500 delegates attended. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurated the conference and Sir S. Radhakrishnan presided.

Inaugurating the Conference, Pandit Nehru said that the idea of education had long been the improvement of the individual. But even that care of the individual must to-day be considered in terms of the mass of the people or else the enlightened individual will be submerged in the unenlightened mass. Can an individual, he asked, truly advance, except in the rarest cases, if the environment that surrounds him is pulling him back all the time? This environment consists of inherited ideas, prejudices and superstition which restrict the mind and prevent growth and change in a changing world. He made a strong plea for changing the environment.

He deplored the present-day social fabric which he regarded as decadent.

Pandit Nehru dealt at length with the condition of the "millions of unhappy, sorrow-laden people with sunken eyes and hopeless outlook." Yet he had always sensed "the tremendous vitality of our people and felt confident that they would pull themselves out of this miserable condition and recover the bright and happy and hopeful eyes that should be the birth-right of every individual."

Concluding, he said that it was pleasant for intellectual and enlightened people to discuss calmly the affairs of a troubled and distant world "but reality was upon us" and the troubled world was no longer distant but threatened to envelop and overwhelm them. "The world is unpleasant; let us realize it and then, like men, seek to change it and make it a pleasanter, juster place for all of us to live in."

It was impossible to displace English by a *lingua franca* for some time to come because of its unifying value to India, declared Dr. Rai Rajeshwar Bali, chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference in the course of his address.

While recognizing that a *lingua franca* was essential in the larger national interests, Dr. Bali pointed out that no province could afford to lose its provincial language. He then proposed Sir S. Radhakrishnan to the Chair.

The need for a national scheme for education in India was stressed by Sir S. Radhakrishnan in his address.

There was nothing national in education declared Sir Sarvapalli. The different countries were provinces of a common republic of culture. There was no such thing as proletarian mathematics, Nazi chemistry or Jewish physics. But, he pointed out, it was quite possible to impart through education a definite bias for developing a particular type of human individual.

Technical Education for Muslims

The need for higher technical education for Muslims was stressed by Dr. Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, Judge of the Federal Court and Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Moslem University, at a public meeting held in the pandal of the All-India Moslem Educational Conference.

Recalling the history of the activities in connexion with technical education at the Moslem University, Aligarh, Sir Shah Sulaiman said that India was on the threshold of great economic and industrial development, and it was the duty of the Aligarh University to take its proper place in this progress. There was, he added, an ever-increasing demand for technical education and hence facilities for such training for Moslem young men should be provided for.

"We must" the speaker declared, keep pace with the other advanced communities or go down. If we are to exist, we must march forward along with the rest of India."

Student Movement in India

About 500 delegates from different provinces and 4,000 visitors were present at the fifth annual session of the All-India Students' Federation convention under the presidentship of S. Subhas Chandra Bose.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the President and delegates, referred to the tendency on the part of many of them to make the Students' Federation an arena to fight our factional rivalries and deplored that their time should be wasted in party bickerings. He suggested a twofold programme to strengthen the student movement which was still in its infancy in India.

Firstly, they must take up questions affecting the average students and agitate for fulfilment of their demands through the Students' Federation. It was also advisable to organise study circles in schools and colleges with a view to creating political consciousness among students.

Secondly, they must also engage themselves in the uplift of the masses. It was their duty to carry the message of literacy to the masses.

He suggested that the Federation should constitute a permanent committee to co-ordinate the work of adult literacy in progress in different provinces. He advised the students to talk less of politics and take up seriously the work of strengthening their organisation.

Congress Research Library

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Congress President, has issued an appeal to publishers and authors asking them to help the Congress by donating their publications and books to the All-India Congress Committee Research Library, as limited financial resources of the Committee precluded it from making large-scale purchases.

Education of the Deaf

The Psychology Section of the Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India which met with Prof. M. N. Banerji, M.Sc., B.L., of the University

College of Science, Calcutta, in Chair was well attended by the delegates and visitors. Prof. H. P. Maiti's paper, "A project of research work at the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School," roused a good deal of interest. Prof. Maiti described the research project bearing on the life and education of the deaf introduced by the authorities of the Calcutta School at his suggestion. He emphasised the importance of formulating suitable intelligence tests for the deaf-mute and discussed the difficulties peculiar to that problem. A short report of the investigation so far done by him in collaboration with some of the teachers of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School was presented.

A highly interesting paper entitled "A study of babe up to the third month of its life" was read by Mr. A. C. Sen of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School.

Importance of vocational guidance in case of the deaf-mute was pointed by Mr. S. K. Bose of the Psychology Department of the Calcutta University. He pleaded that some of the tests could be applied before a particular course of vocational training was recommended to a deaf-mute on his admission in the school.

In his presidential address Prof. Banerji dwelt on the history of vocational guidance movement in the West as well as in India. He discussed the technique of testing and expressed the desire that the performance and special ability tests should be made use of by the teachers of the deaf and dumb schools.

Miscellany

THE EUROPEAN WAR AND THE AMERICAN MARKETS

War in Europe resulted in abrupt price changes and sharp increases in activity in the commodity and financial markets of the United States, says the *Federal Reserve Bulletin* (October, 1939).

Prices of basic commodities advanced in September, reflecting chiefly heavy purchases by manufacturers and distributors, but to some extent also speculative activity of traders. Buying was particularly marked for such products as iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, and textiles, and was largely by domestic purchasers in anticipation of possible price advances and delayed deliveries. Inquiries from abroad, particularly from neutrals, showed a marked increase in some lines, but in others the prospect for exports was adversely affected. In a number of industries new orders were sufficient to bring about an accelerated increase in plant operations. This rise, coupled with increased oil output after sharp curtailment in August, carried the Board's index of industrial production from 102 for the month of August to about 110 for the month of September, with a still higher level prevailing at the end of the month. Employment and national income increased substantially but, as is usual, expanded less rapidly than industrial activity.

Prices of many common stocks rose rapidly in September, while prices of United States Government securities and high-grade corporate bonds, which had reached record levels in the early part of the summer and had receded somewhat from those levels, declined sharply. The Federal Reserve System, in pursuance of its policy of endeavouring to maintain orderly conditions in the capital markets, increased its holdings of United States Government obligations.

At no time was the shock of the war to the American financial and industrial system comparable to that in 1914 when the Stock Exchange and many commodity exchanges were forced to close, large currency withdrawals and gold exports obliged banks to operate on a restricted basis, and business activity declined. During the past month exchanges remained open, bank deposits and reserves increased, and commodity prices and business activity advanced sharply. Gold continued to flow into the United States in large volume until late in the month. Dollar prices of many foreign currencies showed sharp reductions.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

RAILWAY PLANNING IN FRANCE

According to reports from France it is positively a commonplace to state that the French railways have been giving admirable proof of the perfection of their organisation. The moving of countless troop trains has been carried out with the best possible regularity, concurrently with the evacuation of a large number of civilians, leaving the larger cities for the country. Not that this has created any surprise, for due note had been

taken of the perfect order that prevailed consistently with regard to the holiday-makers' trains. The traffic in connection with holiday camps for boys and girls and for the "paid holidays" crowd lays an extraordinary burden upon all the railway companies. It is noteworthy that their time tables should have been regularly adhered to, accidents avoided, and the staff found so adaptable to such unusual conditions in a period of so intense a traffic.

French experts believe that the public are able to come to these encouraging conclusions, but they are practically unaware of the amount of hard work and methodical thought required in order to ensure the proper operation of the formidable mechanism constituted by the railway system of a large country. The achievement of the National Company of French Railways, the first results of which are now public property, justifies certain favourable conclusions, after more than a year's experience. This is made clear, indeed, by a careful perusal of the Report laid a few weeks ago by the Board of Management of the National Company of French Railways before their yearly general meeting.

In order to justify the creation of that Company whose aim was to harmonise the technique of the various railway systems and make them more independent it is not amiss to quote a few figures, say, the reports giving some idea of their joint importance, or rather of the importance of what is now the French railway system. That system comprises 80,000 kilometres of permanent way (1 km.=5/8 mile), with 13,000 stations and relevant establishments. The rolling stock in use on the various lines includes 19,600 locomotives, 900 "autorails," 34,000 railway carriages and 511,000 wagons. This plant is used by 22 billion passenger-kilometres and 31 billion ton-kilometres. In other words, were the whole of this traffic divided up among all Frenchmen, it would be found that each of the 40,000,000 persons has travelled at least once in the course of the year from Paris to Morlaix in Brittany, or from Dijon in Burgundy to Sete in Languedoc, and sent off 100 parcels weighing ten kilos over a distance of 775 kilometres.

It will easily be understood that the National Company of French Railways is a matchless customer for the national economy. For instance, it consumes, year in, year out, 11 million tons of coal, 860 million kilowatt-hours, 225,000 tons of iron and steel, 240 tons of fish-plates, nuts and sleeper-acres, 45,000 cubic metres of sleepers, 6 million tons of ballast and paving-stones, 2,400,000 square metres of linen and cloth, 1,400,000 electric bulbs, etc. Added to this, the National Company gives employment to about 3 million people—engineers, railwaymen, operatives, employees and their families—whether directly in its employ or working to supply its needs in mines, factories, or for the conveyance of goods, mails, etc.

Taking into consideration this impressive enumeration, the need for close co-ordination and "unity of command," as the current phrase has it, will easily be realised. Since the building of railways in France, the number of Companies has been steadily decreasing for the last fifty years; there have been incorporations, mergers, and associations resulting in the survival of six Companies only, so that the unification resorted to in January, 1938, had long been foreseen. Of course the users of the railway have suffered no alterations of a nature to interfere with their habits. The management have been careful not to introduce hasty reforms or changes. And yet very useful transformations have been carried out, and others are being proceeded with in a methodical, scientific and perfectly smooth way, all directed towards efficiency, while lightening the burden cast upon the

State by the railways. Considerable advances have been effected as regards both the quality of the plant and the methods of operation.

Nor have the new management been content with undertaking reforms of an actually material nature ; measures of simplification and economy are also being considered which call for a thorough knowledge of the relevant itineraries. For instance, consignments from Lyons to Bordeaux are now sent for the most part *via* the Rhone Valley, the Languedoc plain and the valley of the Garonne, so as to avoid the slow and difficult hilly country of the Massif Central, which uses up a lot of driving power. For passenger trains the lines so far electrified are used as much as possible. The passenger traffic between Paris and Nantes has been transferred to the Le Mans line, while that of the thermal stations of the Massif Central to the Paris-Vierzon line. Useful improvements have been effected in the conveyance of goods, both as regards promptness of delivery and uniformity of charges.

What should be borne in mind is that all this transformation was carried out during the depression, and that in spite of this the financial results are already more satisfactory than of yore. In 1937, the expenses incurred in working the lines amounted to 14,888,000,000 and the receipts to 12,850,000,000 francs, leaving a deficit of 2,038 millions, or 15·86 % of the receipts. In 1938 the deficit was cut down to 1,970 millions, in spite of the fact that the industrial depression had brought about a loss of traffic of 17%, a fact without a parallel in former depressions. Be it noted, moreover, that the value of the franc in 1937 and in 1938 was not the same, for the average exchange rate of the pound sterling was about 124 francs in 1937 and 171 in 1938. Had the franc not been devalourised in 1938, the deficit experienced in working the railways would have been very appreciably less than in 1937.

The above perhaps somewhat optimistic considerations are borne out by the results of the current year. Adequately comprehensive figures are not yet available, but going by those for one week in May, one in June and in July there has been a general advance, both in the matter of receipts and in that of the traffic. From May 21 to May 27, for instance, the receipts have progressed by as much as 82,217,030 francs (*i.e.*, by 36·38%) as compared with the corresponding week in 1938, while the takings per kilometre have risen from 5,761 to 7,857 francs. Similarly, from June 18 to June 24, the receipts show an advance of 39,442,000 francs. From January 1 to June 3, the difference in takings works out to the advantage of 1939 over 1938, the percentage at the beginning of January being 9·86 and at the beginning of June 10·71.

The rôle of rationalization and planning in railway management is, therefore, to be treated by all means as a very prominent item in the French economy of today.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

WORKERS' NUTRITION AND SOCIAL POLICY

In co-operation with the International Institute of Agriculture (Rome) and the Health and Economic Sections of the League of Nations the nutrition problem of the masses was investigated by the International Labour Office (Geneva) during 1935-36. The Report of the investigations has been published as *Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy* (1936). The

discussions cover such topics as nutrition *vis-à-vis* occupation from the physiological standpoint. As there are vague ideas in regard to this question among economists and sociologists throughout the world this publication will be of considerable use to them. An appendix dealing with the physiological bases of nutrition reproduces the findings of the Technical Committee of the League of Nations in their meeting in London in November, 1935. The so-called London standard of calories is indicated here. From the standpoint of nutrition politics the labour leaders as well as the students of social legislation will appreciate the appendix dealing with the historical survey leading up to the Labour Conference of the American States which held their meeting at Santiago, Chile, in January, 1936. At that meeting, the I. L. O. was requested to encourage the inauguration of wage policies in keeping with the cost of ration for 3,000 calories.

The greatest importance is to be attached to the finding that malnutrition is a world-reality. Even in the richest countries of the world the agricultural classes as well as industrial workers have been living at a diet which is considerably below the minimum physiological requirement. For instance, British experts have found that in England in certain classes the deficit in calories is sometimes as high as 1,110 to 1,795.

In case deficiency in nutrition be treated as equivalent to absence of economic optimum, i.e., identical with over-population, not even the British Isles, which are alleged to be facing depopulation according to Kuczynski and others can prove to the physiologists that they are not over-populated. The subjects of demographic optimum and over-population, under-population, etc., require indeed to be discussed on novel foundations in the light of food and nutrition economics. The data offered by the present publication should be a warning to the Indian calorie-researchers and overpopulation-experts and counsel them to practise caution while talking glibly of the already over-populated condition of India and formulating the correct demographic policy. Altogether, it is to be appraised as a work of capital importance for workers in demography, sociology and economics.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

HEREDITY AND POLITICS

A substantial contribution to political eugenics has been made by J. B. S. Haldane in *Heredity and Politics* (London, 1938). In regard to the heredity of diseases Haldane's conclusions, cautious as they are, may be given as follows: 1. It is possible (scientifically) to construct pedigrees (heredity) of eye-diseases; 2. Exact diagnosis is uncertain with regard to heart diseases and their pedigrees; 3. Classification is still more uncertain in the field of brain diseases; 4. Even in the case of blindness it is not possible to say definitely about heredity. In some cases it is heredity, in others it is not; sometimes it is inherited in a relatively simple manner and sometimes in a very complicated manner.

Eugenic legislation as suggested by him would comprise the following measures: 1. Prohibition or discouragement of marriages between first cousins (as done by Roman Catholicism); 2. Dissolution, voluntary or compulsory, of the marriage that has produced one recessive child; 3. Sterilization of one partner in marriages as indicated in No. 2. The prescriptions thus are not radical.

The problem of the heredity or pedigree of moral defects is considered by Haldane to be much too complicated. "It is never possible," says he, "from a knowledge of a person's parents to predict with certainty that he or she will be either a more adequate or less adequate member of society than the majority" (p. 87). The attitude is liberal verging perhaps on conservatism.

As for positive eugenics Haldane's ideas are what may be called socialistic. He believes that as a means of producing more "great men" equality of opportunity is more likely to be of immediate value (p. 123) than entelegenesis (the procreation of a particularly gifted man by artificial insemination). Inheritance of wealth is considered by him to be "eugenically undesirable because it tends to make the well-to-do limit their families." In his judgment a consideration of human biology does not justify the perpetuation of class-distinctions.

He is sceptical about the existence of special *genes* (found in the nucleus of each cell which contains *chromosomes*) adapted to or generative of special cultural features. The alleged racialological determination or interpretation of culture—the so-called ethnical or "racial basis" of civilization cannot claim Haldane as an exponent. "The genes needed for cultural achievement, if they exist," says he, "are almost certainly different from those for hair shape and skin colour" (p. 163).

In all these discussions Haldane, the biologist, has been confirming and continuing on a positive basis the liberalism and socialistic anti-eugenicism of the philosopher and sociologist, Hobhouse, as embodied in *Social Evolution and Political Theory* (1911). Hundred per cent. eugenicism or ultra-biologism has failed to establish its hegemony in the world of science.*

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN PALESTINE

The review, *Palestine and the Middle East*, has published in its issue No. 6, 1939, an analysis of the latest report of *Hamashbir Hamerkazi* (Palestine Co-operative Wholesale Society).

The focussing of public interest on the question of supplies during a war makes topical reading of the latest report of the *Hamashbir Hamerkazi*, the largest individual trading organization in the country. During the crisis in the political and economic life of Palestine this co-operative organisation was able not only to maintain its activity but to develop and enlarge it.

Trading conditions in 1938, the *Hamashbir* Report notes, were characterised by abnormal fluctuations, reaching a climax with the September crisis. With the general rush to lay in supplies prices rocketed sky-high, increases of as much as 50 per cent. and more being registered in many commodities. In the test of this unprecedented crisis in normal commerce, the Report points out, *Hamashbir* was able to exert a steadying influence, demonstrating the advantages and potentialities of a publicly controlled trading organisation. It maintained its prices at a steady level, supplied all the requirements of its clients and made arrangements to ensure for them essential supplies for several months ahead. It may be of interest to note that during the crisis several importers applied to *Hamashbir* to arrange for their supplies and that furthermore a group of private retailers

* B. K. Sarkar : *Political Philosophies since 1905*, Vol. I (Madras), pp. 118-19, 272-73.

suggested that *Hamashbir* should act for them as their wholesale supplier and thus free them from the hold of speculative merchants.

Hamashbir's turnover in 1938 continued the uninterrupted upward trend noted since the company's reorganisation in 1931. In the course of the last seven years the *Hamashbir's* turnover has increased sevenfold (from L.P. 64,484 to L.P. 436,949).

Hamashbir's main business is connected with the wholesale purchase for the affiliated agricultural settlements of their supplies of foodstuffs, fodders, seeds, fertilisers, machinery, fuel, etc. At the same time *Hamashbir* acts for these settlements as the marketing agency through which they dispose of their grain and other field products not handled by the *Tnuva* Co-operative Marketing Organisation (specialising in dairy produce, vegetables, fruits, etc.). *Hamashbir* also functions as the central supply agency for various institutions, such as hospitals, agricultural schools, transport co-operatives, building contracting offices, co-operative restaurants, etc.

Hamashbir not only rendered assistance to already established industries, but also helped to stimulate the development of certain new lines of manufacture such as equipment for bee-keeping and poultry-farming and irrigation appliances produced in the workshops of several communal settlements.

An interesting development this year has been the start made by *Hamashbir* in the export of Palestine produce to the United States.

On the supply side *Hamashbir*, as in previous years, provided the labour settlements with most of their requirements of outside chicken-feed and dairy-fodder such as *durrah* (a popular indigenous summer crop not usually grown in Jewish settlements), barley, maize, bran (from Jewish mills), oilcakes (from Shemen Ltd.), etc.

Seeds, chemicals and fertilisers were provided to the settlements through *Hamashbir's* special Seed and Chemical Department set up in 1937. Advance is recorded in local seed-growing for which there are encouraging prospects. *Hamashbir* has been marketing increasing quantities of local vegetable, forage and other seeds grown in the Jewish settlements with the advice of the Seed-Growers' Association and the Seed-Growing Department of the Jewish Agency Agricultural Experimental Station.

Hamashbir served in 1938 as a wholesale supply and marketing agency not only for its members proper but altogether for 273 co-operative societies, organisations and labour institutions (232 in 1937): 54 communal settlements, 75 co-operative labour groups, 10 co-operative agricultural producers' societies, 57 co-operative consumers' societies, 17 settlements still unorganised into co-operative societies of their own, 20 agricultural schools, experimental stations and girls' training farms, 21 various labour and national institutions including hospitals, building contracting offices, etc., 16 transport co-operatives, 3 co-operative restaurants.

Labour agricultural settlement accounted in 1938 for 44 per cent. of the *Hamashbir* turnover, co-operative consumers' societies accounted for 24 per cent.

There has been a further development of *Hamashbir's* connections with the international co-operative movement and in particular with the co-operative Wholesale Society of Great Britain through which *Hamashbir* in 1938 made purchases totalling L.P. 53,181 as compared with L.P. 34,437 in the previous year.—*Co-operative Information*.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

¹ See "The Co-operative Movement in Palestine" (*International Labour Review*, Geneva, July, 1939).

Reviews and Notices of Books

Studies in Indo-Muslim History : A critical Commentary on Elliot and Dowson's History of India as told by its own Historians. With a Foreword by Sir Richard Burn, Kt., C.I.E.—By Shahpurshah Hormasji Hodivala. 9½ × 6½, pp. xxiii + 727. Fort Printing Press, Bombay. 1939.

Sir Henry M. Elliot was born in 1808 and was described as "the first of the since-celebrated competitionwallahs to pass an examination for a civil appointment direct to India." Before he arrived in this country he had already become known for his remarkable proficiency in Oriental languages. When he came to India he found the public indifferent to acquiring any familiarity with the true sources of the so-called Muhammadan History of India. He soon realized that the history of the Muslim period remained "yet to be written." With wonderful tenacity and titanic labour he set himself to the task of building the foundations of this history. In 1849 he published the first volume of his "Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Mahomedan India." This was but the introductory volume of his monumental work. Before he could complete his task, his health completely broke down and he died at the early age of forty-five at the Cape of Good Hope, where he had gone to recuperate. After his death, the Directors of the East India Company granted a sum of £500 for the publication of this posthumous work. It was not an easy task to find somebody who could tackle this stupendous work. After some early failures, the work was at last entrusted to Prof. John Dowson. No better selection could have been made at the time. He did not slavishly follow the arrangement of Elliot but introduced certain changes and corrected some palpable errors. One of the most important changes made was to subordinate the bibliographical character of the work to the historical. The chronological arrangement of the authors from the second volume onwards was another welcome change. The first volume of this edited work appeared in 1867 (Trübner and Co., London) and the eighth and last volume in 1877.

The indebtedness of all students of Indian Mediaeval History to this work is well known and requires no repetition here. Even as the work began to come out volume by volume, Prof. Dowson and others came to realize that industry and specialized research work were bound to correct some of the mistakes which were inevitable in a work of this nature which roughly covered a period of one thousand years (c. 851 A.D.—1848 A.D.) of the unexplored history of a sub-continent. Though Dowson was conscious of these "imperfections and errors" he had no patience with captious criticism. Thus when the second volume of the work came out in 1869, Major Raverty, that "ready censurer of the errors and shortcomings of his predecessors," offered criticism of the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* as translated in it. In a note added to the eighth volume, Dowson stoutly defended Elliot's version against what he thought to be the "sneering animadversions" of the Major, though he gave him full credit for some real improvements in the text. In the same volume Dowson added a list of "additions and corrections" (pp. xxiii-xxviii), arranged volume by volume, which was—

if any more were needed—ample acknowledgment of the field for improvement in the material presented therein.

Since the publication of these volumes, many years have rolled by. Students of Indology have increasingly felt the need of a comprehensive re-examination of the materials presented by Elliot and Dowson. But the task was so difficult and to some extent so thankless, that nobody attempted to bring out such a work in the light of the discovery of new and better MSS. and the great advance made in historical research in the period covered by the volumes. I was, therefore, agreeably surprised when Sir Richard Burn for the first time drew my attention to the present work at Oxford in July last. Its author, Prof. Hodivala, is no new worker in the field of historical research. Sir Richard has rightly praised him for his valuable contributions to "Mughul" Numismatics. As early as 1920, when Prof. Hodivala published his "Studies in Parsi History," he found "the materials for reconstructing the Mediaeval History of India distressingly meagre and inadequate." He, therefore, set himself the task of following up any hint, however insignificant or obscure, from all available contemporary and really authentic sources. No wonder that Prof. Hodivala should soon have discovered the many defects of Elliot and Dowson's work and he has now earned the gratitude of all students of Indology by his laborious and long-continued efforts to rectify these blemishes. The present work will be indispensable to all research workers in the Mediaeval History of India, though, as Sir Richard has pointed out, Prof. Hodivala would be the last person to insist that all his criticisms and suggestions are absolutely acceptable.

To offer any criticism on such a work would be to lay claim to an erudition which the limited knowledge of the present reviewer does not justify. I would, however, like to draw the attention of the author to one fact which has probably escaped his notice. Among other Persian chronicles, the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* mentions one *Raja Nandā* (see Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II, pp. 463-64, 467) who had slain the king of Kannauj and who was one of the more serious opponents of Māhmūd of Ghazni. All scholars are agreed that this prince was a *Candella*. But there was no such king of this name in the records of the dynasty. The nearest phonetic equivalent was the name *Gaṇḍa* and scholars have identified *Nandā* of the Persian chroniclers with *Gaṇḍa* of the inscriptions. From Cunningham to Haig this suggestion was never challenged. Nobody cared to see that the description of the king as given by the Persian authors does not at all fit in with what we know about *Gaṇḍa* from the records of the Hindu dynasty. The account of the Muslim authors only harmonize with the Rajput dynastic records if we take the opponent of Māhmūd to be Vidyādhara. What was my surprise when I found in a MS. of the *T'rikh-ul-Kamil* of Ibn ul-Athir the name of this opponent of the Ghaznavid given as *Bidā*. Knowing, as I did that abbreviations of the long names of *Candella* kings were very common (cf. *Vijayaśakti* = *Vija*, *Vijjā*; *Jayaśakti* = *Jejā*) during this period, I came to the conclusion that this Arabic chronicle of the 13th century has preserved the correct name which Nizāmuddīn and other late authors of Persian *T'warikhs* have corrupted (see my *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta University Press, Vol. I, 1931, pp. 604 ff.; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 665 ff.).

In conclusion, I beg to suggest that it is time that somebody should undertake to publish a revised edition of Elliot and Dowson's great work.

The Anthropological Society of Bombay: Jubilee Volume (1937).—Pp. ii + 292. Bombay. 1938.

The Anthropological Society of Bombay celebrated its Golden Jubilee on the 12th of January, 1937, and the present volume is a collection of essays published in order to commemorate that event.

The Volume contains the Address of welcome by the President and the Governor of Bombay's reply and the following essays: Who are the Descendants of the People of Mohen-jo Daro ? by Sir Patrick Cadell; Tree Worship in Mohen-jo Daro by Rev. Fr. H. Heras; The Origin of certain Pot-Forms by Harold Peake; Pebbled mounds by G. E. L. Carter; The Ethnographic Survey of India by R. E. Enthoven; The Oldest Implements of Man by Rev. Dr. W. Schmidt; A Leaf from the Cultural Anthropology of Orissa by Satindra Narayan Ray; Some Aspects of the Economic Life of the Bhoksas and Tharus of Nainital Tarai by Dr. D. N. Majumdar; The Functional Character of Baiga Mythology by Verrier Elwin; Physical Data from Kathiawar by Dr. G. S. Ghurye; "Vratas": Vow of Virgins among Hindus by G. S. Mehta; On the "Adonis Gardens" of Lower Bengal by Sarat Chandra Mitra; Sri-Vatsyayana: An Ethnological Study of India of 300 B.C. by M. K. Sett; Origin of Śālagrāma and Tulsī Worship by P. G. Shah, Caste in Travancore by L. A. Krishna Iyer; Social Bearings of the Hindu System of Marriage by Dr. P. H. Valavalkar, War and Peace: A Human Valuation by Dr. N. A. Thoothi.

From the list it is apparent that the essays cover a wide range of subjects ranging from Physical to Social Anthropology and Mythology. The essays are, naturally, not all of equal value; but some among them, like those of Mr. Peake or Mr. Elwin, deserve special mention. We also agree with Mr. Enthoven in his suggestion that an effort should be made to gather together in a single handy volume the published material on the cultural anthropology of India taken as a whole.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

Krishnamurti.—Issued by the Star Publishing Trust.

The book under review is an authentic report of seventeen talks given in 1936 by Krishnamurti. It covers a wide range of subjects, and purports to give a new emphasis to spiritual life, realisation and all that. There is much to commend to those who are interested in the deeper aspects of our life and existence. Surely it would go a long way to back up those who believe that the "I"-consciousness is an illusion, the result of ignorance which has to be eliminated altogether before the sense of the ultimate Truth can dawn upon spiritual aspirants.

But I regret to say that there is much that is provocative and controversial. Krishnamurti's attitude to tradition, and time-honoured disciplines, spiritual and otherwise, is just revolutionary. According to him, no discipline can help anyone in his spiritual life, in his effort to realise the Truth that is in him and in the universe; for a discipline can, in his opinion, create only habits, and contribute nothing to 'creative intuition' which is to be attained through discernment of ignorance. Aspirants, therefore, as he contends, must have to cast away all props—spiritual guides, scriptures, religions, their disciplines, and so on, inasmuch as these all make for stagnation. Doubtless, Krishnamurti could afford to be consistent if he could cease to give talks on matters religious and spiritual. Or perhaps he,

like many a great man, prefers to be inconsistent. But truth is hardly to be found in contradictions, though inconsistency may on occasion be regarded as an index to one's greatness. Strange to say that Krishnamurti, after having realised the futility of all systems, traditions, leadership and the rest of it all, takes upon himself the task of figuring in 'camps' and giving the lead to countless people who gather round him for light and guidance. Does he not then labour under the same defects as, according to him, vitiate the systems that have hitherto been developed? And it is clear enough that Krishnamurti is all for his own way of life and thought. He is entitled to his opinion. But why does he go out of his way to inveigh against the ways of long standing? In spite of valuable elements in his teachings, it seems that in his polemics against traditionists Krishnamurti carries out a good deal of what goes by the name of propaganda; for he himself is acting as a 'guru,' and preaching a well-defined cult, which are verily the functions because of which he looks askance at the religion and the traditional disciplines.

A. C. Das

Ourselfes

[I. *Indian Historical Records Commission*.—II. *Indian History Congress*.—III. *Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Inter-University Board*.—IV. *All India Educational Conference*.—V. *Extension Lectures by American Professor*.—VI. *Renomination of Fellows*.—VII. *Appointment of the Professor of Anthropology*.]

I. INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

The Sixteenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at the Darbhanga Library Hall of this University on the 13th and the 14th December, 1939. His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert, Governor of Bengal, inaugurated the proceedings and Sir Jadunath Sarkar presided. It was attended by scholars and representatives of Provincial Governments and Indian States.

One of the important recommendations of the Commission is a request to the Government of India that steps should be taken to secure copies of records relating to India, preserved in the India Office in London and at various places on the Continent including Holland, France and Portugal.

The Commission moved a resolution expressing sorrow at the deaths of its corresponding members, Sir Evan Cotton, Mr. Balasubramanian Pillai, Mr. T. R. Sesha Iyengar and Mr. Mesrov J. Sethi.

* * *

II. INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

The Third Session of the Indian History Congress was held in Calcutta from December 15 to December 17, 1939, at the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor and the University. Dr R. C. Mazumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, presided. The work of the Congress was divided into five sections presided over by eminent scholars: (1) *Archaic Section*—Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., D.Lit., of Benares Hindu University; (2) *Ancient Imperial Section*—Professor K. A. Nilkantha Shastri, M.A., of Madras University; (3) *Early Medieval*—Dr. N. Nazim, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), of the Archaeological Survey of India; (4) *Mughal*—Dr. Tarachand, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Principal, Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad; (5) *Modern*

Section—Professor C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., of Annamalai University. One hundred and forty-two papers in all were read at the different sections of the Congress.

One hundred and eighty-four delegates attended the third session from all over India. The session was inaugurated by His Excellency the Chancellor in the spacious pandal erected between the Senate House and the Asutosh Building. All the meetings, including a lantern lecture on Prehistoric India by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Director-General of Archaeology, were held in the University premises. A delegates' camp was set up in the Asutosh Building to provide accommodation for the visiting members of the Congress.

A Historical Exhibition was organised in connexion with the Congress and was housed at the Senate Hall in which many valuable inscriptions and records were displayed. The Exhibition was opened by the Hon. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. There was also a trip to the historical sites along the River Hughli.

The members of the Congress were entertained at dinners by Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Dr. N. N. Law, at lunch by the University of Calcutta, and at tea by Dr. S. C. Law at his Villa at Agarpara. A Steamer Party was organised by the Reception Committee of which the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor was the Chairman.

A Souvenir Volume on "Calcutta Past and Present" has been published by the University in connexion with this Congress. The proceedings of the Calcutta session are expected to be published shortly.

* * *

III. FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD

The Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Inter-University Board was held at Waltair on the 15th and the 16th December, 1939. Among the proposals laid before it for deliberation were the two following forwarded by our University, the first being suggested by Mr. B. M. Sen, and the second by Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri:—

1. Distribution of marks among the different subjects at the All-India Competitive Examinations, especially the I.C.S. and the Indian Audit and Accounts Service Examinations.

2. If a National Committee be set up to take part in the International Historical Congress, this University should have adequate

representation. As to point V, *viz.*, suggestion that Post-Graduate students should be compelled to make better use of at least one vacation, it may be pointed out that compulsion in such matters is hardly a practical proposition. It is, however, possible to offer prizes or similar awards to those amongst the students who can show a good record of useful or creative work during a vacation. Students should undoubtedly be encouraged to visit Research Institutions preferably during vacation.

As to point VIII, our University hardly has any research degree which may be termed "lower." If any such degree be instituted in other Universities, the successful recipient of the honour should be given facilities so that he may strive for the higher degree.

* * *

IV. ALL-INDIA EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

Professor Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Kt., M.A., D.LITT., F.B.A., represented our University at the Fifteenth Session of the All-India Educational Conference held at Lucknow during Christmas week, 1939.

* * *

V. EXTENSION LECTURES BY AMERICAN PROFESSOR

Professor Hotelling of Columbia University, U.S.A., will visit India during this winter in response to an invitation by the Indian Statistical Institute. Our University has decided to request him to deliver a course of lectures for the benefit of our students and scholars. The subject and the date of his lectures will be announced later through the medium of the daily papers.

* * *

VI. RENOMINATION OF FELLOWS

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to renominate Dr. Susilkumar Mukherjee, L.M.S., D.O. (Oxon.), D.O.M.S. (Lond.), F.R.C.S. (Edin.), F.S.M.F. (Bengal), and Dr. M. N. Bose, M.B., C.M. (Edin.), F.S.M.F. (Bengal), to be Ordinary Fellows of the University on the expiry of their term of office last November.

VII. APPOINTMENT OF THE PROFESSOR OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Objection was raised to the appointment of Mr. Kshitish Prasad Chattopadhyaya, M.Sc. (Cantab.), to the post of University Professor of Anthropology by Government on certain technical grounds. Accordingly the question was re-opened, and after a fresh deliberation, the appointment has been made once more in favour of Mr. Chattopadhyaya for a period of five years with effect from January 1, 1940. A recommendation has been made by the Syndicate to the Senate to this effect, and Government have been pleased to confirm the appointment.

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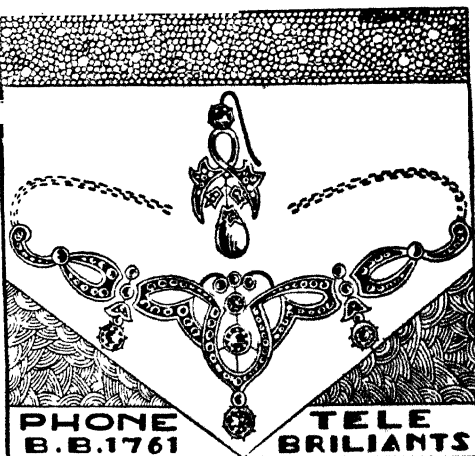
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THE SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RÂY

IV

CONTEMPORARY APPRECIATION OF SHAKESPEARE

ANOTHER puzzling problem which confronts us at the threshold of our Shakespearean study is: was the poet recognised and duly appreciated in his life time as the greatest poet that ever was born? Here again opinions seem to be divided,—let us see to what extent. D. Nichol Smith in his introduction to *The Shakespeare Criticism*¹ opines “There is abundant proof of the esteem in which Shakespeare was held in his own days. He was recognised as the greatest of them all. His writings were confessed to be such. As neither *Man*, nor *Muse*, can praise too much; and this was ‘all men’s suffrage.’ His contemporaries had never any doubt of his greatness.”

Sir Sidney Lee², one of the standard biographers of Shakespeare, observes:

“For several years his genius as dramatist and poet had been acknowledged by critics and play-goers alike, and his social and professional position had become considerable.”

¹ The World’s Classics Series—p. VI.

² Lee—*William Shakespeare*, p. 176

The other view also has very strong supporters. Munroe¹ who may be taken as the spokesman of this school of critics says—

“... The death of Shakespeare, * * * * * made no immediate difference to the poet's position in literature. When the “myriad-minded” Shakespeare, that sweet swan of Avon, died, no contemporary poet assailed the dull cold ear of death with metrical lamentations, and not then did Shakespeare's posthumous greatness begin.”

Sir Walter Raleigh² is of opinion “that the age was too near to see him truly. There was no one to make an idol of him while he lived.”

Shakespeare's dramatic career, from nonage to perfection, extends over barely a score of years, during which period a self-made man like our poet surely came in contact with quite a large number of persons of different positions. Fame and fortune's smiles must have brought to him sure signs of jealousy, rivalry, appreciation if not fanaticism and any serious student would certainly take the pains of searching contemporary records for ascertaining how far this immortal poet was appreciated in his life time. One must not forget that the age in which Shakespeare flourished, instead of being a critical one, was an age of literary creation and every Elizabethan gentleman cherished a soft corner of his heart for literary topics and showed a really genuine interest for literature. It has been pointed out in a previous issue³ that drama was not, in those days, recognised as literature and playwrights were accorded no very high position in the society. At the very outset of his career Shakespeare, therefore, tried his hands at poems which were favourably accepted by his contemporaries.

In the present article we should limit our attention to the contemporary appreciation of Shakespeare, the dramatist. Perhaps the dying and disgruntled Greene was the first to make a mention of Shakespeare as a play-wright in his *Groats-worth of Wit* (1592). Greene was after all a noted dramatist of that day and Shakespeare was just making his first entrance into the arena. Shakespeare was an actor at the beginning but soon took to write plays himself and Greene could not check himself to utter his venomous invective against the new comer in the field. Greene's reference is scrupulously anonymous but critics unanimously agree as to whom it relates. The following sentences give unmistakable clue as to Greene's objective of attack.

¹ Munroe—Introduction to *Shakespeare Allusion Book*, p. xiv.

² *Shakespeare*—(English men of letters series), p. 1.

³ This Journal—December, 1939 issue.

"Yes trust them not : for there is an vpstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his Tygers hart wrapt in a Players hyde, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blanke verse as the best of you : and beeing an absolute Iohannes fac totum is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-Scene in a countrey."

Henry Chettle who published this *Groats-worth of Wit* realised within a few months ¹ the positive injustice done to Shakespeare and came forward with the following public apology :—

"About three moneths since died M. Robert Greene, leauing many papers in sundry Booke sellers hands, among other his Groatsworth of wit, in which a letter written to diuers play-makers, is offensiue by one or two of them taken ; and because on the dead they cannot be auenged, they wilfully forge in their conceites a liuing Author : and after tossing it to and fro, no remedy, but it must light on me. How I haue all the time of my conuersing iu printing hindered the bitter inueying against schollers, it hath been very well knowne ; and how in that I dealt, I can sufficiently prooue. With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I neuer be : The other, whom at that time I did not so much spare, as since I wish I had, for that as I haue moderated the heate of liuing writers, and might haue vsde my owne discretion (especially in such a case) the Author beeing dead, that I did not, I am as sorry as if the original fault had beene my fault, because my selfe haue seene his demeanor no lesse ciuill than he exelent in the qualitie he professes : Besides, diuers of worship haue reported his uprightnes of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writting, that aprooues his Art.

It must be noted here that this also is without the name of Shakespeare. Chettle in 1603 ² refers to Shakespeare by name and complains of him in the following lines :

"Nor doth the siluer tonged Melicert,
Drop from his honied muse one sable teare
To mourne her death that graced his desert,
And to his laies open her Royall eare.
Shepherd, remember our Elizabeth,
And sing her Rape, done by that Tarquin, Death."

¹ *Groats-worth of Wit* was entered in the stationers register on 20th September and Chettles *Kind-Harts Dreame* was entered in the register on 8th December, both in 1592.

² *Englandes Mourning Garment*

Now why is it that Chettle who does not name Shakespeare in 1592 not only mentions him openly by name in 1603, but calls him 'silver-tongued Melicert?' Certainly this explains the fact that the new-comer of 1592 is at the zenith of his fame in 1603 and Chettle considers the Royal epitaph incomplete without a line from the 'silver-tongued' poet.

In 1594, even after the publication of Chettle's apology, R.B. (The identity of the author is still uncertain) in his *Greene's Funeralls* records as follows:—

"Greene, is the pleasing Object of an eie:
 Greene, please the eies of all that lookt vpon him.
 Greene, is the ground of euerie Painters die:
 Greene, gaue the ground, to all that wrote vpon him.
 Nay more the men, that so Eclipsst his fame:
 Purloynde his Plumes, can they deny the same?"

This passage if read along with the Greene reference already referred to, would surely prove that Greene and his friends all apprehended that Greene's fame might before long be eclipsed by Shakespeare and hence their complaints.

The earliest noteworthy and specific mention of Shakespeare as dramatic writer is in 1598 by Francis Meres (1565-1647), a Cambridge man and a school master at Wing, Rutland. His reference runs as follows:—

"A comparatiue discourse of our English Poets
 with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets.

... The English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeously inuested in rare ornaments and resplendent habiliments by Sir Philip Sidney, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare, Marlow and Chapman. ...

As the soule of Euphorbus was thought to liue in Pythagoras: so the sweete wittie soule of Ouid liues in mellifluous & hony-tongued Shakespeare, witnes his Venus and Adonis, his Luerece, his sugred Sonnets among his priuate friends, and &c.

As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines: so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for Comedy, witnes his Gentlemen of Verona, his Errors, his Loue labors lost, his Loue

labours wonne, his Midsummers night dreame, & his Merchant of Venice: for Tragedy his Richard the 2 Richard the 3. Henry the 4. King Iohn, Titus Andronicus and his Romeo and Iuliet.

As Epius Stolo said, that the Muses would speake with plautus tongue, if they would speak Latin: so I say that the Muses would speak with Shakespeares fine filed phrase, if they would speake English. ...

As Ouid saith of his wroke...as Horace saith of his...so say I seuerally of Sir Philip Sidneys, Spencers, Daniels, Draytons, Shakespeares, and Warners workes ;

Non Iouis ira, imbres. Mars, ferrum, flamma, senectus,
Hoc opus vnda, lues, turbo, venena ruent ...

As Pindarus, Anacreon and Callimachus among the Greekes ; and Horace and Catullus among the Latines are the best Lyrick Poets: so in this faculty the best among our Poets are Spencer (who excelleth in all kinds) Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Bretton.

These are our best for Tragedie, the Lorde Buckhurst, Doctor Leg of Cambridge, Doctor Edes of Oxforde, maister Edward Ferris, the Author of the Mirrour for Magistrates, Marlow, Peele, Watson, Kid, Shakespeare, Drayton, Chapman, Decker, and Beniamin Johnson. ...

The best for Comedy amongst us bee, Edward Earle of Oxforde, Doctor Gager of Oxforde, Maister Rowley once a rare Scholler of Learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, Maister Edwardes one of her Maiesties Chappell, eloquent and wittie John Lilly, Lodge, Gascoyne, Greene, Shakespeare, Thomas Nash, Thomas Heywood, Anthony Mundye our best plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathway, and Henry Chettle. ...

These are the most passionate among us to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of Loue, Henrie Howard Earle of Surrey, sir Thomas Wyat the elder, sir Francis Brian, sir Philip Sidney, sir Walter Rawley, sir Edward Dyer, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Whetstone, Gascoyne, Samuell Page sometimes fellowe of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, Churchyard, Bretton."

But Meres was a mere divine and a school master and his opinion did not count much with his contemporaries.

"The younger sort takes much delight in Shakespeare's Venus, & Adonis: But his Lucrece, & his tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of

Denmarke, have it in them, to please the wiser sort.”—Thus records Gabriel Harvey in a marginal note to his volume of Speghts Chaucer. The exact date of this entry is rather difficult to ascertain but the entry must be between 1598 and 1601. This indeed is a very high appreciation of Shakespeare which a widely-read sober man can bestow upon a contemporary dramatist and his master piece. In the same note Harvey suggests “Excellent matter of emulation for Spencer, Constable France, Watson, Daniel, Warner, Chapman, Siluester, Shakespeare and the rest of our flourishing metricians.” This sentence in the note evidently proves that Harvey liked Shakespeare's early poems as also his *Hamlet*, but he could not realise at that time the singular greatness of the poet.

John Weever, an antiquarian in 1599 referred to “Honie-tongued Shakespeare” and spoke of his “Romea-Richard and Caesar.”

Return from Parnasus, an anonymous production of c. 1602, pays glowing tribute to “Sweete Mr. Shakespeare.” The author boldly declares “Let this dulcified worlde esteeme of Spencer and Chancer, I’le worshippe sweet Mr. Shakespeare, and to honoure him will lay his venus and Adonis under my pillowe as we reade of one (I doe not well remember his name, but I am sure he was a king) slept with Homer under his bed’s heade.” Elsewhere the author speaks of the “Vniversity men who pen plaies well” but speaks assertively “why heres our fellow Shakespeare puts them all downe, I and Ben Jonson too.”

This shows that at least the author of the *Return from Parnasus* actually realised that Shakespeare was the greatest genius among the living poets of England but it cannot be regarded as representative. We do not actually know whether this opinion was at all critical or whether it was a mere passing remark uttered sportively.

In John Bodenham’s *Belvedere* (1600) we get the following list of the ‘Moderne and extant poets:’

John Marstone	Thomas Nashe
Christopher Marlowe	Thomas Kidde
Beniamin Johnson	George Peele
William Shakespeare	Robert Greene.

¹ *Return from Parnasus* IV. 1.

² *Return from Parnasus* IV. 3.

This list significantly proves that Bodenhams could not accept our poet as the greatest among his contemporaries.

In 1605 William Camden—the famous teacher of Ben Jonson observed :

“These may suffice for some Poeticall descriptions of our ancient Poets, if I would come to our time, what a world could I present to you out of Sir Philipp Sidney, Ed. Spencer, Samuel Daniel, Hugh Holland, Ben Johnson, Th. Campion, Mich. Drayton, George Chapman, Iohn Marston, William Shakespeare and other most pregnant witts of these our times, whom succeeding ages may iustly admire.”

This is, indeed, an appreciation of Shakespeare but the author fails to measure the full height of Shakespeare’s greatness !

Like Bodenhams and Camden, John Webster (1612), Drummond (c. 1614), Edmund Howes (1615), all name Shakespeare but along with a number of lesser poets. Thus Shakespeare was regarded as *one of the many in a group of successful dramatists*.

Ben Jonson referred to Shakespeare and his works several times before the publication of 1st folio. Some of them are sarcastical and anonymous which have been conjecturally taken to refer to Shakespeare. At times Jonson depreciated this one or that of Shakespeare’s plays—found fault with *Tales* and *Tempests*, with *Ieronimo* or *Andronicus*, but perhaps he was the only contemporary poet who could realise the real greatness of Shakespeare. In his *Conversations with William Drummond* of Hawthornden between December, 1618 and January, 1619 at Edinburgh, to which he undertook a pedestrian journey Jonson expressed the view that “Shakespeare wanted Arte.” This is indeed an honest opinion of a great classical scholar whose notion of Arte was certainly tinted by his erudite scholarship.

The real appreciation of Shakespeare began from the publication of the 1st folio in 1623, where Jonson gave the greatest of laudatory verses in memory of Shakespeare as yet unsurpassed in course of these 317 years :

“ Soule of the Age !

The Applause ! delight ! the wonder of our stage

My Shakespeare rise.

Again—

Triumph, my Britaine, thou hast one to shewe,

To whom all Scenes of Europe homage owe

He was not of an age, but for all time !

The canonisation of Shakespeare was thus set on foot by Jonson.

From these remarks of Jonson, seven years after our poet's death, people began to think that the petty dramatist who was popular no doubt with the theatre-going public had some intrinsic merit in what he wrote for the stage. In fact the reputation of Shakespeare began to grow after 1623, and the whole credit of making Shakespeare widely popular would certainly go to Heminge and Condell who not only published the complete works of Shakespeare but found out a real advocate of Shakespeare's greatness in Ben Jonson. Of course about 4 or 5 years earlier, some fraudulent publishers resolved to bring out a Shakespearian collection but surely they attempted to do so not out of reverence to our poet, but utterly from the principle of money-making. They could not realise the real merit of Shakespearian productions and bothered much about the 'sale proceeds' than about the permanency of Shakespeare's works. At the first sight it may be regarded as contradictory to what actual facts point out but one must not forget that in the past these 'rascally publishers' did not hesitate to thrust upon Shakespeare other man's work, no matter even if it come from the pen of a third or fourth rate poet. Sometimes they would take stenographic notes from a dramatic representation, would secure the services of a play-patcher and play-dresser and would build up a spurious book written by Shakespeare. This book would certainly sell well and their aim was fulfilled. How then could they understand as to what Shakespeare was? Popularity and permanency are not identical!

In his strictly private jottings not meant for publication Jonson records of Shakespeare "I loved the man almost to idolatry." This unmistakably points to the fact that Shakespeare's greatness was realised by Jonson. [*Timber or Discoveries*, pub. in 1641].

With the march of years the enthusiasm over Shakespeare's dramas gradually evaporated off and there were few votaries of Shakespeare after the civil wars and 1709 is the year of the publication of Shakespeare's first biography by Poet Laureate Nicholas Rowe, prefixed to his edition of Shakespeare.

The present writer has no intention, in the present article, to enter into the criticism of what is known today as Shakespeare myths nor does he propose to scrutinise each and every one of the references made by various persons after 1616. But to understand

the actual state of Shakespearean appreciation during the poet's lifetime one has to consider a few references made after his death. In 1640 L. Digges¹ who joined earlier in Shakespeare laudation along with Ben Jonson again spoke "of never dying Shakespeare." But in 1624 Lieutenant Hammond, a traveller at Stratford, makes the following passing remarks on Shakespeare:

"In that dayes trauell we came by Stratford vpon Auon, where in the Church in that Towne there are some Monuments which Church was built by Archbishop Stratford; Those worth obseruing and of which wee tooke notice of were these... A neat Monument of that famous English Poet, Mr. William Shakespeere; who was borne heere.

And one of an old Gentleman a Batchelor, Mr. Combe, vpon whose name, the sayd Poet, did merrily fann vp some witty, and facetious verses, which time would nott giue vs leaue to sacke vp."

This shows, indeed, that however much applauded by Jonson in 1623 Shakespeare's fame was dwindling down by 1634.

Thomas Plume—Archdeacon of Rochester in c 1657 writes thus of Shakespeare:

"He was a glovers son—Sir John Mennis saw once his old Father in his shop—a merry cheekd old man—that said—Will was a good Honest Fellow, but he durst have crackt a jeast with him at any time."

John Ward, who was vicar of Stratford, writes sometime in 1661-3 in the following lines:

"I have heard yt Mr. Shakespeare was a natural wit, without any art at all; hee frequented ye plays all his younger time, but in his elder days lived at Stratford: and supplied ye stage with 2 plays every year, and for yt had an allowance so large, yt hee spent att ye Rate of a 1,000l a year, as I have heard.

Remember to peruse Shakespeares plays, and bee versed in them, yt I may not bee ignorant in yt matter.....

Shakespear, Drayton, and Ben Jhonson, had a merry meeting, and itt seems drank too hard, for Shakespear died of a feavour there contracted....."

There is no good in multiplying the instances of such passing reference to the greatest of English poets whom one day Thomas

¹ Be sure, our Shake-Speare, thou const never dye. But crown'd with Lawrell, line eternally. Digges—From eighth preliminary leaf to the first folio.

Thorpe, the publisher of his sonnets in 1609, referred to as the Ever-living poet and whom Ben Jonson assured of homage from the whole of Europe.

No doubt then that among his contemporaries Shakespeare was a popular dramatist—nay a great one, but the actual magnitude of his greatness was unknown even to the successive generations. Could the English nation realise at the outset what Shakespeare actually produced, they certainly would not allow him to die unsung, if not “unhonoured.”

We cannot summarise this chapter better than in the words of Prof. Ward¹ who holds:

“Thus, the evidence which we possess on the subject tends to show that the reputation enjoyed by Shakespeare in his lifetime was limited to a more or less genial recognition of his merits on the part of a few patrons and on that of some of his literary contemporaries,—chiefly fellow dramatists,—and to what may be termed a general preference for his plays, as compared with those of other writers, on the part of the constituents of the theatrical public. But although this the theatrical public must have largely increased in London during the earlier half of his career, the attacks upon the stage recommenced towards the close of the century, and indeed the spirit which prompted them had never slept. The classes moved by this spirit were those upon whom more than upon any other the future of England depended, and to whose tastes and feelings the progress of a popular literature must always largely accommodate itself. In a word, the middle classes of the nation, wherever, as more especially in London, they were brought into contact with the stage, became more and more hostile towards it. The interest in dramatic literature could not but suffer accordingly and the advance of the appreciation of the merits of our greatest national dramatist be retarded.”

¹ A. W. Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 506-7.

PLOTINUS

A LINK BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

WENDELL THOMAS, S T.M., PH.D.

New York

IN the *Enneads* of Plotinus, as in the *Bhagavad Gita*, the life of the soul is a cycle of births according to individual merit. Plotinus agrees with Plato that a kind of memory lingers from one incarnation to another, expressed in the soul's "innate ideas." Men are of three kinds according to the particular element or faculty dominant in their past lives. The perverse man, like mob government, is dominated by his chaotic animal faculty, similar to *tamas-guna*. The commonplace man, like representative government, responds chiefly to his passionate human faculty, similar to *rajas-guna*. The virtuous man, like aristocratic government, listens to his divine rational faculty, similar to *sattva-guna*. But the worldly life of *samsara*, whether good or bad, is only appearance. If the virtuous man is to find salvation, he must go beyond good and evil ; he must withdraw from worldly interests completely. While the *Gita* recognizes caste regulations and other worldly duties, it insists that man's supreme duty is to save his soul by practising devotion to the unattached Self. In like manner Plotinus declares that in seeking salvation the soul is only seeking to recover its own lost identity in the Absolute.

THE *Bhukti* OF PLOTINUS

Plotinus sees three paths to the Absolute: the way of duty, similar to *karma-yoga* ; the way of knowledge, similar to *jnana-yoga*, but involving a more elaborate intellectual discipline ; and the way of emotional life, similar to *bhakti-yoga*. Since these ways follow one another, they are better termed three stages of the one way. Duty prepares the soul for the journey, knowledge guides it along the path, and loving-devotion leads it to the very presence of the King.

Following Plato and Aristotle, Plotinus holds that virtue is of two kinds: the lower, negative virtue of ethical purification, like *karma-yoga*; and the higher, positive virtue of intellectual possession, like

jnana-yoga. Loving-devotion is not a virtue at all, but the free activity of the soul above virtue. Ethical purification is of no value in itself. It functions as a preparatory discipline, removing the material obstacles to the enjoyment of intelligible good. Thus domestic, industrial, and political duties are to be performed not for the welfare of humanity, but for the health of the individual. But health likewise has no value of its own. It merely serves to prevent interruption of the soul's spiritual interests. The moral life is but a negative discipline, the handmaid of mystical longing. It unites the individual soul to the World Soul, but cannot take it up to the realm of Spirit. The political virtues, in the view of Plotinus, enable us to live with the world, but the intellectual virtues enable us to live without it.¹

As moral virtue unites the individual soul with the World Soul, intellectual virtue (the dialectical treatment of pure concepts of Being) carries the soul into the realm of Spirit.² But intellect cannot give the soul access to the Absolute, for it deals with distinctions, and distinctions cannot abide in the One. Here Plotinus agrees with the *Gita* that *samadhi*, or the mystic state, is the final stage of the soul's journey. Conscious contemplation of the Spiritual World passes into super-conscious realization of the Absolute. Mysticism must supplant logic. *Bhakti* must fulfil *jnana*. In ecstatic faith and love the soul becomes God.³

According to the *Bhagavad Gita*, it is God's grace that arouses the soul to love God. We love God because he first loved us. But Plotinus rejects the notion of God's love. The soul, indeed, should prepare herself to love God; but God cannot love the soul. For God is pure immateriality, which can suffer no emotion, no action, no thought. Here Plotinus maintains Aristotle's conception of God as an immaterial and transcendent goal.

THE WORLD

Since the human soul is essentially one with the Absolute, its ascent is only a recovery of its real and original position. But the descent of the soul and the production of the world from the Absolute

¹ See Thomas Taylor, *The Select Works of Plotinus*, pp. 3-7, *Ennead* 2. 2. 1-3.
² The same, pp. 14-13, *Ennead* 1.3.1-3.

See W. R. Inge, *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, pp. 129-130, *Ennead* 6. 7. 22 and following.

involves something strange and unreal. Self-sufficient, the One yet gives birth to something not itself. Ineffable reality becomes *elan vital* creating the world. The Source of Being deposits itself in Being, Being devolves into Becoming, and Becoming vanishes into Non-Being ! Plotinus is more interested in the soul's union with God than in God's creation of the world. Indeed, he is baffled by creation. When the Absolute is blessed without the world, why should it produce it? When the human soul has reached its goal in the Absolute, why should it leave this goal for the world? In other words, why should the Absolute send the soul down into distinct and material existence? Why should the world ever exist?

Plotinus is plainly perplexed over this problem raised by his own philosophical position. While maintaining that distinctions do not really exist, he is compelled to recognize that the world, or cosmos, must be explained. So he takes refuge in the principle of *emanation*. God is a river so full that it overflows its banks.⁴ He is the sun whose perpetual radiance surrounds it without leaving it. Whenever anything comes to perfection, it procreates. Protesting that all images are inadequate, the Graeco-Roman thinker strives to show how the One, without lessening itself and without either using or opposing any outside substance, yet produces a different and lesser nature. The world arises only when the Absolute somehow generates Spirit, and Spirit in turn generates the World Soul which creates the world.

MATTER

The realm of Being (including Spirit, the World Soul, and the World) is produced from the absolute One above it, and is snuffed out in the non-existent "Matter" below it. As the One is not Being but its Source, so Matter is not Being but its extinction. It is "Non-Being." The One, in its descending emanations, realizes every possible grade of Being. Each realm, while remaining itself, passes to the realm below it all the perfection it can possibly transmit from the One. Yet each perfection is also a lapse, for the good handed on to the realm below is always less than the good received from the realm above. Hence the decrease of perfection means the increase of imperfection, until the lowest realm is full of imperfection—that is,

⁴ See Thomas Taylor, *The Select Works of Plotinus*, p. 253-55, *Ennead* 5. 2. 1.

utterly imperfect and absolutely degraded. This lowest realm, which is strictly not a realm, is called Matter.

As the lapse of Being means both a transmission of perfection and an increase of imperfection, so is the descent of the soul both good and bad. On the one hand, it is good for the soul to come down, for it does so with the purpose of setting in order the realms below it. On the other hand, its descent is bad, for it is forced down by the grim wheel of destiny; or it shrinks back into individuality; or it becomes enamoured of things below it. With the soul, as with the world, the theory of emanation is one of contradiction and obscurity.

Following the tradition of Aristotle, Plotinus regards Matter as an eternal, underlying nature, a residence or receptacle for forms, the potentiality of all Being. Following a certain tradition in Plato, he considers it void of Being, and in want of good—in short, pure Non-Being and utter Evil. But he agrees with both Plato and Aristotle that Form and Matter are two separate and opposite realms.

GREEK DUALISM

Plotinus' metaphysics is a curious mixture of non-dualism and dualism. His non-dualism seems to come from the Orient. His dualism is a Greek inheritance from Plato and Aristotle, who saw an ultimate opposition between Form and Matter. Form is noble and active. Matter is ignoble and passive. Form is intelligible Being; Matter is unintelligible and Non-Being. Form is not the appearance of Matter. They are complementary and irreducible. To Plotinus, Form is Being, while God is Super-Being, above Form, and Matter is Non-Being, below Form. Being itself is thus torn with dualism. It is eternally an offspring of God, eternally a victim of Matter.

Such a philosophy can only spread confusion. It has baffled the West. Its ambiguity has penetrated theology both Catholic and Protestant, and made official religion a riddle. Its non-dualism, maintaining that the soul is essentially one with God, is perennially attractive. Its dualism, on the contrary, repels the modern man. It tells us to be ashamed of the body on the ground that body is quite external to soul. It tells us that only certain men, under certain unknown conditions, can realize God. It tells us that God cannot love, think, or act. It tells us, finally, that Matter, the foundation of the world and of human life, is utterly evil.

Such theoretical dualism is parallel to the practical dualism in ancient Greek society between the " noble " citizens and the " ignoble " slaves. The citizens, especially the aristocrats, are Form. The slaves are Matter. Since God is obviously manifested by such an unjust society, his revelation is confined to rare moments of ecstasy when the wretchedness of the world can be entirely forgotten.

If Plotinus could have extricated himself from inherited dualism, he could have played fair with the idea that God is the One—that is, the only principle by which the world is to be ultimately explained. He could have identified the One with Matter, just as *Advaita Vedanta* sees God as the material, as well as the efficient and final, cause of the world. Form, or the world of experience, would then be simply an appearance of the divine substance. When we realize God so conceived, we are inspired by a boundless love for all creation.

PLOTINUS AND JESUS

Through Plotinus non-dualism entered the West from the Orient. But it was obscured by Greek dualism. In the meantime, practical non-dualism had sprung up in Jesus of Nazareth, and was making its way westward. The Christian theologian Origen, living at the same time as Plotinus, and in the same city (Alexandria), was yet preaching God's love for the world. While Plotinus gave support to a dualistic culture staggering into senility, Origen was expressing a young faith surging forward to spiritual conquest. This faith came from Jesus, whose life and original teaching was virtually a manifestation of *advaita* philosophy.

Origen, unfortunately, was not a Sankara. If *advaita* was obscured by the Greek-bred Plotinus, the example and message of Jesus was likewise obscured by the Greek-bred Origen. But not so much, for the influence of Jesus was strong. Even the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy of the later creeds and church theologians could not quite blot out the non-dualistic meaning of the Nazarene carpenter. And biblical scholarship has now given us an historical Jesus who needs *advaita* philosophy to establish him firmly and properly in world culture. The most significant link between East and West will not be forged until the democratic Jesus is interpreted by *Advaita Vedanta*.

Jesus, not Plotinus, is the one through whom non-dualism made some impression on the West. To Jesus, the human soul is identical

with God not only in rare moments of ecstasy, but normally in every aspect of life, even the commonest. God is manifested most fully in the very activity in which man is manifested most fully, in performing powerful new works for the relief of misery and the control of the mind. Not as a man peculiarly subject to ecstatic seizure but as an eminently normal and typical man did Jesus declare, "I and the Father are one."⁵

To Jesus, the corporeal is no blot on the spiritual, but its necessary appearance. God eternally creates the world, blesses it, and gives it to man as a means of enjoyment. His loving care inspires its minutest part. "Are not two sparrows sold for a penny?" says Jesus, "Yet not one of them falls to the ground without your Father. Even the very hairs of your head are all numbered."⁶ The God of Jesus is not ashamed of his body, the world. With and through this body He loves, thinks, and works. Says Jesus, "As my Father has continued working till this hour, so I work too."⁷ God does not exclude evil; He embraces it, and continually seeks to overcome it. "Love your enemies," says Jesus, "and pray for them that persecute you, that you may be sons of your Father in Heaven; for He makes His sun rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and the unjust."⁸

Thus the Nazarene carpenter, in his own way, taught that God is the world's *sat-cit-anandam*, the world's substance, self, and radiant joy. Why does Jesus, unlike Plotinus, preach and practise the essentials of *Advaita Vedanta*? Why does Jesus succeed and Plotinus fail to teach a consistent and adequate doctrine? One reason, perhaps, is that civilization at the time of Jesus was somewhat better and more hopeful than at the time of Plotinus.

Early in the first century Rome was developing from a compact republic into a great empire, and expansion is always encouraging. From mere dependencies the provinces rose gradually to the dignity of integral parts of the realm. Instead of being subjected to the rapacity of irresponsible governors, they now enjoyed the benefit of a carefully adjusted system of provincial administration calculated to minimize the danger of misgovernment. Everywhere men felt themselves to be not

⁵ John, 10.30.

⁶ Matthew, 10. 29-30.

⁷ John, 5. 17.

⁸ Matthew, 5. 44-45.

mere natives of this or that land, but citizens of the world. By removing burdensome restrictions, the imperial city made trade easy, and opened up new markets for a great variety of products. In spite of the vice which had penetrated society and was fast sapping its vitality, a widespread ethical reformation was in progress.⁹ By the third century (the time of Plotinus), Roman administration had degenerated into a stupid bureaucracy, slavery was more brutal, the cultured races were dying off, and pagan literature had lost hope. Hence it was natural for Plotinus to regard the world as resting on a fundamentally evil Matter.

A second reason why Jesus rather than Plotinus is non-dualistic in faith and practice is that Jesus was a worker, a carpenter who came in contact with men of all sorts and tempers, while Plotinus was a man of leisure who seems to have lived, studied, and taught within a narrow circle of the idle rich who rested on the backs of a brutalized slave class. Jesus was born into a fiercely democratic nation as a member of the great class of sturdy labourers, "the people of the land." It was natural for him to see God's love manifested in the world and the common people, because he worked with the world and belonged to the common people.

A third reason for the difference between Jesus and Plotinus is intellectual tradition. The prophetic tradition of Jesus held this world to be actually or potentially the very kingdom of God, while the Platonic tradition of Plotinus regarded this world merely as a dim and shadowy reflection of "fixed and eternal" ideas. On this account Plotinus sought to escape from the world, while Jesus sought to save it for God's benevolent rule.

Thus do civilization, social class, and intellectual tradition help to explain why Jesus, more than Plotinus, spread the light of non-dualism in the Western world. They do not fully explain. In particular, they do not show why Jesus, and none other who faced the same civilization, belonged to the same class, and followed the same tradition as he, can meet the spiritual needs of the modern man. The final reason for the power of Jesus is his unique personality. It is remarkable how often the evangelists refer to their master's glance.¹⁰ Certainly Jesus possessed radiant health, and spoke as one with authority.¹¹ Plotinus,

⁹ See A. G. McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, pp. 153-56.

¹⁰ See *Mark*, 3. 5; 8.38; 10.21, and elsewhere.

¹¹ See *Mark*, 6.2; *Matthew*, 7.29.

as we know from Porphyry's comments, was bashful, nervous, and epileptic. He was not equal to the demands of normal physical and social life. Jesus was more than equal.

A great man must be representative. He sums up his people, his age. Napoleon was an instrument of the rebellious, expansive spirit of middle-class France. Goethe was great because he was so typically German. The personality of a religious genius is more than a peculiar combination of physical traits ; it expresses the community mind. The retiring Plotinus defended a retiring culture, a community suffering from "failure of nerve." The vigorous Jesus spoke for a vigorous culture, for a community of robust toilers who kept the world sane by their faith and love.

CAN CRIME BE CURED ?

AN IDEALISTIC VIEW OF PUNISHMENT

CHUNILAL MITRA, M.A.

[Introduction; Definition of Crime; Causes of it; Capital Punishment; Theories of Punishment; Basic question; Authorities of Punishment; Summary of the above discussion; New venue—The virtue; Plato cited; Forgiveness and Forgetfulness; Bradley cited; Cardinal Proposition supported and elicited; Concluding remarks; Further annotations; Gist of the arguments.]

IN the case of any ordinary disease it is the immediate and unavoidable business of a doctor to diagnose its causes and then to serve a prescription. In the case of such a disease as crime, which is no more physiological than mind is physical, we may try to diagnose the exact causes of crime. But the difficulty which we may be confronted with is that in the latter case we may not have any prescription that may cure the disease. So, the reader should not find fault with the writer in this downright failure when the best physicians of our time fail to cure even a simple disease, and inspite of the best medicine available the patient dies a miserable death in no time.

Let us begin with the definition of crime. But in this case, as elsewhere, opinions of different men differ. And in the extant definitions none has any strict conformity to Logic, *viz.*, *per genus et differentium*. Still the existing definitions do work. The legal definition of a crime is "Any action by an individual in contravention of a law." It may be the omission of an act commanded or the commission of an act forbidden. According to the legal standard then, what was not a crime yesterday may be so to-day by the enactment of new laws. Here the maxim of the Romans is well applied: "Without law there is no crime." But we object to conform to the legal definition, because the legal code gives a negative statement of virtue and makes no one virtuous. What is prosecuted is the 'violation of the prohibition.' And it is the concern of all the political institutions to take note of these violations and consequently the system law deals with is a system of 'Nots' and 'Don'ts'! But a system of 'Nots' does not sustain life. It, on the contrary, saps the vital juice and eats into the life-vigour. Moral law should always be of the positive character and the

evolution of all injunctions governing our conduct should be from the "Thou shalt not" of the old Testament to the "Thou shalt" of the New. Consequently, a sociological definition is forwarded: "An act to be criminal must be harmful to the society." But as the end of all societies is not alike, crime is "an act which is *believed to be* socially harmful by a group of people which has the power to enforce its beliefs." Thus our sociological code is a system of 'ought-to-be-so' ! But 'ought-to-be-so' is no positive state. *One ought to strive-to-be-so*. And in so far this striving is an unending process we cannot call one a criminal all on a sudden and at a single violation. Again, *prima facie* it is a contradictory thing to say that man being essentially a social being does things unsocial, being inherently moral, does acts immoral, and having the prerogative of being self-legislative, does things illegal. But let us take the definitions of crime to be true and let crime be granted. The next question is: What makes a man commit a crime? That is, what are the factors that go to make a man a criminal ?

To formulate the list crime depends, at first, on the physical environment and depends much on the geographical structure of a land. For instance, it is calculated by Lombrose that rape was more common in the level than in the mountains and hills. There is an intimate relation between climate and crime. The latter is found in abundance in warm climate. Again, criminality much depends on seasons. It is said that crime against the persons are more numerous in summer than in winter, while crime against property are more numerous in winter than in summer. Ferriers' study on crime in its relation to temperature based upon French statistics from 1825 to 1878 reveals the fact that infanticide holds first in the months of January, February, March and April; homicides and assault reach maximum in July. There is a concomitant relation between weather and criminality. "As a corollary," says Dexter, "misconduct is the result of an excess of reserve not directed to some useful purpose." This much is for the environmental physical factor. These causes are more a concern of the criminologist than of any one else. But as the investigation of the causes of crime has a direct bearing in our subject-matter we cannot help enumerating a few of them.

Physical characteristic of the individuals is an important factor in making up a criminal. It includes physical abnormalities and influence of ductless glands. These two comprise the *physical factor* broadly. So in the genesis of the criminal's conduct weight must be given to this

aspect, and though again it varies with age, sex, type of crime, and frequency of conviction, it must be reckoned with in many cases. Both in the treatment of the offender and in a programme of prevention attention must be given to this factor. *Mental factor* is also a dominating one. It may include feeble-mindedness, insanity, psychic constitutional inferiority, epilepsy and other mental defects. And though opinions differ, *heredity* is also a factor. Some say crime as such cannot be inherited and crime is a social phenomenon produced by a combination of the bodily and mental characterisation and the environment acting upon that responding personality. But a part of that personality is the result of biological characteristics inherited from ancestors. It cannot be gainsaid that *economic condition* is also a potent factor. Poverty and delinquency, economic distress, capitalistic organisation, business, labour problem and unemployment—all these act and react upon the criminal. Last of all, though not the least important, are the *social factors*. Primary importance here are the home, playground and the schools. Secondly, the community, customs, beliefs, class-hatred, religious courts, prisons and so on. Each of these plays an important part in the making up of a criminal.

All the above factors may be subsumed up into—the man *himself* and *his environment*, or more shortly, *the nature and nurture of an individual*. It is of momentous importance now to investigate the measures for the prevention of crime. And the remedy to be prescribed is no easy job when a person's being criminal depends on so many factors. Again, were he finally disposed of when he goes to prison, it would be of less public concern how we treat the criminal. But if he is hardened by his experience in prison instead of being socialised, he is a greater menace to property and person than before. So, *we should be concerned particularly with what is done to the criminal in prison*. It is of perennial interest to society how the criminal is treated. In this respect Penology should be of use to those who are concerned with the welfare of society. But Penology as dealing with the 'criminal-in-prison' starts with the supposition that the unavoidable lot of a criminal is to be imprisoned under a long or short sentence. Hence it is unable to take an unprejudiced view of the case and the question in its fundamentals. We propose to proceed without any such assumption and deal with the question from the beginning. Our first question therefore is: Need a criminal be punished at all? From time immemorial throughout the history of human race punishments were

either of the form of retaliation, eradication of infectious criminal, banishment, physical mutilation like hands cut-off, tongue torn-out, emasculation, mutilation of all sorts, cutting-off of legs, punishment by curses and public ridicule, etc. The form of capital punishment which is still in vogue in different parts of the civilised world at present has a long evolutionary history. It was of various forms, viz., beating, beheading, burning, cutting to pieces, crucifixion, drowning, destruction by the wild beast, hanging, flogging to death, strangulating and smothering. Other methods of execution have been used in different countries varying with the people and the time. After the invention of the gun-powder shooting the criminal became the method of military execution. And ever since the foundation of capital punishment arguments have been forwarded by two opposite sections for and against it. But as we have presumed to deal with the rear rank our question is: *Can crime be cured ? and is punishment of any description the only medicine of its cure ?*

Hardly anyone thinks himself a criminal and if he happens to be so, he defies the world to be treated as a patient to be cured. Crime is obviously not a pathological disease to be cured. Hence we at once dispense with the two terms of our subject-matter. We substitute 'offender' for 'criminal' and we are to 'treat' and behave with the criminal rather than 'cure' him. Offender is a more modified term applicable to a misdoer.

Granting a person's being an offender in this sense the vital question is: What sort of punishment should be meted out to an offender ? The theories of punishment are retributive, deterrent and reformative. But 'Tit for tat, blow for blow' theory of punishment is long while obsolete. The simple reason is that an eye for an eye or a tooth for a tooth does not bring an eye or a tooth to the person offended. Another eye in possession really does not restore the lost eye. On the contrary, two eyes are lost in the sequel. The theory that you are punished "not because sheep is stolen but that sheep may not be stolen further" is a theory which makes a man a means to an end. Hence this theory is to be discarded. Man cannot be considered as a household article to be used for the execution of an end which is the society. For, if the society is an end for the good of which an offender is to be punished, the offender should be considered also an end. And if the latter be a means, society would also be a means. Thus, *in the absence of an end-in-itself an "ultimate good*

for its own sake " this deterrent theory of punishment is lost on its own ground. The only extant theory of punishment possible in our society is the retributive theory in its modified form; i.e., the misdoer should be punished not simply having in view the offence '*in abstracto*' but also with reference to the circumstance that led him to do that. And the punishment will vary with the gravity of the offence and circumstances. That is, punishment would be less severe if the offence would be less grave, and so on. But even if it is accepted it is so difficult to have the full context of an offence that the punishment in a modified retributive basis defies all soundness of justice. For, the causes which make one to do the wrong instead of the right will challenge any court of judicature to furnish one with a sentence appropriate in a particular case.

On ultimate analysis the question resolves into: Can offence be remedied at all? And is punishment at all justifiable? It is no longer a question of degree but of kind—not of more or less punishment but of punishment or no-punishment. The second half of the question is: Who is authorised to punish? And is he an ultimate authority? Is the law on which punishment is based just law? It is said that law represents from age to age the code of the dominant ruling class slowly accumulated and slowly modified but always administered by the ruling class. And another section of people support this only because they get at least the jackal's share though not the lion's one. The object of their special condemnation is the thief—not the rich thief, for he is already in possession and therefore, respectable, but the poor thief! Why so? Because we have maintained material gain or possession being the ideal of society the inevitable consequence of it would be that the judge who pronounces sentence on the prisoner now will be judged by the prisoner who, in his turn, will pronounce sentence on the judge. In the punishment theory and with reference to law we have no way out of these difficulties. When chance would come for the criminals to make laws they would punish the punisher to-morrow and in that case the " Accepted of one age would be the Criminal of the next," and then it would be no less sad a spectacle than the previous one, viz., the judge in the next generation will be punished by the criminal of the present one. Mr. Havelock Ellis in his " Criminal " says: Our law is still in so semi-barbaric a condition that the grave interests of society and of the individual are made to hinge on a problem which must often be insoluble. Thus, if law stands

out to be such then one section may punish and the other may bring censure on the same ground.

In the Code of Manu it is said that the fool who is biased somehow and is attracted to some one cannot be able to sentence or pass judgment on any one without the help of an authoritative person (Āptapurūṣa) and without education and sufficient training. On the contrary, he who is pure-hearted and truthful, who is well-versed in all the śāstras, who is an intelligent assistant to the best personalities and who has good companion is entitled to pass just judgment (Chap. VII, Śloka 30 & 31). The reference to the Āptapūruṣa seems to imply that it is on revelation that Manu gives emphasis, which present-day statesmen discard altogether. But there it is also mentioned that punishment must be given with reference to and in consideration of the time, place, person and offence itself, and the legal Code of Manu is too cautious to assert that *sentence must not be passed on him who is not the real culprit. The innocent must be exempted from any sort of punishment* (Ch. VIII, 128-129). Again Manu is too explicit and unequivocal in describing the rate of punishment to be inflicted on persons of different status. For the same offence a man of higher qualities, rank and refinement should be punished more severely than a man of lower quality, of low education and culture. It is enacted in Manu that, for the same offence where an ordinary layman is sentenced to pay a fine of one pice the king will be sentenced to pay one thousand pice. The expression is revolutionary, and just the reverse is the order prevalent in our society. Manu argues that the king and the king-like should be punished in a measure thousand times more than the ordinary men. Accordingly the ministers (Dewāns) should be punished eight hundred times less than the king. The Brahmin should be punished 64, 100 or 180 times proportionately to their superiority in education and reputation as compared with an ordinary man. (Ch. VIII, 36, 38). In this case in strict conformity with the Code of Manu we cannot conceive the plight of our higher and superior rank people if 'for four annas an ordinary man, was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment, a fine of rupees fifty and in default an additional term of imprisonment for six months. Over and above this, he will have to undergo a hard labour under Police custody for three years after release.' On the whole it amounts to that the offender was sentenced to five years and six months' rigorous imprisonment for an offence of four annas worth

of pocket-picking.' (The case cited here is taken from a daily newspaper published towards the end of April, 1937.) But to our mind this is no remedy of the offence nor a cure of the disease (if pocket-picking turns to be a disease with the said man). *Again, if the treatment in prison life induces one to commit pocket-picking once again, if any severance undergone within the iron-bars and stone-walls be an incentive to commit theft, adultery and the like, the punishment-theory with whatever ulterior object—deterrent or reformative—is lost without a single vote in its favour.*

The essential enquiry as to crime and its cure has been rewarded with hardly any success. At the fag-end of our discussion we have reached a very unpleasant conclusion. Unpleasant but unavoidable. We were in search of a remedy for the offence and we traversed a long course, and evidently a wrong one, through punishment. It contributes no good to the society nor to the offender himself. The simple reason is that no act of Parliament can make him good. *In fact, he cannot be made but must himself be.* Virtue cannot be communicated. It is a question—not of making but of becoming.

Discussing the problem whether virtue can be taught Plato forwards a disjunctive: 'It can either be taught or is inborn in man.' If it can be taught it can no longer be an original possession of man. If it be an original possession of man it can no longer be taught. But Plato says that it can be taught on the ground that its teachability does not forfeit its originality. For teaching, according to him, is the midwifery of cognition. "Learning is the apprehension of inborn knowledge, the anamnesis." Virtue can be taught only because it is an innate possession of man. Hence, making good (which legal authority claims to make) depends on being good. *So punishment from without is no solution of the wicked and the evil-doer.*

Crime cannot be cured by punishment and we have proved that punishment does not solve the problem of the criminal. At the same time the fact of crime cannot be denied. What then, is the way out? Is 'Forgive and forget' the real remedy? Not at all. For punishment and forgiveness are inseparable terms. "Every condemnation is a forgiveness in the sense that it is an invitation, an aid to redemption and every pardon in the same way is condemnation," says Croce. They are as implicit in each other as negation is implicit in affirmation, and *vice versa*. True forgiveness must come from people who know when they have been wronged. In fact,

punishment, forgiveness and forgetfulness are controvertible terms. The offender cannot be pardoned, nor can he be forgotten, in the same sense as withdrawing one's word, proposal or promise. For, the action once done, becomes a part and parcel of the reality and can never be undone. Thus the offender is neither cured, nor punished, nor pardoned. The result is no improvement. The arguments so far have merely touched the fringe of the question. We are to begin our enquiries anew.

The criminal is never to be punished, nor to be pardoned. Not to be punished because no legalised authority is there to punish and because with reference to the law on the basis of which the offender is to be punished it may be a law not universally applicable. Not to be pardoned because, excuse will mean corruption in society and will add indulgence to misdoing. Again, why this cruel law is for a section of people or a single person and why should he or they abide by a law which is not to be applied to all people without exception ? When all wrong-doers and law-breakers are not punished, why should a few be punished ? In our society we see that the penalty of a law-breaker on a small scale is prison and that of a trivial wickedness, social ostracism. " But," asks Joad (C. E. M.), " what of law-breaking on a large scale and a wickedness powerful enough to flout the public opinion to which others succumb ? " " For example," continues the same writer, " the man who steals a leg of mutton goes to prison for a month, but the Captain of an Industry who is grown rich on the profits stolen from his workmen gets a knighthood. The man who has murdered his wife who has annoyed him *gets hanged for his pain* and the man who kills his fellowmen is denounced as a Cannibal ; but the great general who plans the death of a vast multitude whom he has never seen, with whom he has never exchanged a cross-word and whom he does not require for purposes of sustenance is held as the saviour of his country." Then, the law which confers titles on some one and punishment on others, and for the same reason, is a law which is lawless. It makes *Morality the interest of the stronger and the rebel is the patriot who fails while patriot is the rebel who prevails*. If it is argued that the law is made on the ' general will of the people ' it is to be said that the proposition is a downright falsehood. For in the days of stock-taking and cash-closing in the hands of any auditor the signal fact will be revealed that surely some are out of this ' general ' ! And even if the proposition

'law is the general will' be retained the law as law loses all its force and becomes obsolete. For if it be also the offender's will to do something it is no use saying that law *enforces* punishment. If it is argued that the particular law enforces punishment on its *own* account it also loses its ground simply because it then makes ethical and legal code individual and subjective. And "if ethics is everyone's preserve and is like a hat which has lost its shape because everybody wears it, if mother's instruction to her children of naughtiness is her own inconvenience, that of a priest is the disobedience to the written word believed to be divinely inspired and that of the State is going astray to the established law, then *it contributes to the confusion that ethics is a pursuit in which every one is an expert*" (Future of Morals, Joad). You have your moral code and I have mine. Then let not one encroach upon other's territory. Consequently, no section is entitled to punish a single man from this respect even.

Mr. Bradley, a post and a right-hand Hegelian, prescribes punishment for the individual but he is loth to prescribe a little of it for the society and the State. In his chaste, beautiful and philosophical language he says that crime is a negation of the social order and punishment is a second negation of that negation, and consequently, it is a restoration to social equilibrium. And elsewhere he makes an equation between the individual and the society. But in consonance with his own saying it comes to be that, if crime is a negation of social order it is also society's negation of the social order, and if punishment is at all a suggested remedy it should be meted out to the society as well. But Bradley simply ignores this other side of the shield. He simply forgets the ratio he himself has drawn. And he pleads for responsibility. But we substitute 'reaction' for responsibility, that is, every individual who commits a dissonant act in the society he belongs to, necessarily provokes a reaction. And of this reaction Mr. Smith (M. Hamblin) in his "Psychology of the Criminal" says that "it is not necessary that this reaction of society should for ever take the form known as punishment." Even of this responsibility Prof. A. Hamon in his 'La Responsabilité' says that 'Responsibility' and 'Penalty' lead to an apparent contradiction, and it would be much better if we finally abandon them.

In support of our general thesis that punishment is no cure for crime we may refer to some authors and may thus end our essay. It

is certainly possible, by means of severity, to check many of the outward manifestations of rebellion. "But the experience of ages" says Smith, "has proved that this course is futile." Much of our delinquency is due to the pressure of society and for this society will be the responsible agent. The process will be unpleasant for some but this is an unavoidable process. James Seth suggests that prisons should be superseded by hospitals and asylums, and Smith shakes hands with Seth when the former says that "They (criminals) should be treated under hospital conditions and the idea of prison should be kept out of sight." These people have advanced up to the door of hospital, but we suggest that they should go a step further, *i.e.*, do away with the hospitals even and direct the impulse of a criminal (to use our old vocabulary) to a different channel, wherein his action, far from contrary and injurious to, would be in harmony with and conducive to social order. The author of the "Psychology of the Criminal" feels that the ideal plan is that of 'full examination before trial.' Yet he realises that it will take many years to reach our final goal in this respect. Agreeing with the second half of his assertion we may say that undoubtedly it will take a long period to take society out of crime only by shifting the activity and impulse of wrong doing to another direction. Punishment will and does check crime to a certain extent, but it will never transform the delinquent population into honest citizens, for the simple reason that *it (punishment) commonly strikes, at the full-fledged criminal and not at the causes which have made him so.* Again, economic well-being, however widely diffused, will not extinguish crime. Furthermore, if a convicted man is as unfit for the social life at the expiration of his sentence as he was at the commencement of it, to our mind the prison hitherto has accomplished half its work and punishment as a remedy has lost its character as a remedy.

In "Crime and its Causes" Mr. Morrison (S. Douglas) indicates that "what is the use of punishing a delinquent for offences against the law if the moment his sentence is completed he is sent back again into the surroundings which led to his fall?" Thus, so long as his surroundings are the same his acts will be the same unless his mind has passed through a revolution during detention in jail. Here we plead for the improvement of the society and our mode of living. Mr. Carpenter in opening his Essay "The

Defence of Criminal " observes : " Is he (criminal) really harmful to society ? Is he more harmful than the mild old gentleman in the wig who pronounces sentence upon him ? That is the question."

Our provisional conclusion is : We cannot punish the offender *qua* offender. The exact quantity of punishment due to him should be distributed among his fellowmen, his parents and among each and everyone of the state he belongs to. So that in the method of making him good the entire environment is to be made good, beginning from his nearest being and family to the entire mass of population of which he is a unit. It seems to be unpracticable. But it is not impossible, and the task is not an easy one. *It is not making the criminal good but crime obsolete and naught.* The subject gives us no solution. To our mind, *admission of crime lends no admission to its solution.* For this too short a thesis we have talked so much and our apology for this is, that we could not help talking.

Our final thesis stands thus : We want a thorough change of outlook in society, in life and in living, when all theories of crime and punishment will collapse and the entire superstructure of jurisprudence will crumble into nothingness only to register its utter hollowness. The entire falsity of our problem itself lies with the presupposition and postulate. For regarding crime punishment is not at all the cure. And " granting crime what is the way out ? " is a further foolish question asked by hundreds of men for hundreds of years together. But never a whisper came how can we do away with crime itself.

Perhaps the attempt was made some four thousand years back in the life of Lord Krishna and in an effective way. His Brindaban is nothing short of a model village or society of an ideal state of affairs. Everything was there of a divinely human character. But the dazzles of modern civilization have simply eclipsed that noble idea. We cherish the pious intention of re-establishing that Brindaban in this land of ours once again. In fact, if India at all claims a cultural heritage and a long standing tradition of her own she can render positive contribution to the world cultural stock in this one aspect among many, *viz.*, in its revival of that blissful state where crime would become a cypher. It is not allowing ourselves to be licentious nor is it living in wild ideas. Such a thing was historically actualised somewhere in the old days, and a resurrection of it is not an insane hope.

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Incidentally and last of all, though not the least, I may note one thing that all through I have worked out a single idea. It is not so much the denial of crime as that of punishment and that, the central idea I have in view has its affinity with the central idea of the one-Act play of Mckinnel's, 'The Bishop's Candlestick.' The problem raised in the drama is whether a criminal mind generated by years of shame and suffering, is capable of being reformed, and whether penal servitude stands to produce a most inhuman result in degrading a prisoner morally and confirming in the prisoner his criminal instinct. The writer of the said drama has painted a vivid picture of the savagery and brutality of life in a prison ship and has drawn a two-fold conclusion. Firstly, instead of reforming the convict penal servitude doomed him to a life of perpetual crime. And, secondly, when the criminal was released all doors were shut to him—he was treated as a pariah. From the mouth of the prisoner it was told that even in hell (*i.e.*, in prison) he was fed, but outside it he had either to steal or to starve. Whence the play finally showed that *the prison system does more harm than good, and the author condemns the retributive theory of punishment.* The counter-half of the play is that *a criminal can be reformed by kindness and sympathy, by humane treatment, by an appeal to his better instincts—to the Man not yet dead in him.*

I may further note that this single idea was worked out by Victor Hugo in his immortal production 'Les Miserables' and particularly through the life of Jean Valjin. Here the man had the most human, attractive and fine character with a capacity for almost limitless self-sacrifice; but forced by the pressure of circumstances to adopt a life of crime. All through *Hugo was concerned with the goodness of the individual and the cruelty of organised society. Our plea, however, is for the goodness of both the individual and society. We want a revaluation of the values of most of the social currents.* Or, as the late Swami Vivekananda used to tell us "Our life-blood is spirituality. If it flows clear, if it flows strong, pure and vigorous, everything is right; political, social and other material defects even the poverty of the land will be cured if that blood is pure" (Vol. III, p. 288). And with reference to any culprits or criminals of our society we echo with the said Swamiji once again: "Take man where he stands and from thence give him a lift" (Vol. II, p. 381 or "Swami Vivekananda on India and Her Problems" compiled by Swami Nirvedananda).

A GLOSSARY OF THE WHOLE THING.—In my treatment of the subject I have traversed a long course in diagnosing the causes of crime, which enquiry simply baffles me. It defies any strict diagnosis, and consequently any prescription for recovery. In the study of the criminal's life I have referred to the study of the biology of crime and with it the Anatomical, Physiological and Psychological nature of a criminal, and this study also lands me in confusion. Taking for granted the diagnosis true, and crime a fact, I have tried to ameliorate crime through punishment but this path ultimately proved to be thorny and faced me with a downright failure. Law played a prominent part in tackling the problem but had to turn back shamefully, whence the conclusion is drawn evidently that punishment is no cure for crime. On the contrary, forgiveness and forgetfulness are denied, because admission of crime admits of no amelioration, far less abolition. The paper finally appeals for a negation and neutralisation of crime itself, and suggests an entire revision or rather cancellation of the terms 'crime,' 'punishment' and the like.

That we should "abhor the crime and not hate the criminal" is a further misleading expression like the present one. If by violating the so-called law one obeys a higher law the man is not to be regarded as a criminal. Again, in negating the social equilibrium the man may establish another equilibrium elsewhere and in that case far from being a menace the criminal becomes the harbinger and saviour of the equilibrium. The term 'criminal' sinks and with it 'punishment' evaporates. No crime, no punishment is the result.

Though it is a denial of punishment, it is not on the contrary, a defence of crime. The paper nowhere says of opening the prison gates. It is not any statistic showing whether or how far the number of criminals has increased or decreased with reference to a particular country. The approach to the problem is not through any traditional ethics nor is it merely an appeal to passions and sentiments. The propagation made in the paper is not due to an obsession of socialism or any other 'isms.' It is a faithful and honest attempt in putting the problem and making a solution thereof in a way I am fully convinced of. In fact, the paper is more suggestive than constructive, but of its suggestion it is conclusive.

A WORD OF RECOGNITION.—For all that is sound, genuine, original and consistent in the essay I owe to Swami Purusottamananda Abadhut of the Naranarayan Ashram (8A, Rashbehary Avenue) from

whom I have received the impetus, the nucleus and the mental setting in this vital issue ; for anything obscure, false and inconsistent that creeps in it I am responsible and myself is to be blamed. Though my voice is too faint and attempt too meagre, my close acquaintance with the said organisation for the last six years has permitted me to voice one of its principles—an infinitesimal particle of that grand plan and programme in these few lines.

THE GREAT ARISTOTLE

RAMESH CHANDRA GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

SINCE the early days of the Renaissance, scholars and statesmen, in spite of their hopes for a golden millennium have persistently cried: "Back to Aristotle" ! This is no paradox. As years roll by, this grand critic-philosopher of ancient Greece stands out more and more in his pristine halo of fathomless wisdom, commonsense realism and matchless reserve. Born at Stagira in 384 B.C. Aristotle, son of Nicomachus, the Court Physician of Amyntas III of Macedon, was greatly influenced in the early days of his life, by the biological and medical researches of his father, and the atomistic philosophy of Democritus. At seventeen, he went to Athens, and sat at the feet of Plato. After the latter's death in 347 B.C., he went to Hermias, a former Academician, but then ruler of Assos in Asia Minor. There he fell in love with his host's daughter, Pythias, whom he married very soon. Subsequently, he moved to Lesbos to study marine fauna, but some time after, he was invited by Philip of Macedon to be the tutor of his son Alexander. Philip died in 334 B.C. When Alexander ascended the throne, the royal tutor returned to Athens and started the Lyceum—a peripatetic school of his own in contrast to Plato's Academy. In 323 B.C., on Alexander's death, and as a result of Demosthenes' revolutionary speeches, anti-Macedonian feeling ran high at Athens. Aristotle, fearing the fate of Socrates, fled to Chalcis, where he died a year later.

In the horizon of scholarship there is no brighter luminary than the Stagirite. His work is almost universal in range, comprising Logic, Rhetoric, Poetry, Physics, Metaphysics, Biology, Ethics and Politics. His style is bad, crooked, halting, not at all comparable with the charming flourish of Plato. But, though he was not the "*meilleur ecrivain*," he is undoubtedly "*l'homme de plus dignes*." He started with Plato's theory of Ideas, but made a sharp departure from his master, very soon. He began to believe that form and matter were inseparably interrelated. Matter in itself is an unqualified stuff; it is form that gives it a meaning. But in Nature, there is no such distinction, for Nature was to Aristotle something moving and

evolving—something primitive which by its inner force, its “*elan vital*,” was every day transforming itself towards its goal. Abstracted form is static, while Nature is dynamic. Here we find Aristotle’s real self. He is a biologist, not a mathematician ; a realist, not an idealist ; a teleologist, not a mechanic. An actual acorn is to him a potential oak. And in all processes of transformation, he finds four causes, not all too distinct either in point of time or space—*viz.*, the material cause in the undifferentiated stuff or substratum ; the formal cause in the differentiating and particularising factor ; the efficient cause in the agent that transforms the object, or keeps it changing ; and lastly, the final cause in the goal or end towards which the change is ultimately directed. Thus, to Aristotle, though the material cause is prior in time, the final cause is prior in thought ; for, the face of Venus must have existed in Phædius’ mind, long before he struck his chisel over the marble block.

Aristotle is the father of Logic. He felt the need of classifying knowledge. To him Logic was the science of all sciences, the organon of all knowledge. He invented the Syllogism and classified the categories of thought, an achievement over which more than two thousand years of rigorous thought has almost failed to add anything substantial. He regarded Mathematics, Physics and Metaphysics as theoretical knowledge and Ethics and Politics as practical, while, curiously enough, Rhetoric and Poetry were to him productive arts.

In Biology, Aristotle studied more than 500 different animals, and followed the modern methods of dissection and the use of diagrams. He discovered the true principle of classification into genus and species on the basis of differentia, but again, curiously enough, he did not believe in evolution. He believed that the species preserves its peculiarity through reproduction and thereby realises its goal or end. He almost anticipated Wiesmann.

In Metaphysics, soul is not very different from mind, to Aristotle ; for, he could not believe in personal immortality in the absence of strict proof. There are three kinds of souls, according to him—the nutritive, whose function is to preserve the body and continue the race, found in common in plants, animals and human beings ; the sensitive—which can assimilate the like with the unlike on the basis of perception, *e.g.*, when the vibrations of air are assimilated with the audible faculty of man or beast, resulting in the perception of sound ; thirdly, the rational—by which knowledge of Self, God and of condi-

tions of knowledge is possible. Such a soul is the monopoly of man. To Aristotle, God was the Supreme Active Reason, and man a rational animal nearer to God than any other earthly creature.

In Politics, Aristotle is in his elements. To him it is a Trilogy—a science of ethics, political society, and law. Man is, according to him, a political animal, for, the family, clan, tribe and the State are natural to him. Here Aristotle follows the biological method of observation and analysis. In every page there are indications of a revulsion from orthodox Platonism. It is throughout factual. Aristotle lacked the historical insight of Thucydides, the idealism of Plato, and the humanism of the Sophists. To him the *polis*—a mere city-State—was the highest form of human association, and he resolutely stuck to this idea to the end of his life, though just before his eyes at that time the greatest experiments in nationalism and enlightened imperialism were being made. But he ignored Alexander and his Macedonian Empire. However, in man he found the group instinct natural. The instinct of sex continues the race, while the instinct of rule, obedience and co-operation forms the basis of family, tribe and the State. The *polis* exists for good life, and its spirit and constitution are organically related with the peculiar character of the citizens. Revolutions are always bad, just as all extremes are bad. Communism cannot be introduced all on a sudden, and further, Platonic communism is a negation of the State, a confusion of values, a refusal to face reality. Aristotle believed in the supremacy of law and the wisdom of the golden mean. Curiously enough, he defended slavery, though, none the less, he reformed it.

Wider than Politics is Ethics to Aristotle, for he believes it to be concerned with defining virtue, while the State offers the opportunity for realising virtue. Aristotle's conception of the State is almost Hegelian, for the latter regarded the State as the actualisation of freedom. But, while Hegel believed the State to be "a self-conscious ethical being," having a personality of its own, the wise Aristotle never forgot to regard it as an instrument—though an unavoidable and natural instrument—for making man more and more virtuous. Virtue is the only way for man to realise happiness (*Eudaimonia*)—which Aristotle defines as the spontaneous, effortless, pleasurable exercise of all human faculties in their fullest development. Virtue is the "condition" or the proper state of the soul. *De soi le vice est odieux*. In Aristotle we find the typical Greek definition of Virtue. It means

proper harmony and natural proportion. Just as excess of any humour (in Greek medical science) produces bad effects, so excess of anything—either in asceticism or enjoyment, in private or public life—is bad.

Though Aristotle was no “*page du sire Apollo*,” yet he is even now one of the greatest critics of Art and Literature. To him Rhetoric is a noble art of persuasion, to be painfully cultivated, and not a mere term of abuse. Aristotle condemns senseless or over-emphatic verbosity or any illegitimate appeal to passions. Moderation and good sense are always necessary in Art. In his theory of Poetry, he regards Art as “Imitation,” not in the ordinary sense of the term, but as sympathy, *i.e.*, in the sense of identifying oneself with the object of one’s art. In this way one can transpose oneself imaginatively in an otherwise unreal situation, with a view to purging oneself of the excess of emotion which is dangerous to the health of the soul, just as the excess of humours is harmful to the health of the body.

In Art, Literature, Science and Philosophy, Aristotle’s method of study and most of his observations reign supreme. There are, undoubtedly, some shortcomings and mistakes, but well might he say, “*Davus sum non Œdipus.*”

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE AND PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY*

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IN some recent statements Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru raised the question of the relationship between the Indian Civil Service and the Congress Governments, which were in office until recently in eight provinces. He has accused the Civil Service of both disloyalty and incompetence. It is true, he has pointed out, that among Civilians there might be some, who were both efficient and loyal, but as a rule the highly placed permanent officials of the Governments were not only not equal to the task, which was set to them, but what was more they even tried to thwart the policy of their respective Governments by resorting to different tactics. It is the object of this paper to examine this statement.

The working of Provincial Governments for the last two years and a half may be regarded as the first experiment of democracy in India. It is true that under the Government of India Act, 1919, responsible government was supposed to have been worked on a partial and limited basis in the British Indian Provinces. But limitations upon this partial responsible government were so many and so effective that we may be justified in regarding the working of the Provincial Governments under the Act, 1935, as the first experiment of democratic and responsible administration in the provinces. Democracy, however, can nowhere be worked in modern times without efficient and loyal instruments. Every Government must have its tools, and democratic Government is not an exception to this rule. In ancient times, when democracy was worked in a city state like that of Athens, the problems of government were so simple and so few that the citizens could by rotation take up the duties of administration. No permanent civil service was necessary at all. Even in modern democracies, a permanent and efficient Civil Service was not regarded as essential and

* This paper was read at the 2nd session of the Indian Political Science Conference held at Lahore.

indispensable, so long as the principle of *Laissez Faire* was in the ascendant. When it was thought that the duty of the Government was only to maintain peace at home and to ward off attack from without, the necessity of a very efficient permanent Civil Service did not arise. But as civilization became increasingly complex, the duties of the Government also began to multiply. The principle of *Laissez Faire* could no longer be maintained. Slowly but surely there was a departure from this principle, even in those countries, which had been consciously and deliberately wedded to this ideal. To-day there is not a single country in the world, whose Government has not to discharge ten times more obligations than it was required to do fifty years ago. Indian conditions are certainly far more backward than many people may actually conceive. But even in our provinces administration cannot be regarded as simple. Here also the problems of government have become as complicated as they are multifarious. Necessarily when the representatives of the people formed Councils of Ministers in 1937, they were not expected to deal with these problems without the expert help and loyal assistance of the permanent Civil Servants. The Ministers were certainly expected to provide the new outlook and the new driving force, but they could make them effective only if the tools in their hands were found to be in order.

The tools, which were immediately in the hands of the Ministers, were those superior civil servants, who had been recruited to the Indian Civil Service, either in India or in Great Britain. It is true the Civil Servants in an Indian Province are not provided exclusively by the Indian Civil Service. In fact there are several other services as well in every province. But the key-positions in the administrative organisation are held mostly by the members of the Indian Civil Service. So when we speak of the tools of democratic government in an Indian Province, we have in the first instance the members of the Indian Civil Service only in mind.

It was in the days of Lord Cornwallis that the Covenanted Civil Service was first created and then by the Charter Act of 1793, all the posts under the East India Company in every Province were reserved for the officers belonging to this Service. The Act laid down¹ that all vacancies in the different presidential establishments were to be duly notified by the proper authorities to the Court of Directors and the Court, in

¹Clause 59.

accordance with that return, would send out the requisite contingent of *writers*. It was also laid down¹ that below the membership of the Council all offices under the Company in any Presidency would be filled by the officers of the establishment only according to seniority. In other words, neither at the bottom nor in any intermediate grade any outsider could be appointed for filling up any of the posts under the Government. All the posts were to be reserved for the members of the Covenanted Service.

It is true that these provisions of the Act of 1793, could not be acted up to in all details in practice. The duties of the Government began to increase and to cope with the new task it was essential to appoint new hands. As the appointment of the Covenanted Civilians was too expensive an affair, very often for lower posts uncovenanted recruitment was made in India. But such recruitment was certainly unconstitutional and illegal. Necessity however knows no law, and in spite of the provisions of the Act of 1793, such unconstitutional appointment continued apace. It was only in 1861² that another Act was passed by the British Parliament at the instance of Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India. It was this measure, which provided for the reservation of only the superior and most responsible posts for the members of the Covenanted Civil Service. In other words with regard to the lower and less responsible offices recruitment might be made any way that the Government pleased. But with regard to the key and pivotal positions, it was obligatory that only the Covenanted Civilians should be appointed. It is true that even to some of the superior posts an officer other than a Covenanted Civilian might be appointed, but this could be done only with the previous assent of the Secretary of State for India. The posts, which were thus reserved for the members of the Indian Civil Service, included those of the District Officers, the District Judges, the Divisional Commissioners, Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, and Under-Secretaries to different Governments and Administrations, Members of the Boards of Revenue and Secretaries to these Boards.

We have seen in the previous paragraph that even to the reserved and scheduled posts, an officer other than a Covenanted Civilian might be appointed with the previous approval of the Secretary of State. This

¹ Clause 56.

² 24 and 25 Vic. Cap 54 (see Sections 3 and 4).

provision was from time to time taken advantage of and some uncovenanted officers were appointed to responsible posts. Under the rules which were framed on the recommendations of the Lee Commission in 1924, twenty per cent. of the superior offices have been opened out to those who would be promoted from the Provincial Civil Services. The remaining eighty per cent. however, are still reserved for the members of the Indian Civil Service. When again we say that twenty per cent. of the superior posts have been "listed" and opened out to the officers of the Provincial Services, we should bear it in mind that these officers are hardly ever promoted beyond the posts of District Magistrates and District Judges. Usually many of them have to retire as Additional District Magistrate or as Additional District Judge. It is only very rarely that an officer holding the "listed" appointment has been raised to the status of the Divisional Commissioner or has been allowed to hold an important Secretariat appointment. So we may say that although in theory only eighty per cent. of the superior posts are reserved for the members of the Indian Civil Service in practice more or less all key positions are in their hands.

The Ministers have not the right to deprive the Civilians of the offices, which have been reserved for them. In view of this fact it is clear that unless the members of the Indian Civil Service co-operate in every way with the Council of Ministers and show due obedience to the policies laid down by it, the working of the Provincial Governments in accordance with the wishes of the representatives of the people becomes a misnomer. The past traditions and the present constitutional rights of the Indian Civil Service however appear to be inconsistent with the absolute obedience which they may owe to the ministries in office in the different provinces. The Indian Civil Service until the other day was not merely a Civil Service but also a governing corporation. Subject to the exercise of the ultimate authority by the British Parliament, this body was really responsible for administering the affairs of the Indian territories. The Government was absolutely bureaucratic in character and the key-positions in this bureaucracy were all held by the members of this Service.

In the last century the famous publicist Blunt who visited India during the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, testified to the fact that the administration of India was carried on by the members of the Indian Civil Service in accordance with the principles virtually laid down by

themselves.¹ Some years later the Public Service Commission of which Sir Charles Aitchison was the Chairman observed in its report published in 1888 that the Indian Civil Service should be the *corps d'elite* of Indian Administration. In other words it laid down the principle that the officers who were to hold the key-positions in the different Government departments should be chosen from this body of officers. The subordinates would be recruited from the other Services no doubt but the directing staff must be recruited from this body alone.² Although from this standpoint the Indian Civil Service might be better called the *corps delite*, as the Public Service Commission called it, yet looking at the fact that the Indian administration was not merely directed in its day to day operation by the members of the Indian Civil Service, but that its principles and policies also were laid down by this body, we may certainly agree with Mr. Blunt and call the Indian Civil Service a corporation responsible for the governance of India. In fact the Government of India was so identified with the Indian Civil Service that in 1915 Mr. Herbert Fisher who had opportunity of studying the Indian administration at first hand³ was constrained to observe that the Indian Civil Service was not merely a service but the government of the country. The Civilians were still supreme in every branch of the Indian Government—in the executive, the legislature, the judiciary and the subordinate administrative body.

In view of the fact that for more than a century the Indian Civil Service had run the Government of India territories according to its lead and light and virtually in an irresponsible manner, it was not to be expected that when responsible government was introduced on a limited and partial basis by the Government of India Act, 1919, they would all on a sudden turn over a new leaf and develop overnight the traditions of 'anonimity and obedience' of the British Civil Service. A conservative and power-loving body like the Indian Civil Service had besides no love for the reforms which are associated with the names of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. In fact Mr. Lionel Curtis only recently bore testimony to the fact that when the proposal of even partial responsible government in the Provinces was

¹ See "India under Ripon."

² Report, p. 55.

³ The Right Honourable Herbert Fisher was a member of Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition Government as Minister of Education. He visited India as a member of the Royal Commission on the Public Services (1912-15) presided over by Lord Islington

first mooted in a small study circle in England, the Civilians who were present looked aghast and tried to laugh the proposal out of court. They could never imagine that the Indian Administration could be conducted on the responsibility of any body other than the Indian Civil Service. Later they had no doubt to pay a lip homage to the reforms but in their heart of hearts the Civilians never became reconciled to the change in the underlying principle of Indian administration in the Provinces.

The Ministers under the Montagu-Chelmsford regime had to work in consequence under a severe handicap. They were supposed to be responsible to the Legislative Council for the working of the different departments committed to their charge, but over the permanent officers of the departments without whose co-operation and assistance they could do nothing, they had no real control. In the first place the rights and privileges of the Indian Civil Service and other All-India Services still working in the Provinces were protected and the Ministers had virtually no voice regarding the prospects in service of these officers. They were independent of the Ministers in regard to the conditions of their service. So the members of these different services did not look to the political heads of their departments at all for support.¹ Secondly the rules also were so framed as to encourage the permanent officers to snap their fingers at the Ministers. The relations between the Ministers and the Governors of the Provinces were left rather vague and uncertain by the Government of India Act. So the head of the Province might exercise greater or smaller voice, according to the circumstances, in the administration of the transferred departments. Now in order that the Governors might discharge their responsibilities properly, the rules for the working of the departments were framed in such a way as to enable them to have the advice not only of the Minister but also of the permanent Secretary to the department concerned. So it was arranged that every week the Secretary and the Minister would see the Governor regarding the problems of administration with which the department would be concerned. Not unoften the Minister and the Secretary would disagree as to the lines of action which should be taken. If they so

¹ That the continuance of the I.C.S. with its old privileges and rights would be inconsistent with the new reforms was foreseen as much by the leaders of public opinion in India as by the members of the services themselves. See N. C. Roy "Indian Civil Service" (Book Company, Calcutta, 1935), Chapter VII.

disagreed it would be for the Governor either to support the Minister or the Secretary. If the Secretary was supported, as he was on many occasions, the Minister would only look on. His views would not prevail but those of the Secretary would triumph. Before the Reforms Enquiry Committee which was set up in 1924 and which was presided over by Sir Alexander Muddiman, Home Member of the Government of India, the ex-Ministers of different Provinces narrated the woeful tales of their disagreement with the Civilian Secretaries and heads of departments and of their consequent helplessness when they were overruled and their official subordinates supported and backed by the Governors. That the Ministers were responsible for the working of the departments only in name but not actually in practice was illustrated fully by the evidences placed before the Muddiman Committee.

There was only one case of resignation no doubt because of the fact that over the head of the Ministers the permanent heads of the departments tried to formulate lines of action with the encouragement of the Governor. But although Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit Jagat Narain were the only Ministers who resigned from the Government as a protest against an act of disobedience on the part of the Director of Public Instruction, actually incidents of such disobedience happened rather frequently in other provinces.

Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the members of the Indian Civil Service continue to enjoy the privileges and rights which they had enjoyed before. They are still appointed not by the Provincial Governments nor even by the Government of India but by the Secretary of State. Their conditions of service are laid down by him and the rights and privileges which are assured to them are also protected finally and ultimately by the same functionary. The Services Sub Committee of the Round Table Conference discussed this question threadbare and was of the view that "for the Indian Civil and Indian Police Services recruitment should continue to be carried out on an All-India basis." Two members of this Sub-Committee both Indians, did not of course agree with the majority in these recommendations. They advocated immediate provincialisation of both these services.¹ They were of the view that provincial autonomy and the All-India character of these two security services could not

¹ See Report of the Services Sub-Committee, p. 250.

go together. One would be inconsistent with the other. The majority of the Sub-Committee however took the view that for other reasons it was essential that the two security services should be maintained on an All-India basis.

But although the Sub-Committee did not recommend the provincialisation of the two services, they also did not recommend that they should be recruited as before by the Secretary of State. Their recommendation was that the responsibility of recruiting and controlling the two All-India Services should be vested in the Government of India.¹ If these recommendations were carried out, the members of the Indian Civil Service would have ceased to look to the Secretary of State for inspiration and protection. Their extra-Indian allegiance would have ceased altogether. But even this recommendation of the majority of the members of the Services Sub-Committee was not accepted by the British Government. In the proposals of reform, which this Government embodied in 1933 in the famous document known as the White Paper there was a suggestion that after five years of the working of provincial autonomy an enquiry would be made into the conditions of service of the Indian Civil Service. Meanwhile this body would continue to be recruited as before by the Secretary of State. The proposal of an enquiry after five years was however later dropped, and the Civilians have continued as before to be recruited by the Secretary of State. There is no suggestion now that at any time in the near or distant future the question would be reopened and the conditions of service of the Civilians would be changed.

So we may repeat that the Civilians are not only now appointed by the Secretary of State but are guaranteed by the same functionary the protection of their rights and privileges. So ultimately they have an appeal to the Secretary of State against any action taken by the different governmental authorities in India affecting their position and powers. In order that there may not be an invasion upon the rights and privileges guaranteed to them, the Governor-General and the Governors of Provinces have been given special responsibilities by the Government of India Act. These responsibilities they have to discharge in their individual judgment.² If any action of the Council of Ministers is regarded by the members of the Civil Service

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 250-251.

² Section 12 (I) (d) and Section 52 (I) (c) of the Government of India Act, 1935.

as inconsistent with their privileges and rights, it may be turned down by the Governor. As a result of the conferment of such a special responsibility upon the Governors and the Governor-General, no action against the members of the Superior Services can be taken except with the approval of these functionaries.¹ The promotion and transfer of the officers of these Services have accordingly to be made not so much according to the will of the Ministers but according to the wishes of the heads of the provinces. It should be noted that the Governor has to exercise his responsibility in this field in his individual judgment. In other words he would consult the Ministers when a Civilian would appeal to him regarding the protection of his interests but he would not necessarily act according to their advice. He may take a line of action as he himself chooses. There is of course reason to believe that with regard to the Indian members of the Civil Service, the Governor does not usually interfere in the actions of the Ministers, provided such actions are not inconsistent with the interests of the European members of the Service. But in regard to the latter, the statutory right of the Governor hangs as the sword of Damocles over the Ministers. The promotion and transfer of the Indian members of the Civil Service may in consequence be carried out on occasions according to the whims of the Ministers, but the promotion and transfer of the European Civilians are looked after more carefully by the Governor.

This lack of control over the conditions of service of the Civilian officers explains the unhappy relations between them and the Ministers. It may not be true that since the introduction of "provincial autonomy" in 1937 the authority of the Ministers has been openly flouted and their orders positively and consistently disregarded as during the period of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Outwardly the Civilians have certainly become more courteous to their political chiefs in the new regime than in the old. But there is still no doubt about this that they have ample opportunity of either silently ignoring orders or carrying them out only half-heartedly and perfunctorily. The Secretaries to the Departments have specially an opportunity of intriguing against the Ministers and thwarting their wishes.

In Great Britain the Ministers are the heads of the different departments of government by virtue of the seals of office which are

¹ Even then the Civilians who are aggrieved may approach the Secretary of State.

committed to their care by His Majesty. The permanent officers of the department have to look upon the Ministers in charge as their official superior and take orders from him without demur. In fact the orders issued by the department are all his orders given either specifically or generally.¹ But the Ministers in the Indian provinces are heads of the different departments not by virtue of the seals which they may receive automatically as Ministers. They are placed in charge of the executive departments only by virtue of the rules which the Governor has been empowered to frame for "the more convenient transaction of the business of the Provincial Government."² These rules he is required by the Government of India Act to frame in his discretion. The Ministers, in other words, have no control over their formulation. Naturally when under these rules they are placed in charge of different departments, they have to undertake their responsibility with a handicap. In fact the Government of India Act itself provides definitely for this handicap. It lays down that the rules should be so framed by the Governors as to make it possible for the Secretaries to the departments to bring directly to their notice all those departmental matters which may, in their opinion, demand the exercise of special responsibility of the Governor.³ The Act, in other words, has made it obligatory that under the rules the Secretaries must have opportunity of approaching the Governor direct over the head of their political chiefs regarding the business of the departments. So the irritating arrangement under which the Ministers suffered so much in the old regime has survived Dyarchy and remains effective under "Provincial Autonomy."

Many members of the Services seem even to have the idea that the Ministers should have nothing to do with the actual administration of a province. They are possibly more impressed by the actual words used in the Government of India Act than either by the spirit of the Act or by the rules which the Governors may frame. The Act provides that "there shall be a Council of Ministers to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions..."⁴ So the individual Ministers have as such no *locus standi* in the administration of a province. Even as a Council all that they are required to do is only to aid and advise the Governor. Except in those matters in which

¹ See Sir Edward Troup "The Home Office," p. 3

² Section 59(3).

³ Section 59(4).

⁴ Section 50 (1).

the Governor is required to act in his discretion or in his individual judgment, the advice which the Council of Ministers happens to offer may be binding upon the Governor. But still the administration of the province is vested in the Governor and not in the Governor in Council.

The position of the Council of Ministers may roughly be regarded as analogous to that of the Governor-General's Council from 1773 to 1861. The administration had to be conducted according to the decisions of the Council.¹ But the actual administration had to be run under the supervision of the Governor-General alone. The other members of the Council had nothing to do with the administrative machine. The Council met only to discuss the affairs and arrive at decisions. But once the decisions were taken, it was for the Governor-General to give effect to them through the Secretaries and local officers. It was not till 1861 that this arrangement was abandoned in favour of the portfolio system.

Now many of the Civilians may think that the Council of Ministers is more or less in the same position under the Government of India Act as the Council of the Governor General was until 1861. That they happen to think in this vein is illustrated very definitely by the infamous Brett Circular issued in the province of Bihar in 1938. The Chief Secretary Brett issued this circular to the local officers of the Government by way of warning them that they were not to carry out any orders which the Ministers might give to them directly. It was for the local officers to give effect only to those orders which were conveyed to them by the Secretaries to the Government. It is true that under pressure of public opinion this circular was withdrawn but we do not know what might have passed behind the scene before the Chief Secretary agreed to withdraw the circular.

In fact the continuance of the Indian Civil Service controlled by, and dependent upon, not only an extra-provincial but an extra-Indian authority is the chief impediment to the working of provincial autonomy on a successful basis. It really militates against all healthy laws of administrative mechanics. The arguments which were and are advanced in favour of the organisation of the Civil Service in the provinces on existing lines do not really bear any impartial scrutiny.

¹ It is true that since 1786 the Governor-General in some circumstances had had the right to override the decision of his Council and have his own way.

Now let us proceed to discuss the question of efficiency which also Pandit Nehru has raised and which also requires a full examination. In the 19th century when the agitation for the recruitment of Indians to superior administrative offices was thickening, it was pointed out on occasions by the British Government that the employment of Britishers in all key and pivotal positions was essential in the interests of British rule. Such an argument can be appreciated for its directness and simplicity. But when it is pointed out that in the interests of efficiency it is necessary that the Indian Civil Service should continue to exist, one may naturally feel anxious to know as to what this efficiency is like.

In the 19th and the early 20th centuries it was sedulously spread over the wide world that no body of Civil Servants had ever been more efficient, more impartial and more honest than the "heaven-born service."¹ There were two reasons why many people were deluded by this propaganda. In the first place it should be remembered that the Civil Services outside Prussia were as a rule most inefficient in both Europe and America until the fourth quarter of the last century. In the United States the spoils system which had always prevailed on a small scale was raised to the dignity of a political principle by Andrew Jackson. So deeply it struck root in the country and so intimate was its connection with the prevailing idea of democracy that nothing could be done to eradicate it during the next half century. The idea of civil service reform became in fact anathema to most people and it was not till President Garfield was shot by a disappointed office-seeker that a serious attempt could be made to take offices out of politics and make their occupants efficient and honest public servants. It was only in 1883 that the Pendleton Act was passed.

In Britain also the patronage system remained in vogue fully until the fifties and partially for years after that. Mrs. Sydney Webb has left it on record that her father used to say that a friend was he who would place his son in a post for which he was not fitted. This is not to be taken merely as a casual remark of a gentleman bred in old traditions. It embodied the underlying idea of patronage which prevailed either in pure or in diluted form in Great Britain until Mr. Gladstone's Government decided in the early seventies to introduce

¹ As late as 1924 Mr. Herbert Fisher observed in a course of lectures at Glasgow that if actually there was a body of Plato's Philosopher Kings, it was certainly the Indian Civil Service—See "Common Weal."

the system of competitive examination for recruiting civil servants. Even then it was not extended to recruitment in all departments at once. So the Civil Services both in Great Britain and in the United States were incompetent and inefficient as a rule till the last quarter of the 19th century. If compared with them the Indian Civil Service was found more competent, it was natural that this body would acquire world-wide repute. It should also be remembered in this connection that just as the Civil Servants in Eur-America were incompetent so also their responsibility and influence were very little in comparison with the responsibility and influence they wield today. The growth of the influence and authority of the Civil Service in Great Britain is due to the increasing number of complicated duties which the Government was constrained to undertake since the beginning of this century. In the 19th century the functions of Government were few and simple. The Civil Servants were in consequence mere clerks in that country. On the other hand the members of the Indian Civil Service were, as Lord Wellesley emphasised, Magistrates in charge of districts, Judges presiding over important tribunals, Governors administering large provinces, and Ambassadors of the Government to Indian Courts. Necessarily the reputation of the Civilians who occupied such important offices and wielded such large power and authority became widespread.

Secondly it should be remembered that in the 18th century the administrative system built up by the Mughals had broken down completely. There was "lack of governance" throughout the far-flung empire which the Great Mughals had ruled at one time. For decades the Indian people suffered from continuous anarchy. Out of this chaos order was gradually restored by the officers of the East India Company. The machinery for maintaining law and order which had been dislocated so completely was repaired and set up anew by these men. The officers of the Company could therefore take the same credit in India as was given by the historians to the Tudor Monarchs in England for creating order out of the great anarchy brought about by the Wars of the Roses. The efficiency of the Indian Civil Service was in fact brought out into clear relief only by this background of anarchy and chaos which prevailed in India after the death of Alamgir.

There is no doubt about this that both the Haileybury Civilians and the later *Competition-wallahs* showed ability and vigour in building up the administrative machinery which had collapsed altogether in the country and in maintaining law and order which had

been violated with such impunity for three quarters of a century. In one other function also they evinced at least average capacity. It will be of course an exaggeration to say that in chalking out the system of land revenue in the different provinces they were guided by scientific principles and showed in every instance sufficient insight and consideration. But on the whole it may be said that they tackled the complicated question of land revenue with ability. In fact it was in these two fields that the Civilians had all the achievements to their credit. They succeeded in maintaining internal order and in managing the land revenue which supplied the bulk of the Government income.

Unfortunately the Civil Service became so obsessed with these two functions that they actually regarded their administrative career as absolutely bound up with the proper discharge of their responsibilities in these two fields. So long as the needs of the people were few and their civilisation was essentially pastoral and consequently simple, the demands of the Government upon the Civil Servants were also few. But Indian civilisation did not and could not remain so simple. It also became increasingly industrial and therefore complicated. The old principle of free trade which handicapped the growth of Indian industries so much had to be abandoned, and customs duty which had been imposed for years only for revenue purposes had to be levied also with the object of protection. Land revenue again could no longer meet the financial needs of the Government even to an appreciable degree. Taxes on income had to be imposed and other avenues for collecting money had to be explored. So the duties of government became increasingly intricate irrespective of the political changes in the country. But such changes were responsible for creating a new outlook among the people, and as a result of this new outlook people began to make new demands upon the Government.

Even before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms there was for long a widespread demand for the compulsory extension of elementary education among the people. After the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, this demand gained an increasing momentum. Similarly the problems of sanitation, medical relief, rural indebtedness, and middle-class unemployment came increasingly to the foreground. In pre-Reform days some of these problems were dismissed with scant attention and some were not allowed even to enter the forbidden field of government jurisdiction. But since 1921 they have loomed larger and larger. The maintenance of internal

peace is as important today as ever before. But the efficiency of the Civil Service can no longer be judged by this test alone. In fact it can and should be judged better by the way that the Civil Servants tackle the nation-building problems.

But it is surprising to find, as it has been pointed out already at the beginning of a previous paragraph, that the Civilians are still obsessed with the two old functions of maintaining peace and managing land revenue. The two years of training which they have to pass immediately after entering the Service are devoted almost exclusively to these problems. The emphasis which they happen to place upon these functions early in their career certainly colours their outlook to a large extent throughout their official life. They continue to attach importance only to their duties as Revenue Collectors and Magistrates. They do not take very seriously the nation-building functions. As a result of this, when they are actually placed in charge of such work, they find themselves at sea. It was in 1934 that a new post, that of the Development Commissioner, was created in Bengal. As it was thought by the Government that none but an I. C. S. officer could take responsibility for such an office, a senior Civilian who had been the Secretary to a department before was chosen to be its first incumbent. He had no idea as to the duties which the Development Commissioner was to perform. He held the office for about six months and could, during this period, only mark time. Then he took leave and went to England. During his absence which was long, another European Civilian was placed temporarily in his job. He also attended office and marked time until the permanent incumbent returned from leave. The latter in due course returned to his post indeed but he found it difficult to adjust himself to the demands of his office. At last the Commissionership of a Division fell vacant and on the ground of seniority he felt relieved to be appointed to it. This is only one illustration of the lack of adjustability to new kinds of work which is noticeable so much now among the Civilians.

It is common knowledge again that in questions of complicated finance the Indian Civilians have proved in most cases hopelessly incompetent. Since Sir Malcolm Hailey was transferred from the portfolio of Finance to the Home Department in 1923, no member of the Indian Civil Service had opportunity of holding this office until recently. What does this prove? In 1937 again when a change was contemplated in the principles of Income Tax collection, the work

in that connection could not be entrusted to any member of the Indian Civil Service. A comparatively junior officer from the department of inland revenue in England was imported for the purpose.¹

It has been a tradition in India to refer bills or draft bills to the local officers of the Government for opinion. In the past when government was absolutely bureaucratic in form and character, it was upon these opinions that the fate of a bill would depend. But even now when bills are circularised for opinion, the Divisional and District officers are encouraged to submit their views. Similarly when commissions and committees are constituted for studying certain problems and recommending measures for tackling them, these officers are asked to submit evidences and appear as witnesses before them. Anybody who reads these opinions and evidences perceives how poor their quality has become of late ! Except in few cases, these opinions do not seem to be of any value. The Agricultural Produce Markets Bill is now in the Select Committee Stage in Bengal. It is a complicated Bill and deals with a new subject. It was naturally expected that the opinions of the District and Divisional Officers would be helpful to the members of the Legislature. But except in two instances these opinions are puerile. The same may be said of their opinions in regard to many other matters.

Apart from the question of ability, it is to be admitted that the civilians do not even show sufficient enthusiasm for their work. That the members of the Indian Civil Service have no heart in their work was pointed out first by one of themselves. The anonymous author of the attractive book, *The Lost Dominion*, which was published in the middle twenties, was later discovered to have been a member of the Indian Civil Service in Sind. He gave it out for a fact that his colleagues had been so disheartened by the Reforms that they thought it useless to pay any serious attention to their work.² They only somehow did their routine work and waited for the time when they would retire with full pension. Now whatever may be the cause, the fact which "Al Carthill" stated so baldly has been found to be true in every province. The Civilians only mark time.

¹ It should be noted in this connection that a member of the I.C.S., J. B. Bird, recently committed suicide in Bombay. The alleged ground was that he could not cope with the complicated duties of income tax assessment which were entrusted to him.

² "The Lost Dominion" (1924), p. 320.

In case the Indian Civil Service is still maintained as an instrument of government, it is high time that the system of its training is changed. If democratic government in the Indian provinces is to be made fruitful at all, it is necessary that the Civil Servants must learn at the beginning of their career to place as much emphasis upon nation-building work as upon their other duties. Professor Ernest Barker of Cambridge suggested some years back that in England the Civil Servants who would be employed in social service departments might be recruited at a later age (between 24 and 28) from among those graduates who had spent some time in social service work and acquired both experience and zeal in this field.¹ It is true that this suggestion has not yet been acted up to in Great Britain, and we have no definite idea as to what result the experiment will yield. But the suggestion may still be borne in mind by the Indian authorities.

It has been the practice in India again to make the responsible officers in the different departments of the Secretariat mere birds of passage. The Assistant Secretaries are recruited in many cases from among the Deputy Magistrates who have held the office of Sub-divisional Magistrate. They remain in the Secretariat for three years and then revert to district work. The Deputy Secretaries and Secretaries are as a rule recruited from among the I.C.S. Officers. They also hold these offices for the same period and then revert to district work.² The first year they spend at the Secretariat in only picking up the technique of work. The second year they devote to the acquisition of knowledge as to the past history of the problems which confront them. In the third year they get prepared to leave the Secretariat. The Ministers are not expected to carry to their offices anything but common sense and general ability. They expect their permanent assistants to possess expert detailed knowledge as to the questions which they are to solve. But the permanent officers are as much novice in these matters as their political chiefs. Bagehot remarked decades ago that if lay mind was to rule, it must be instructed. But who will instruct the lay mind of our Ministers? It is time that the system of recruitment to the responsible offices in the Secretariat is changed.

¹ See article on The Home Civil Service in the "Political Quarterly," 1936, p. 203.

² In the Central Government they are appointed for a period of five years.

The present writer does not believe that on the basis of the existing organisation of the Civil Service, any reforms of a comprehensive character can be initiated. The Indian Civil Service has become an anachronism in the new order of things. But if it has still to be maintained its system of training should be changed and the system of recruitment to the Secretariat should be altered.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF HARDY'S DETERMINISM—III

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PSYCHO-PHYSICAL DETERMINISM (1870 AND AFTER)

ALTOGETHER the post-compromise period is remarkable for the deterministic influences of science both on the Continent and in England. They diminish man's place in the universe. Taine and the materialistic philosophy situated him in the animal world. After 1870 the realists were bent on diminishing him into a mere fluke of nature subject to all sorts of hazards, only that the Russians had still their faith in man in spite of his sins, crimes and craziness. Man was to be dealt with like plants and animals in nature study. Given a puissant man, Zola postulated, and an unassuaged woman, the problem is to find the animal in them, even to find only the animal. Hardy was not impervious to these influences. But he was not the man to break away completely from the past and create like the Symbolists¹ and Parnassians² a medium of their own. We do find the influence of the Parnassians in the poetry of Hardy in his attempt to give expression to the stern realities of life that strike his imagination. He is also under the influence of the theories of Hartmann and Schopenhauer. After 1880 his works have the touches of the theories of Charcot, Theodore Ribot, Pierre Janet and William James.

¹ The Progenitors of the Symbolists in French Literature were Baudelaire (1821-69), Rimbaud, and Verlaine (1844-96). They took over many ideas later on from the criticism and poetry of Edgar Allan Poe. Also, they tried to invent a French verse form that would correspond to Whitman's (1819-92). Whitman's "Trum-Taps," vivid poems on the Civil War, were published in 1865. There is a reference to a line of his in Hardy's earliest work "Desperate Remedies" (1871): "I foresee too much; it means more than I thought" (p. 146, Macmillan's edition, 1926). We may suppose that Hardy knew of the Symbolic Movement but kept aloof from its technique. Mallarmé (1842-98), its experimenter, was a contemporary of Hardy. A symbolic use of the trivial in Hardy occurs in the moment Tess waits outside the door of Clare's father, whom she is destined not to see, abstractedly watching a blood-stained piece of wrapping paper and several straws that whirled heavily in an eddy of the ceaseless wind.

² The creed of the Parnassians corresponded in a manner to the higher realism in prose. The leader of this school was Théophile Gautier (1811-72) who called himself "a man for whom the exterior world exists." He made an effort to translate into poetry this world that he observed and knew without injecting into it his own personality. The symbolist attempted to invent a new medium to express the unconscious in man in poetry as the usual language was too deficient to serve as their vehicle. The bulk of the Parnassian theories, mixed with a few theories from the Symbolists, was taken over between 1910 and 1920 by a short-lived school of English and American poets who called themselves "Imagists."

But he was loath to go the whole length either with the symbolists in prose and poetry, or with the technicians in fiction like Henry James and George Moore. The latter part of his life was spent in the midst of these literary activities and he was presumably not unaware of them. But he never consciously accepted them and incorporated them in his works.¹ By his own theory of Unconsciousness, there was no escape from the *milieu*, the ferment of his times. A stray glance, a casual meeting or remark, all have far-reaching repercussions in the lives of his characters, and on his own showing we can hold that in some measures he did absorb the literary and philosophical tendencies of his time. "The greater writer," says Granville Hicks, "has been wholly and unmistakably of his age, and, by mastering it, has left something of value for succeeding ages."² T. S. Eliot's remark that "it is only in the emotional paroxysms that most of Hardy's characters come alive" is true to the extent that he is at his best in depicting the vehemence with which unconscious influences overwhelm character. Tess is at her best when the whole history of her association with Alec comes to a point in a physical and emotional revolt from his bondage. The violence of the fatal stab is the violence of the feelings let loose from their repression. In the conflict that ensued in her between her repulsion from Angel Clare for his desertion and her attraction to the loathsome figure of Alec for he was making amends for his mischief she had made a sporting offer of her person and had suppressed all sense of fidelity to her wedded husband. The appearance of Angel and the recollection of the lies uttered by Alec turned the balance. In the words of Pierre Janet the strongest of the "several potentialities" existing at the same time in the same individual, exerted itself and flooded the whole being of Tess.

"Tess" was published in 1891, eleven years after "The Way of All Flesh" had been written. Naturalism, one can safely say, did

¹ Hardy's novels prior to "Tess" show naturalistic features but there is no indication that they are of French origin.—Margery Oliver. See "The Influence of French Naturalism on English Fiction" by Margery Oliver, p. 44.

² "After 1880," says Walter L. Myers in "Later Realism:" "French Naturalism became evident in the subjective characterizations of English realism. In novels showing this influence more clearly there is a tendency towards smaller passages of reflection, there is a greater consciousness of scene on the part of the characters than was the case in the older English novel, and there is use of trivial or apparently irrelevant details of perception, a device of great importance in recent practice."

All these may be noted in Hardy's work. Although he does not insist on the trivial or irrelevant as a matter of consciousness, he occasionally gives it that value; for on many a page he adroitly advances his narrative by making his reader aware, in one and the same phrase, of minute attendant circumstances and of moods in those present. Thus the trivial becomes more than actuality." (See "Tess," page 209.)—"Later Realism," pp. 141-42.

³ "The Novel of Today" by Philip Henderson—quoted by Henderson at p. 16.

enter into the works of Hardy. We find traces of it in George Eliot's "Adam Bede" ¹ as early as 1859. But Hardy was too Victorian to flout all canons of the traditional novelists. He had burnt his boats and was a novelist by profession. We must give him credit for not mincing his opinions, though he could not go the whole length with a naturalistic novelist. Nor can we judge him by the standard of our times or the standard at the beginning of the twentieth century. He was living at a time when Butler had to shove away "The Way of All Flesh" in the cupboard all his life. What may be considered as evasion today and was felt like it at the turn of the nineteenth century was shockingly immoral in the 'seventies and 'eighties when a considerable part of Hardy's work was done. In the 'nineties he had gone very far indeed and the storm of opposition set up by the publication of "Jude the Obscure" compelled him to give up novel writing altogether. Yet he had blazoned the track. He shares with George Eliot and Meredith the honour of being a pioneer, of laying the foundation on which was reared the naturalistic, the proletarian and symbolic novel of England in the twentieth century. "Hardy is," says George Moore, "George Eliot's many miscarriages." Be that as it may, the years before the *début* of George Moore were not sterile. Miscarriages are an incident in Nature's attempt to procreate and evolve, if we accept Nietzsche and Shaw's version, the Superman. Hardy had at least brought scientific outlook into literature and stood up for it. He did not retrace his steps. Those who dubbed his work as evasive, are being criticized now for being too abstracted and contemplative. Henderson says of present-day fiction: "It is precisely this attitude of evasion that is responsible for the present devitalised condition of the English novel as compared with what is being produced in America, France and Russia." ²

However, it is not the vagaries of art that should detain us here. Deterministic philosophy finds its fullest expression in Naturalism which also shows its limits. By his restraint Hardy succeeds in making an analytic study of the unconscious force which works tragically for unfortunate men and women. This sense of imperfection

¹ See "Adam Bede" by George Eliot, p. 51 (Chap. IV,—Death of Adam's father; or details of the murder of Hetty's child. Cf. the Trial Scene in "Tess."

² "The Novel of Today" by Henderson, p. 19. Strangely enough this was also the complaint of Forster: "History changes, Art stands still. And when Art has changed, it is complained it is all in the wrong direction."

of the universe is to be found in Bernard Shaw as well. But the "will" which is responsible, according to Hardy, for so many wasted lives, is, according to Shaw, in travail to produce the Superman. He too believes in determinism. The future, he holds, is being determined by physical laws and the empirical standards of human conduct. But they are evolving a higher universe and a nobler sphere of human thought and activity. In his works the fond hope with which Hardy closed "The Dynasts" finds its fulfilment. He sardonically remarks that he thinks of himself as being a living proof of the correctness of Tennyson's famous line: "God fulfils himself in many ways." Like Hardy he believes that human institutions are neither perfect nor divine. Their divine origin, as Burke was tempted to call them, was a fancy which made him discover sacredness in the very dust that overlaid old documents. A similar fancy led the superficial Victorian poets to declare that it was God who fulfilled Himself in many ways. Shaw claims to be a realist and declares that human institutions are neither natural nor holy. "They are only human institutions which should not be allowed to outlast their earthly utility. The peculiarity about Shaw is that he is not only a realist but also a caricaturist and he is a caricaturist because a breaker of idols."¹ In his metaphysical speculation Bernard Shaw comes very near to Hardy, except that he looks forward confidently to the perfection of humanity. He accepts the view that the will is the essence of reality but rejects the Schopenhauerean philosophy of struggle and pain. According to him the striving of the will is not due to any deficiency, as Schopenhauer thought, but to an inner necessity for completer expression and fuller evolution. His originality consists in (a) his attempt to discover the ultimate creative purpose of the will, and (b) in looking upon the conflict as absolutely inessential to life. From this it follows that the Life-Force is callous to everything except creation, it is absolutely non-moral. The use of intellect is called for because, in the words of Don Juan, "without it he blunders into death." In all this Hardy's position is very much like that of Shaw's. But he would surely dissent from the second point of Shaw's thesis. The creative process is a-moral but somehow the conflict appears to be unavoidable at this stage of development. Maybe in some distant future "consciousness the will informing" it may cease to be a handicap.

¹ "The Art of Bernard Shaw" by S. C. Sen-Gupta, pp. 5, 6.

Last but not the least in importance is Shaw's reaction (which was also Hardy's) to sex morality and standard of conduct in the lives of men and women. He holds—and rightly so—that a recognition of the truth about sex would be fatal to the institutions which respectable people hold dear. These noble and beautiful things are very good as ideals, but they are untrue because they have no connection with the primal instincts of man. Sex is a biological necessity and marriage an economic problem. None of these factors can be sanctified by any amount of religious dogmatizing. Once marriage and sex-relations have been freed from the taboo of society and men and women are free to follow the bent of their mind and the urge of their instincts, a changed society will result. Hardy also emphasizes the evils resulting from a hidebound system of traditional sex morality, and points out how Jude and Sue suffer for being rebels. The fact of the matter is that Shaw is a comedian and Hardy is a novelist of the grim realistic school, of which Samuel Butler (1875-1902) and Gissing (1857-1903) are other important members. Each of these is increasingly influenced by French Naturalism which made itself felt in England after 1880. In France it begins in Flaubert and reaches its climax in Zola, the Goncourts, Daudet and Guy de Maupassant. In England George Eliot is influenced by Baudelaire, Hardy by Zola,¹ Butler by Zola, the Goncourts, Daudet and Maupassant and so also Gissing. Like their French masters they also tried to depict reality in its throbbing fullness and its tragic possibilities, only that Hardy did not go the whole length. Naturalism merges into symbolism on the French soil, in the British Isles it culminates in the works of James Joyce and Virginia Woolf.

Mention must be made of Freud (1856-1939) who studied under the great neurologist Charcot² in Paris and was by 1886, when Hardy was contemplating or writing his best works, entering upon his labours which have immortalised his name as the inventor of psycho-analysis. The importance he attached to unconsciousness and the sex aberrations

¹ See page 39.

² Rutland seems to discountenance the influence of Naturalism, but believes that in the early nineties Hardy was under the influence of Ibsen. He says: "... it is easy to see that *Jude the Obscure* owes something to Ibsen... Readers of *Jude* will suspect that he knew something of *The Dolls House* and of *Ghosts*."—"Thomas Hardy: A Study of His Writings and Their Background" (pub. 1938), pp. 252-53. It is not intended to maintain here that French influenced Hardy's work. We hold that Hardy, in his works and poems, anticipated the conclusions formulated by Freud. Hardy was a Freudian before Freud. See "The Human Pair in the work of T. Hardy" by Pierre D'Enideail (Humphrey, London, 1929), Appendix I, pp. 101-96.

it led to was appreciated and accepted by Guy de Maupassant, if not so completely by the earlier writers. There is no record of Hardy having come under the influence of Freud or interested himself in his work. Yet "Jude the Obscure" betrays a recognition, if not the knowledge, of the principles enunciated by Freud. Jude's son betrays a knowledge of the futility of procreation which is unusual for the children of his age. His mother pleads necessity: "Y—you must forgive me, little Jude, I can't explain—I will when you are older. It does seem as if I had done it on purpose, now we are in these difficulties! I can't explain, dear! But it—is not quite on purpose—I can't help it!"¹ This curiosity could only arise from an urge to know what sex function was like. The child being a little crazy gives the freest expression to his inner thought and feeling which many another, in whom censor is vigilant and strong, would not. Whatever the real nature of influence that the psycho-analytic researches on the Continent had on Hardy, he was fully aware of the deterministic tendencies of sex in the affairs of men and women. "Desperate Remedies" (1871), "A Pair of Blue Eyes" (1873), "Far from the Madding Crowd" (1874), "The Return of the Native" (1878), "Two on a Tower" (1882), "The Mayor of Casterbridge" (1886), "The Woodlanders" (1887), "Tess of the D'Urberville" (1891) and "Jude the Obscure" (1896) all set forth the consequences of sex attraction and repulsion. Lancelles Abercrombie enunciates the following formulæ to illustrate the pull of sex: Suppose A_1 stands for masculine simplicity, A_2 for feminine simplicity. B_1 for masculine complexity and B_2 for feminine complexity. Then we have—

"In *Far from the Madding Crowd* A_1 loves B_2 who loves B_1 , who loves A_2 " i.e., Gabriel Oak loves Bathsheba, who loves Sergeant Troy, who loves too late the simple Fanny Robin.

"In *The Return of the Native*, A_1 loves A_2 , who loves B_1 , who loves B_2 ," i.e., Diggory Venn loves Thomas in Yeobright, who loves Damon Wildeve, who loves Eustacia Vye.

"In *The Woodlanders* A_2 loves A_1 , who loves B_2 , who loves B_1 ," i.e., Marty South loves Giles Winterbourne, who loves Grace Melbury, who loves Fitzpiers, who loves Mrs. Charmond.²

These problems and perplexities were taken up for a scientific treatment by Havelock Ellis in "Man and Woman" (1894), "Sexual

¹ "Jude the Obscure" by Hardy, p. 399 (Macmillan, Cottage Library Edition).

² "Thomas Hardy" by Lancelles Abercrombie, p. 71.

Inversion" (1897), "Analysis of the Sexual Impulse" (1903), "Erotic Symbolism" (1906), and latterly in "The Psychology of Sex" (1923). Sex, according to Hardy, is a disruptive force. Nature has implanted this impulse in man and hence his behaviour is determined by the urges which he has inherited from his animal ancestry. Heredity often aggravates its supposed evils, and social taboos worsen the lot of the unhappy man or woman who has taken a false (however inadvertent though) step. Havelock Ellis stresses the same difficulty: "On the one hand we have the disappearance of the traditional taboos, based on external authority; on the other hand we have the insistence on the new uniformity which a new social solidarity is making."¹ The question of social taboos so pointedly raised towards the close of the nineteenth century still presents a thorny problem. Wells in "The World of William Clissold" remarks: "It is the nature of sexual desire to be inordinate. This is the crux of this perennial perplexity of our species." Nature is non-moral, it pays no heed to social restraints. It cares neither for waste of life nor for the ignominy of society. "Take your chance. More of you to live or more of you to die. What does it matter to me," says Nature. Shaw would suggest: Make sex love and enjoyment "impersonal." And civilized man, says Joseph Tenenbaum, "is, to a large extent, exempt from all too rigorous terms of sex regulations which dominate sex relations in nature."² William Lloyd goes farther and holds that marriage is love companionship of a man and a woman, and according to him it has no necessary connection with children, with house keeping or even with living in the same house. And when there is no such true marriage, where love has been supplanted by hate, the merest form of it, however sanctified by law or custom, is "hypocrisy and stultification of fact."³ "It is a hold over from ancient slavery, still idealized in our present barbarism."⁴

¹ "Function of Taboos"—"Selected Essays" by Havelock Ellis, p. 261. Havelock Ellis is conscious of the problems which vexed the mind of Hardy. He says: "We distinguish a modern stream in imaginative literature which arose about the middle of the last century and gradually gained full strength and influence towards the beginning of the present century, while at the same time as that stream arose an older stream was failing. Victor Hugo was the supreme European representative of the earlier stream, Ibsen may be said to represent the later stream. Zola stands as the world famous representative of the transition between the two." We can bracket Hardy with Zola as representing the transition from George Eliot and George Meredith to Gissing.

² "The Riddle of Sex" by Joseph Tenenbaum, p. 19.

³ "Sex in Civilization," p. 239.

⁴ "Thomas Hardy" by Lascelles Abercrombie, p. 71.

Hardy is quite aware of these hardships. Eustacia Vye could have saved her own life and spared so much misery to Clym Yeobright if she had acted on the advice held forth in our times as a panacea for the ills of matrimonial life. The public trial of the wife of George IV for adultery and his contempt for her and Browning's "The Ring and the Book," "Pippa Passes," "Fifre at the Fair" and "Sordello," the illegal union of George Eliot with G. H. Lewes, and the scandalous escapade of George Meredith's first wife, had all brought the question of sex relations and their ethics and psychology to the fore. Hardy does not burke issues. But he does not raise airy hopes. He knows that it is easy to flout but not so easy to abolish social taboos. Conservatism is ingrained in human nature and so is anthropomorphism. In her hour of trial Sue retraces her steps and hugs the religious and social forms she had flouted and discarded in the fullness and flush of youth. Nor is hate always mutual. Sue may hate Phillotson but even the most provocative deal would not make him part with her without a wrench that leaves him shaken and pessimistic all his life. The decision of Sue to return to her wedded husband is not shared by Jude and even when broken down by illness something in him forces him to bear the hardships and trials of a bootless journey to have a word with, or a parting look at, the woman of his heart. Human nature being what it is, Hardy feels diffident of overnight improvement or change for the best. For coquettes no problems arise nor for the complex characters like Wildeve, though they are often caught in their own net, but the same cannot be said of Tess, Clym and Jude. It is only in the conflict of the simple and the complex that the tragedy of the soul is witnessed in its most poignant form, and it is, says Hardy, not easy or probable to get over it soon or in the near future. And so long as we do not, we have to recognise the deterministic influences we are subject to because of the sex impulse implanted in us by the Primal Force.

The problem that humanity has been and is faced with is, as Nietzsche said to fuse Apollo and Dionysus in us by "some supreme effort of human will" into an indivisible entity. George Meredith also longs for this union of the two phases of Nature—Artemis and Aphrodite :

Both are mighty;
Both give bliss
Each can torture if divided;

Each claims worship undivided,
In her wake would have us wallow¹

Aphrodite is the sensuous-beautiful aspect. It draws man on to abandonment and is followed by torture if he has not been able to crush the old worm of the self in himself. But no devotion to Artemis can save us from being drawn to Aphrodite. Asceticism is easier preached than practised. Man is earth's "great adventure"—not necessarily her lord and master. Leslie Stephen approached the problem of human destiny as a philosopher and felt that the promised hope of reconciliation of senses and the spirit, the resolution of contending forces in nature into unity and of beauty in a life hereafter, was moonshine. Justifying his agnostic frame of mind, he says, if it "summarily rejects these imbecilities, and would restrain the human intellect from wasting its powers on the attempt to galvanise into sham activity this *caput mortuum* of old theology, nobody need be afraid of the name."² The Deists held that since the God of Revelation was unjust, he could not be the God of Nature. They, therefore, set about speculating about a just God as the Primal Cause of the universe. To this Butler retorted: "The God of Revelation may be the God of Nature, for the God of Nature is unjust."³ Charles Bradlaugh pleaded, therefore, for atheism. "In the mind of the theist 'God' is equivalent to the sphere of the unknown. . . . The more ignorant the theist, the more numerous his gods. Belief in God is not a faith founded on reason."⁴ Religion is, therefore, a mere anodyne to dupe the believers into an unreal belief. As humanity advances and opens the Book of Nature, we find that "in all things there is cruel, profligate, and abandoned waste. . . ."⁵ The inevitable impression left behind on a critical observation of nature is that "the law of murder is the law of growth."² The struggle for existence makes it imperative. And there is also waste even in moral life. The instinct of love planted in the human breast, while it occasions solace to some, is a torture to others. "How many hearts yearning for affection are blighted in solitude and coldness? How many women seated by their lovely firesides are musing of the days that might have been?"⁴⁷ Hardy has

¹ George Meredith, "Poems," Vol. III, p. 185.

² "An Agnostic's Apology" by Leslie Stephen, p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴ "Humanity's Gain from Unbelief" by Charles Bradlaugh, p. 53.

⁵ "The Martyrdom of Man" by Winwood Reade p. 415.

caught this spirit of the time, deterministic and pessimistic, and in the analysis of his works that we attempt in the following chapters we shall trace this philosophy of life in human affairs as presented to us in his poems, the epic drama and the novels. Like Mark Twain he often pokes fun at the frivolity of man's existence. "We are the tail end of a tapeworm of ancestry."¹ So long as Christianity was accepted as a creed to be unquestionably believed, the sufferings to which man is subject were associated with the Cross. But in an age torn with doubts the sufferings seemed "only the work of some maleficent, or faintly sardonic, indifferent demon, informing the universe."² This is at times the view of Hardy as well, and he calls the force behind the universe as malevolent. But he was not the only novelist to deprecate religion. Meredith had also done it. "If there are not many open attacks, there is the creation of an atmosphere in which religion is felt to be out of place."³ And what is really saddening is that "man is represented as in the grip of agencies so powerful that his own will is unable to make head against them."³

HARDY'S PESSIMISM

This realization of helpless situation of humanity in the universe is often described as pessimistic outlook. According to Madeleine L. Cazamian pessimism is above all a reaction of sensibility, of temperament; it is profoundly individual.⁴ In most cases those who have condemned this world are those naturally predisposed to grief or are victims of some cruel destiny. But the very fact that some are afflicted with grief belies the faith in a beneficent purpose or in the divine being. After a period of complacency which ended about 1860 and growing internal unrest till 1870 the theme of pessimism appeared in Reviews a little after 1870, first at rare intervals, and then more frequently. Frohschammer and Lawrenny published their views in 1871 and 1872 respectively. Hueffer in 1875 harped on it in the *Fortnightly Review*. His views identify him with the Naturalistic and Pessimistic thought of the Continent. In 1876 Helen Zimmern describ-

¹ "What is Man?" by Mark Twain, p. 5.

² "English Critical Essays—Twentieth Century" (Boamy, Dobrée), Thomas Hardy, p. 381.

³ "Religion in the Victoria Era" by L. E. Elliot (Binne), p. 343.

⁴ "Le Roman et les Idées en Angleterre" by M. L. Cazamian, p. 243 : "Le pessimisme est avant tout une réaction de sensibilité, de temperament; il est profondément individuel."

ed the interest that her contemporaries and countrymen were taking in the philosophy of despair in the preface to her work on Schopenhauer. A year after appeared James Sully's historical and critical study of Pessimism. He attempted to explain why this doctrine was actually adopted by a large number of people as their religion. Other important studies on the subject were "The Ultimatum of Pessimism" by J. W. Barlow (1882), "Pessimism and Religious Conscience" by T. B. Kilpatrick (1883), "The Modern Pessimism" by J. R. Thomson (1885) and "The Modern Pessimism—Its Cause and its Cure" by C. Williams (1885). The causes of this vogue for pessimism lay in the philosophy and science of those times. "The Study of Sociology" by Spencer which appeared in 1873 contained a violent attack against Christianity. Huxley had flings at the most eminent clergymen. The "Autobiography" of John Stuart Mill (1873), his "Essays on Religion" (1874), "Essays and Review" by "The Seven against Christ" and Walter Bagehot's "Estimates" caused a profound sensation. The orthodox faith was shaken and unhappy individuals turned away from stoic resignation to seek the causes of their unhappiness in the evils of society or unequal distribution of wealth. The ethics of life and conduct evolved and developed by a class with its own vested interests, religious or political, did not satisfy the disheartened, the afflicted and the downtrodden. Those who, like Hardy and Gissing, were temperamentally melancholic gave expression to their philosophic views in their works, so bitter in their resentment and so slashing in their onslaught on the dogmatic faith in a beneficent divine being. The development of science, particularly the influence of the theory of evolution, sapped the foundation of ancient institutions and hardy beliefs in the goodness of God. Not only did man lose his importance as the cream of creation, but psycho-physiology of the time gave rise to a determinism which refused him liberty of action and of thought. His efforts and his volitions were the sport of an inexorable Nature, a conscious mechanism ingrained in the universe. The "Memoirs" of Henry Sidgwick (1838-1900) show in his philosophy a heroic spirit, suffering and divided. He is a disciple of Spencer and is impregnated with the ideas of Positivists. R. Buchanan published a series of letters in the *Daily Chronicle* under the title "Is Christianity Played Out?" The scepticism which resulted from the advance of science and the filtration of Positivistic beliefs through the works of George Eliot was deepened by the vogue for the philosophy of Schopenhauer. From 1875

to 1890 his doctrine is expounded, commented upon and discussed by the prominent Reviews and in the books of philosophy.¹

Schopenhauer not only enjoyed immense popularity in England, but in France, Flaubert, one of the masters of the Naturalistic fiction and the most admired in England, was one of his first disciples. His literary doctrine, in fastening his imagination on the lives of the mediocrity and the ugly, helped to develop in him—as in the Goncourts and Maupassant—bitterness and disgust for the spectacle of life. The *Athenæum* noted, in 1882 and in the following years, the deepening of pessimism due to the influx of foreign influences, like those of Schopenhauer, and a little later that of Baudelaire and Maupassant. This pessimism arises from realism which was the favourite theme of the French novelists and which influenced George Eliot, Samuel Butler, T. Hardy, G. Gissing, G. Moore and M. Wood. The realistic novels of Turgenev appearing towards the end of 1872, and those of Tolstoy after 1878, influenced English novels through their translations. Dostoevski was made available in English between 1881 and 1897, Gogol between 1886 and 1892. The *Athenæum* wrote an article in 1883 on the death of Turgenev. This variety of fiction expressed the condemnation of society and disgust of the world, encouraged renunciation and stressed a sort of nihilism in Russia, France and England. A sombre philosophy of life had entered literature. About 1890 Ibsen was a distinct influence on English literature, though many translations of his pieces had appeared even earlier. Shaw's "The Quintessence of Ibsenism" was an epoch-making work because it accentuated the forces of disintegration of society in the fiction and drama. Conservative though the English temperament is, these realistic tendencies made themselves felt increasingly from 1848. They made their appearance first in the poetry of Fitzgerald's "The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam" and then by 1867 in the verse of Clough and Arnold. Clough painted the torment of conscience placed between the necessity to act and the inward scruples and therefore powerless to resolve the doubts. Arnold, on the other hand, gives vent to a profound sense of melancholy at the discord between moral aspirations and the reckless-

¹ "Schopenhauer" by F. Hueffer (*Fortnightly Review*, 1875); "Schopenhauer—His Life and His Philosophy" by H. Zimmern, 1876; "Pessimism" by James Sully, 1877. "The Goal of Modern Thought" by W. S. Lilly (*Nineteenth Century*, 1882); "The Ultimatum of Pessimism" by J. W. Barlow, 1882; "Modern Pessimism" by J. R. Thomson, 1885; "Life of A. Schopenhauer" (Great Writers series) by W. Wallace, 1890; "Aspects of Pessimism" by R. M. Wenley, 1891; "Schopenhauer's System in its Philosophical Significance" by W. Caldwell, 1896; See "Le Pessimisme De Thomas Hardy par Ridder" by Barzin, pp. 164-65.

ness of Nature. He chafed at the psychological limitation and the vain nostalgia of human beings. He grieved at a life without end and without hope. James Thomson's "City of the Dreadful Night" appeared in 1874, the year Hardy published "Far from the Madding Crowd." So Hardy's pessimism is not the brooding of a solitary soul. It results from the realistic tendencies of the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Science, philosophy and the naturalistic tendencies coming from the Continent all serve to deepen the gloom that evolutionary empiricism and positivism had already cast over George Eliot and Leslie Stephen. Hardy, while avoiding the excesses of the Naturalistic school in France, is in sympathy with their objective and his work is a monument of the philosophical tendencies of an epoch which encouraged all forms of pessimism. The traditional ideas of good and virtue were receiving a rude shock or were being destroyed. In the absence of faith in moral laws clearly defined and revealed by an inscrutable authority and all-powerful God, man was led to question his own motives and to evaluate a fresh human conduct. The subterfuge of self-respect, the hypocrisy of gilding impulses and the supposed feebleness of the flesh and weakness of the heart, were all subjected to a searching analysis. The old order was dying, the new was yet to be born. The age of dogma and Victorian prudery was passing away but the age of enlightenment had not yet dawned. Hardy held that it was the privilege of a novelist and a writer to express his views on the two important subjects, of which everybody thought, but nobody had the courage and conviction to speak out his mind fearlessly, *viz.*, "la position de l'homme et de la femme dans l'univers et les croyances religieuses admises par eux." ¹ But his realism is not the realism of the French novelists. He defined his position definitely in "Science and Novel." Realism is an unfortunate and ambiguous word and comprises all sorts of servile limitations, gross liberty or brutality. Mere observation is not enough for an artist; he must have intuition, for it was necessary to listen to "l'harmonie silencieuse et triste des sentiments humains." ²

This realism does not exclude Idealism in the sense that the attempt is to formulate an absolute in which the partial ideas got by human observation can cohere and of which complete truth may be predicated. But the attempt for Hardy results in a frustration and

¹ "Roman et les Idées en Angleterre" by M. L. Cazamian, p. 379.

² "Roman et les Idées en Angleterre" by M. L. Cazamian, p. 380.

this sense of frustration is a predominant note of all his works. Idealism in philosophy means (1) the objects of our knowledge are our own mental states, (2) the universe is a single all-embracing unity, which may be most accurately described as knowledge, and that minds and objects are only aspects or expressions of this unity. The advocates of the former are known as subjective idealists and of the latter as idealists. Berkeley (1685-1753) holds that the ideas we know do, in fact, exist independently of our knowledge, since they continue to exist as ideas in the mind of God. This position was simply untenable for Hardy. According to Kant the mind is furnished initially with a number of general ideas or concepts which he called "forms of intuition" (space and time) and "principle of understanding" (quantity, quality, and causality are examples), which form a sort of framework into which everything that we know is fitted, and with which it must conform. Hegel (1770-1831) followed Kant in maintaining a distinction between the world of appearance and the world of reality, but in his philosophy the world reality is differently conceived. Instead of containing the many noumena of Kant's system, it is or contains one thing only, namely, "The Absolute" and this includes the world of appearance also. This Absolute of Hegel is taken up by Schopenhauer and is treated as Will in his work "The World as Will and Idea." The World of Appearance, including our own selves, is Idea, a mere manifestation of Will which is trying to undo us so as to work itself out in its own blind way. Hartmann improves upon this and treats the blind will as unconsciousness. Hardy's realism accepts the evils of life as facts but it goes beyond it and merges into idealism inasmuch as he conceives of a primal force or will which is working with a blind push and knows neither good nor evil. It moulds and determines all things in its own fashion. Hence his philosophy is deterministic and because individuals have to take their chance for such little happiness as is possible for them in this universe it is pessimistic. The conception of evolution is borrowed from the evolutionary empiricists but in combining it with German idealism and literary realism coming from the Continent or resulting from unrest at home and Naturalistic influences from abroad, Hardy changes both Naturalism and Idealism beyond recognition. So realism is not mere observation for him; it is achieved through intuition, that is, perception of the place of our observations in an Absolute. This perception, as we have said before, is associated with a sense of frustration, arising either out of Hardy's melancholy

temperament or his anguish at the sorrows and sufferings of humanity. In either case it makes his outlook pessimistic.¹

HARDY'S DETERMINISM

We are now in a position to summarise the salient traits of Hardy's determinism:—

(1) Hardy recognises the existence of a will which is creative though blind. It has no purpose beyond what human beings, by a sensible grasp of the ugly problems of life, may force upon it. But this hope is a dream, a remote futurity which in the world as it is constituted seems difficult of realisation.²

(2) This will or blind force, to which Hardy gives different names like "Absolute" and Unconsciousness" in his varying moods, manifests itself in two forms:—

(a) External nature (Will) which often looks grim and vindictive. It seems to conspire with non-moral passions and thereby subject man to the caprice of destiny. It has its horrors and its shocks but is unaffected by them.³

(b) Unconsciousness or the inner depth of man (Idea) is internally exerting to bring into action the brute longings by means of sexual attraction and repulsion.⁴

(3) Determinism arises from the helplessness to resolve the conflicts which 'Unconsciousness' [see 2 (b) above] occasions by reasons

¹ See "The Early Years of Thomas Hardy" by Emily Hardy, p. 223. "The business of the poet and novelist is to show the sorriest underlying the grandest things, and the grandeur underlying the sorriest things."

P. 265: "It is the on-going—i.e., the 'becoming'—of the world that produces its sadness. If the world stood still at a felicitous moment there would be no sadness in it."

P. 269: Dr. Grosart enumerated some of the horrors of human and animal life, particularly parasitic, and added, "The problem is how to reconcile these with the absolute goodness and non-limitation of God." Hardy replied, "Perhaps Dr. Grosart might be helped to a provisional view of the universe by the recently published life of Darwin, and the works of Herbert Spencer and other agnostics."

See also pp. 165, 215, 275, 279, 283, 285, 286, 293 and 294.

² Cf. Sophocles's "Hope" in "Antigone."

³ Cf. Schopenhauer's "Will," i.e. "The World as Will."

Distinction between Schopenhauer and Hardy's conception of Will. See "Le Pessimisme De Thomas Hardy par Ridler" by Barzin, pp. 164-65:—

"(1) Schopenhauer, en effet, nous dit que la Volonté est située en dehors de l'espace et du temps. Chez Hardy, la volonté se développe dans l'histoire du monde.

(2) La volonté de Schopenhauer est libre et sans lois. Chez Hardy, nous avons pu identifier cette Volonté avec le système de lois constituant le déterminisme universel."

⁴ Cf. Schopenhauer's "Will as Idea" and what man should do to save himself from being overwhelmed.

of clashes with the traditional beliefs in the old standard of sex morality or religion. In a better and more enlightened world Hardy, like Joad,¹ hopes that the conflict would end and human lot would improve. External nature would then not succeed in conspiring with forces within to victimise man. However, till then determinism is the law that governs human lives.

(4) A dominating factor amongst all these is "Chance" or "Coincidence," which seems to pick out its victims with the malignity of a misanthrope and takes a fiendish delight in ruining the lives of men and women it has marked out for destruction. It combines with the Blind Will and they both indulge in

" Shaping—reshaping—

The eternal spirit ! Eternal pastime."²

¹ Joad finally pictures the effects of the economic civilization, a product of the nineteenth century upon sex relations, a study of which is found scattered in Hardy's "Well-beloved" :—

(1) The unmarried woman will tend increasingly to form temporary irregular unions. This result will follow—

(a) because her knowledge that she can earn her living in other ways will not force her to demand from the man a pledge of life-long maintenance as a price of her love;

(b) because knowing that she is not dependent upon a man for her livelihood, she will no longer have the incentive to pander to the man's demand for virginity in his prospective wife by remaining chaste until marriage;

(c) because a man's abandonment of the connection which she has formed with him, a process commonly known as desertion, will not as heretofore leave her stranded without means of support.

(d) because man will be less chary of forming temporary sexual relationships with women, when they know that they are not expected to keep them.

(2) The married woman will mitigate her hostility to irregular union formed by unmarried woman when she realizes—

(a) that her husband's mistress, not being dependent upon him for support, will constitute a less formidable threat to her livelihood;

(b) that the possible transference of her husband's affection and consequent withdrawal of financial support will not leave her necessarily incapable of finding other employment.

(c) that, as the clear-cut line of demarcation between married and unmarried unions becomes obscured by the increase in the number of the latter, it will no longer be either possible or necessary to put the unmarried mistress as completely beyond the pale of decent society as has been customary in the past.

("The Future of Morals," pp. 51-52.)

(Hardy felt this sort of adjustment was psychologically difficult to achieve and more or less an Utopian dream and hence recklessness would long continue to bring misery and shame and death.)

² Goethe, "Gestaltung, ungestaltung Des ew'gen Sennes ewge Unterhaltung."

What is chance or coincidence? Ridder-Barzin says: "C'est dans ces cas où les faits exercent l'un sur l'autre une action mutuelle sans que nous pensions donner le pour quoi de cette interaction. . . . L'interférence des deux chaînes lui est restée intelligible, et l'est la le champ exact de la contingence."—*Le Pessimisme de Thomas Hardy* (Editions de la Revue de L'Université de Bruxelles, MCMXXXII), p. 59.

(Concluded)

INDIA'S DEMAND FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

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THE principle that a country has got the right to formulate and settle its own political constitution was recognised by the Indian National Congress as early as 1919. The Indian National Congress, held at Amritsar in December, 1919, was of opinion that the Government of India Act, 1919, was "inadequate, unsatisfactory, and disappointing" and it urged the establishment of "full responsible government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination." One can understand the reasonableness and even the necessity of this attitude when one takes into consideration the utterances of responsible British politicians regarding the political goal of India from 1909 to 1919. For a number of years the Congress had been clamouring for the gradual establishment of "a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire." Article I of the Congress constitution, before its amendment by the Nagpur Congress in 1920, aimed at nothing more. But the policy of the British Government at Whitehall gradually compelled the Congress to revise its aims and methods. In ushering the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, Lord Morley emphatically repudiated the idea of establishing parliamentary government in India as the result of his reforms. "If it could be said," he said, "that this chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I for one would have nothing at all to do with it." Even these grudging and half-hearted political concessions could be obtained from the British people, as Lord Morley tells us in his *Recollections*, only by satisfying the Muslims with communal electorates. "I am very sure of one thing, and this is that if we had not satisfied the Mahometans we should have had opinion here—which is now with us—dead against us." (*Recollections*, Vol. II, p. 323.) Two years after, in the Despatch of the Government of India, dated the 25th August, 1911, to the Secretary of State, the Marquess of Crewe, occurred a passage which seemed to advocate a policy of

provincial decentralisation and "a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern." This passage was quite naturally interpreted by Indian political opinion as foreshadowing self-government on Colonial lines. But the reaction of the Secretary of State for India, Lord Crewe, to this passage of the Despatch was ominous. Self-government on Colonial lines was emphatically and authoritatively disavowed in Parliament by Lord Crewe on 24th June, 1912, in the following words: "There is a certain section in India which looks forward to a measure of self-government approaching that which has been granted in the Dominions. I see no future for India on these lines. The experiment of extending a measure of self-government practically free from Parliamentary control to a race which is not our own, even though that race enjoys the services of the best men belonging to our race, is one which cannot be tried. It is my duty as Secretary of State to repudiate the idea that the despatch implies anything of the kind as the hope or goal of the policy of Government." (Lords Debates, the 24th June, 1912).

On the 29th June, 1912, the Secretary of State for India expressed his views more clearly and vigorously. He said: "There is nothing whatever in the teachings of history, so far as I know them, or in the present condition of the world which makes such a dream" (complete self-government within the British Empire) "even remotely probable. Is it conceivable that at any time an Indian Empire could exist, on the lines, say, of Australia and New Zealand, with no British officials and no tie of creed and blood which takes the place of these material bonds? To me that is a world as imaginary as any Atlantis or any that was ever thought of by the ingenious brain of any imaginative writer."

Sir Verney Lovett, at one time a member of the Rowlatt Committee, has lamented very much in his *History of the Indian Nationalist Movement* (p. 90) that "in spite of this advice the Congress leaders preferred to adhere to their original interpretation of the meaning of the disputed passage, and continued to profess self-government on Colonial lines as their goal, striving to accelerate advance by unrelenting pressure, sometimes employing analogies which

are apt to deceive if applied to cases which are not really parallel." So, as recently as 1912, even after the memorable Royal visit to India and after the famous Delhi Durbar of 1911 and the Royal "message of hope," such could be the pronouncements of the responsible Secretary of State for India, Lord Crewe, whose wisdom and judgment have become almost proverbial in British politics. Sir Verney Lovett, however, we may leave alone. He has never expressed his sympathy towards Indian national aspirations although he has attempted to write a *History of the Indian Nationalist Movement*. The late E. S. Montagu, in his *Indian Diary* gave us a clue to Sir Verney Lovett's political views by saying that "Sir Verney Lovett is a wise old thing who says that communal representation must be now continued in India." (Montagu, *Indian Diary*, pp. 62-63.)

One of the results of the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 was to speed up the political development of many countries in the world, and it speeded up enormously the political consciousness of India. The Announcement of the 20th August, 1917, promising "responsible government" to India, was due as much to the political consciousness of India as to the exigencies of the War. Lord Islington, the Under-Secretary of State for India in 1917, from his seat in the House of Lords, spoke of the "gravity of the Indian political situation" and Mr. Montagu, in one passage in his *Indian Diary*, claims, among other things, that he "kept India quiet for six months at a critical period of the War" by his political tour of India with Lord Chelmsford. It will not be profitable now to speculate whether the only object of the Montagu Mission in 1917 was to keep India "quiet for six months at a critical period of the War," but there is no doubt that the announcement of the 20th August, 1917, was open to one serious objection. It held out the hope of responsible government by "successive stages" and it also made it clear that the British Government and the Government of India must be judges of the time and measure of each advance." Now, the Indian National Congress never accepted the cautious, calculating and qualifying phrases of the announcement of August, 1917. The Congress protested, and protested very strongly, against the imposition of any stages and against the suggestion that the "time and measure of each advance" should be determined by the British Government or the British Parliament. The Congress which met in Calcutta in December, 1917, only three months after the Montagu pronouncement, made it clear that the

Indian people were not prepared to accept any defined stages, and urged that the time-limit should be fixed in the Statute itself for the establishment of responsible government in India. The resolution of the Congress runs: "This Congress strongly urges the necessity for the immediate enactment of a Parliamentary Statute providing for the establishment of responsible government in India, the full measure to be attained within a time-limit to be fixed in the Statute itself at an early date." This resolution was moved in the open Congress by the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea and it was supported by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who has now seen light and thinks that India is not suited for parliamentary democratic institutions, and who will also have the full satisfaction of Muslim claims before India can be declared fit for complete responsible government. Mr. Jinnah apparently in 1917 had no misgivings about Congress Swaraj.

Sir Surendranath in moving the resolution took exception to that part of the Montagu declaration which spoke of the British Government as being the judge of the time and measure of each advance in self-government. He said: "There is a rift in the lute. It is said that the measure of self-government and the time for its introduction are to be determined by the Government of India and the British democracy. We, the people who are most vitally concerned in the matter, concerned far more closely than either the British Government or the Government of India, we claim the right to have a voice in the matter. And here we take our stand on the dictum of the Prime Minister himself. He said in the course of one of his recent speeches that when, after the War, the question of re-settlement was to be considered—mark the words—the wishes of the people are to be the supreme consideration. I am grateful to him for this admission and the Congress should be grateful for it. But he also added that the formula is not to be fettered by considerations of latitude and longitude and that it is equally applicable to the tropical climates. We therefore take our stand upon this dictum and press for the recognition of this formula in the coming re-adjustment of the Government of India." This clearly shows that so far as the Indian National Congress is concerned, it has never admitted that the British Government and the Government of India were to be the judges of the time and measure of each advance. When the Congress met at Delhi in December, 1918, it adopted a resolution demanding the application of the principle of self-determination to India. The Resolution was this: "In view of

the pronouncement of President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and other British statesmen, that to ensure the future peace of the world the principle of self-determination should be applied to all progressive Nations, be it re-stated that this Congress claims the recognition of India by the British Parliament and by the Peace Conference as one of the Progressive Nations to whom the principle of self-determination should be applied."

The Preamble of the Government of India Bill, 1919, as drafted, was based on the announcement of the 20th August, 1917, and it incorporated that part of the announcement which pointed to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire. It did not, however, deal with that part of the announcement which declared that the progress of this policy could only be achieved by successive stages, and that Parliament, advised by His Majesty's Government, must be the judge of the time and measure of each advance. In giving evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1919, the late V. J. Patel, later the first elected President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, put the Congress case before the Joint Committee clearly and emphatically and stated that the Indian National Congress did not regard the phrases which spoke of successive stages as a part of the announcement of His Majesty's Government. That was the position of the Indian National Congress before the Joint Committee in 1919, and that position was re-affirmed by Mr. Patel in his speech in the Indian Legislative Assembly on the 13th February, 1924, on the National Demand made by Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leader of the Swarajya Party. (Legislative Assembly Debates, February, 1924, p. 562.) The Joint Committee, however, took a different view of the matter and enlarged the Preamble of the Bill of 1919 so as to include all parts of the announcement of the 20th August, 1917. Their reason for doing so may be stated in their own words: "An attempt has been made to distinguish between the parts of this announcement, and to attach different value to each part according to opinion. It has been said, for instance, that whereas the first part is a binding pledge, the later part is a mere expression of opinion of no importance. But the Committee think that it is of the utmost importance, from the very inauguration of these constitutional changes, that Parliament should make it quite plain that the responsibility for the successive stages of the development of self-government in India rests on itself and on itself alone, and that it cannot share this

responsibility with, much less delegate it to, the newly-elected Legislatures of India." Thus the Preamble, with increased content and meaning, and in an enlarged form, became the coping-stone of the Government of India Act, 1919. Even now this Preamble controls the political destiny of India ; for the Government of India Act, 1935, was passed in Parliament without a Preamble, and Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India at that time explained in the House of Commons on the 6th February, 1935, that there was no need for a Preamble to the Bill of 1935, as the Preamble to the Act of 1919 would stand unrepealed. (Commons Debates, February, 1935, pp. 1172-73.) The present writer pointed out, in an article on India's Constitutional Status published in the *Calcutta Review* in August, 1935, that the Preamble to the Act of 1919 is hopelessly out of date and no amount of interpretation put upon it can make it identical or consistent with the Constitutional Status of the Dominions. That Preamble binds India " as an integral part of the Empire," and this implies the unrestricted control of the Imperial Legislature, the Imperial Executive and the Imperial Judiciary over the affairs of India. To anybody who has sense to understand, the Preamble of 1919 which remained unrepealed in 1935 must appear as the badge of India's slavery. Successive British administrations have not deviated an inch from the position taken up in 1919. In appointing the Simon Commission Lord Birkenhead made it clear in his speech in the House of Lords on the 24th November, 1927: " But let it be plainly said—it cannot be too plainly said—that Parliament cannot, and will not, repudiate its own duties, its own responsibility, in this matter. If anybody seriously supposes, either here or in India, that we are mechanically to accept a constitution without our own primary and ultimate responsibility for judging upon it, they have no contact with the realities of the actual situation." Lord Chelmsford, the joint author of the Reforms of 1919, speaking on the same day from his place in the House of Lords, lent his support to the contention of Lord Birkenhead. (Lords Debates, November 24, 1927.) The statement of Lord Birkenhead can not be lightly treated, for only two years before, on the 7th July, 1925, Lord Birkenhead as His Majesty's responsible Secretary of State for India made the significant declaration in Parliament: " I am not able, in any foreseeable future, to discern a moment when we may safely, either to ourselves or India, abandon our trust. There is, my Lords, no ' lost Dominion,' there will be no ' lost Dominion ' until that

moment, if it ever comes, when the whole British Empire, with all that it means for civilization, is splintered in doom." (Lords Debates, July 7, 1925.) The speech was highly eulogised by Lord Hardinge, an ex-Viceroy of India, in a letter written on the same day to Lord Birkenhead. The letter is as follows: "My dear Birkenhead,—As an ex-ruler of India, I must send you one line to congratulate you very warmly on your speech of to-day. It is just what is wanted in India and will do an immense amount of good. It will encourage the moderates to rally to the side of Government and put heart in the Services, and pulverise false Indian ideals. It was a joy to listen to it." (*Birkenhead: The Last Phase*, p. 248.)

Now the whole conflict centres round the Preamble and the principle of the Preamble. Unthinking insistence on a preamble has very often been the characteristic of incorrigible and unrepentant imperialism. England lost the thirteen colonies of America in the 18th century for the sake of the preambles of the Stamp Act, the Declaratory Act, and the Revenue Act. "The colonists resolved to give up everything," says Lord Acton, "not to escape from actual oppression, but to honour a precept of unwritten law. If interest was on one side, there was a manifest principle on the other—a principle so sacred and so clear as imperatively to demand the sacrifice of men's lives, of their families and their fortune. That was the transatlantic discovery in the theory of political duty, the light that came over the ocean." (Acton, *Lectures on the French Revolution*, p. 24.) James Otis of Boston, in one of the memorable speeches in political history, lifted the question of the American colonists to a very high level. He argued that the Statute was wrong, that Parliament had exceeded its authority. "One single Act of Parliament," wrote Otis, "has set people a-thinking, in six months, more than they had done in their whole lives before." His pamphlet, *The Rights of the British Colonies*, presented the 'law of nature' theory—the Law above Parliament—which provided both a justification for the American Revolution and a basis for the State and the Federal constitutions. (S. E. Morison, *The American Revolution: Sources and Documents*, pp. 4-9.) In this sense, the American Revolution was a new phase of political history. "The American Revolution," says Lord Acton, "innovated upon the English Revolution, as the English Revolution innovated on the politics of Bacon or of Hobbes. . . . The case was fought out on the ground of the law of nature, more properly speaking, of Divine

Right. By the rules of right, which had been obeyed till then, England had the better cause. By the principle which was then inaugurated, England was in the wrong, and the future belonged to the Colonies." (Acton, *Lectures on Modern History*—The American Revolution, pp. 309-11). I may here add the words of Daniel Webster, the great expounder of the American constitution, to indicate the true reasons for American resistance: "It was against the recital of an Act of Parliament, rather than against any suffering under its enactment, that they took up arms. They went to war against a preamble. They fought seven years against a declaration. They saw in the claim of the British Parliament a seminal principle of mischief, the germ of unjust power." (Quoted in Lord Acton, *Lectures on the French Revolution*, p. 25.) The Indian National Congress also has been fighting for the last 21 years against the Preamble of the Act of 1919 which would not allow the Indian people to frame their own constitution without external interference.

The special session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in September, 1920, on the initiative of Mahatma Gandhi adopted the programme of Non-Co-operation and the policy of triple boycott, one of which was the boycott of the new legislatures created under the Reformed Constitution of 1919. When the All-India Swarajya Party decided to revise this policy of the Congress and enter the legislatures in 1924, it did so with the distinct and avowed object of mending or ending the constitution. Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leader of the Swaraja Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly, on the 8th February, 1924, moved for taking steps to summon at an early date a representative Round Table Conference for the revision of the Government of India Act, 1919, and for the establishment of "full responsible government in India." In his speech from his place in the Assembly Pandit Motilal Nehru emphatically challenged the justice of the Preamble of the Government of India Act and maintained that from the year 1919 the demand of the Congress had been clear and consistent. It was the immediate establishment of full responsible government. He uttered in memorable sentences India's reply to the British Parliament: "Now, Sir, our answer, straight and clear, as unequivocal as the Preamble, is that the Preamble is bad, the whole law, the whole Act is as bad as could possibly have been devised to postpone, to stifle and to suppress the natural desire which I have already mentioned. That is what we say and we are perfectly entitled

to say . . . , we say that the Act has done a gross injustice to us in that Preamble and in the subsequent provisions of it which refuse to us the full rights of responsible Government that we demand." (Legislative Assembly Debates, February, 1924, p. 368.) The speech recalls James Otis of the American Revolution and puts courage into timid hearts. When the debate was resumed on the 13th February next, Pandit Motilal said that the Swaraj he was looking for " was the Swaraj of the poor man, the poorest man," and on this ground he maintained that the Swaraj Constitution of India could only be framed by the real representatives of the people. He went so far as to assert that the Indian Legislative Assembly itself of 1924 had no right to arrogate to itself the privilege of framing a constitution for India. That would be trespassing upon the rights and privileges of the people. Mahatma Gandhi, when he was asked by the Anglo-Indian press and other critics repeatedly to define what he meant by Swaraj, refused to do so by saying: " It is not for me, it is not for any one to say that. It is for the people to say what is the form of government they are going to have." This is the authentic note of democracy. It is refreshing to find that the Congress President, Babu Rajendra Prasad, in his very important statement on the Viceroy's recent speech at the Orient Club, Bombay, has consistently upheld the same old democratic national point of view that was so eloquently and so vigorously put forward by Pandit Motilal Nehru in the Indian Legislative Assembly as early as February, 1924. It is not for the many parties to arrive at some kind of compromise. The Congress President has rightly pointed out that the party leaders are not full representatives of their communities. Therefore, when the Viceroy appeals to the parties, he evidently ignores the inherent and fatal defect in his method. The problem of the future constitution for India is a fit and proper subject for discussion and debate by the real and accredited representatives of the Indian people and it cannot be withheld from them without committing a breach of faith and without doing a grave injury to the future democracy of India. The present party leaders of India, without a mandate from the people duly obtained, can never come to a just conclusion in a matter of such tremendous importance as the drawing up of a charter of independence for India. That would be an assumption of despotic power unheard of and equally indefensible on grounds of law, politics and morality. The Congress demand for a Constituent Assembly was made after very careful and deep

consideration and the Constituent Assembly provides the only just, proper and democratic solution. It safeguards the rights of nascent democracy in India.

Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Home Member of the Government of India in February, 1924, opposed the demand of the Swaraj Party in the Assembly by taking shelter behind the Preamble of the Act of 1919 and by having recourse to a subterfuge that the Preamble of the Act of 1919 promised "responsible government" and not "Dominion Status." His argument of the Preamble was fully met by Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. V. J. Patel. The fine distinction drawn between "responsible government" and "Dominion Status" by the dialectical skill of the Home Member became the subject of acute controversy in Indian politics for the next five years, and it was only obliterated by Lord Irwin's formal declaration on the 31st October, 1929, which said that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress was the attainment of Dominion Status. This was, however, from the point of view of the British Government, a quite harmless declaration, and as there was no indication of time in which the promise would be fulfilled, the mere statement of ultimate goal could not satisfy Indian political aspirations. Hailey's reference to the minorities problem, in the same speech, as a stumbling block in the path of Indian self-government, led to an animated debate in the Legislative Assembly. Sir Malcolm Hailey eloquently spoke about the necessity for "the protection of minority communities" and felt rather sorry for those Indian nationalists who thought that "when the day of independence dawned, communal difficulties would disappear in the bright sunshine of the new freedom." This line of argument to expose the weakness of the Indian demand for self-rule was not anything new in 1924. Such arguments were used before, and they have been repeated up to the present moment again and again. Only very recently, Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice of India, in his address delivered at the Convocation of the Benares Hindu University, referred to these elements of discord, and doubted the wisdom of those who hoped to frame a Constitution for India without settling these differences. These are the words of Sir Maurice Gwyer: "Let a constitution be made, it is sometimes said, and in the sunshine of our content all differences will vanish like morning mists. So too the unwilling bride may be persuaded that the affection which she does not feel will follow marriage." There is a strange likeness between Sir Maurice Gwyer's

and Sir Malcolm Hailey's pity for the placid pathetic contentment of the Indian patriots. One can only ask if India's case for self-government is so pitiful and weak and ridiculous.

The fact is that Anglo-Indian administrators have always taken a peculiar delight in emphasizing the difficulties of India. Sir John Strachey, a very distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, who officiated for some time as the Governor-General of India, in a course of lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge in 1884, repeatedly referred to the provinces of India as "the countries of India." According to him, "India is a name which we give to a great region including a multitude of different countries. There is no general Indian term that corresponds to it." (Sir John Strachey, *India : Its Administration and Progress*, p. 2.) He goes further and observes: "This is the first and most essential thing to learn about India—that there is not, and never was, an India, or even any country of India, possessing, according to European ideas, any sort of unity, physical, political, social or religious; no Indian nation, no *People of India*, of which we hear so much." (*Ibid.*, p. 5.) And finally Sir John Strachey comes to the conclusion that the growth of a single Indian nationality is impossible at any time. According to him, "It must not be supposed that such bonds of union (meaning the unifying agencies of the Government of India) can in any way lead towards the growth of a single Indian nationality. However long may be the duration of our dominion, however powerful may be the centralizing attraction of our Government, or the influence of the common interests which grow up, no such issue can follow. It is conceivable that national sympathies may arise in particular Indian countries; but that they should ever extend to India generally, that men of Bombay, the Punjab, Bengal and Madras should ever feel that they belong to the great Indian nation, is impossible." This statement is even repeated in the third edition of the book which was revised by Sir John Strachey himself in April, 1903. (*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.)

It thus appears that it is almost impossible for Anglo-Indian administrators to change their attitude towards India. When Lord Minto gave the assurance of separate Muslim electorates to the Muslim deputation led by the Aga Khan on the 1st October, 1906, an official wrote to Lady Minto as follows: "I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very very big thing has happened to-day. A work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year.

It is nothing less than the pulling back of sixty-two millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition." (Lady Minto, *Diary*, pp. 47-48.) The present writer has shown, in an article on the Minto-Morley Reforms (published in the *Calcutta Review*, December, 1939), that the object of Lord Minto in inaugurating the reforms of 1909 was to find "a possible counterpoise to Congress aims, and to rally the moderates." Furtherance of any idea or scheme for *the unity of India* was farthest from the mind of Lord Minto.

Soon after Hailey's famous speech in the Legislative Assembly emphasizing communal difficulties, Lord Birkenhead, as Secretary of State for India, wrote to Lord Reading, the Viceroy, as follows: "To me it is frankly inconceivable that India will ever be fit for Dominion self-government." (*Birkenhead: The Last Phase*, p. 245.) In another letter to Reading written in January, 1925, he made much of communal "antagonisms" in India and expressed his conviction that the British Government alone could "play the part of composers." He wrote: "The more it is made obvious that these antagonisms are profound, and affect immense and irreconcilable sections of the population, the more conspicuously is the fact illustrated that we, and we alone, can play the part of composers." (*Ibid.*, pp. 245-46.) One may be permitted to ask if this epistle was the result of wishful thinking. On the 7th July, 1925, Lord Birkenhead, in a very important statement made from his place in the House of Lords, expressed himself in the following terms: "To talk of India as an entity is as absurd as to talk of Europe as an entity. Yet the very nationalist spirit which has created most of our difficulties in the last few years is based upon the aspirations and claims of a nationalist India. There never has been such a nation. Whether there ever will be such a nation the future alone can show." To Lord Birkenhead apparently the development of an Indian nationality was disconcerting. When the Simon Commission was successfully boycotted by nationalist India, Birkenhead tried to thwart the opposition by taking advantage of communal and political differences among the Indians. In a private letter of the 19th January, 1928, to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, he wrote: "We have always relied on the non-boycotting Moslems, on the depressed community, on the business interests, and on many others, to break down the attitude of boycott. You and Simon must be the judges whether or not it is expedient in these directions to try to make a breach in the wall of antagonism, even in the course of the present visit." (*Birkenhead: The*

Last Phase, p. 254). It is significant that the communities and interests mentioned in this letter of January, 1928, subsequently found adequate recognition and special protection in the Communal Award of 1932. Finding the boycott of the Simon Commission rather successful, Birkenhead wrote to the Viceroy in February next, in terms of high indignation: "I should advise Simon to see at all stages important people who are *not* boycotting the Commission, particularly Moslems and the depressed classes. I should widely advertise all his interviews with representative Moslems. The whole policy now is obvious, It is to terrify the immense Hindu population by the apprehension that the Commission is being got hold of by the Moslems and may present a report altogether destructive of the Hindu position, thereby securing a solid Moslem support, and leaving Jinnah high and dry." (*Birkenhead: The Last Phase*, p. 255). We may ask if this policy of Lord Birkenhead was conceived in the best interests of India and was intended to promote communal harmony and the unity of India.

Mahatma Gandhi, in a leading article in the *Harijan* of the 20th January, 1940, said several good things about the recent pronouncement of Lord Linlithgow, namely, the Viceroy's speech at the Orient Club, Bombay. Mahatmaji has found in the speech evidence of "sincerity." But what has been the reaction of the powerful *The Times* to the same speech? In a leading article of the same date, January 20, referring to the Viceroy's speech, the paper speaks how differently and in what different strain: "But the British Government cannot be expected to accede to the Congress view that they should have no hand whatever in framing the final constitution of India, but that this should be left wholly to an Indian constituent assembly. That notion certainly has been prevalent in Congress circles and may still be widely held, but it is open to obvious criticism even from a practical viewpoint. Sir Maurice Gwyer pointed out in his address that the history of constituent assemblies in Europe did not encourage the opinion that a parliament or any assembly of the kind was fitted to frame the constitution, nor can the British Government honourably dissociate themselves from representation in any body designed to frame the constitution for the dominion of India. They cannot, for example, divest themselves forthwith of all responsibility in Indian defence and foreign relations, nor can they take no further thought for the minorities, the Princes, the Moslems, and the Depressed classes whose interests they have undertaken to defend. Even if the Moslem

League were to come to terms with the Congress Party to-morrow, there would still be Indian problems, in a fair solution of which this country would be vitally concerned. The demands of sections of the Congress Party that the British Government should stand aside and allow them the sole voice in framing the destinies of India is altogether inadmissible."

If the essence of Dominion Status is not practically complete independence of the British Parliament, then we do not know what it is. We hear an echo of the words of the Preamble of 1919 in this article of *The Times*. If the contention of *The Times* is true, then it appears that India has made no progress in the march of self-government during the last twenty-one years. The article also recalls the tone and words of Lord Birkenhead uttered in the House of Lords on the 7th July, 1925. In dealing with Indian constitutional experiment, the predominant consideration of Lord Birkenhead was the future of the British Empire. In his speech of the 7th July, 1925, he expressed his apprehension about the future of the Empire as follows: "Of the 440 millions of British citizens who constitute the British Empire, 320 millions are Indians. The loss of India would mean a shrinkage in the Empire from 13,250,000 to less than 11,500,000 square miles. Our problem is, in fact, and always has been, one of prodigious difficulty." "The whole message," said Birkenhead, "as we understand it, of our situation in India, with all that it involves in the storied past, in the critical present, and in the incalculable future, is to be read in that Preamble. We shall not be diverted from its high obligations by the tactics of restless impatience. The door of acceleration is not open to menace; still less will it be stormed by violence." His advice, pontifically delivered to the Congress in 1925, was to cultivate the quality of patience. "What is ten years," he said, "in the age-long history of the immemorial East?" Evidently, in the opinion of Lord Birkenhead, Indians should have waited patiently for their political salvation till the end of this cycle of human existence, without despairing of British Imperial destiny.

If the opinion of *The Times* is any index to the British public opinion, we fail to understand in what respects the chances of Indian self-government are any the better than what they were during the administration of Lord Birkenhead. If the Viceroy's assurance of "Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety" can be commented upon by *The Times* to mean that India should not be allowed

to settle her own constitution without external interference, or that the British Government cannot divest themselves forthwith of all responsibility for Indian defence, foreign relations, minorities, the Princes, the Moslems and the Depressed classes, then we wonder what exactly the implications of Dominion Status are at the present moment. Dominion Status for India undoubtedly connotes the right of the Indian people to settle their future political destiny for themselves. The practical necessity of such a Status in action in India was urged, on the 18th January last, by Mr. Wedgwood Benn in the House of Commons, while speaking on the Government of India and Burma Miscellaneous Amendments Bill. Declaring that only a few members could claim to decide in detail on the merits of the Bill, Mr. Benn said: "It clearly shows the extremely weak position in which we stand here, attempting to govern India without a proper and responsible Assembly in India to do the work themselves. The Bill should act as a reminder that the Government should do everything in their power to hasten the day when matters of this kind can be dealt with by the Indian people themselves." (Speech reported in *The Statesman* on January 20, 1940.) But the voice of Mr. Benn is more or less a solitary voice. The Viceroy's speech at the Orient Club, Bombay, raises undoubtedly certain expectations, but we do not know whether those expectations will not be repudiated, like the hopes arising out of the Delhi Despatch of the 25th August, 1911, in Parliament, by a responsible Minister of His Majesty's Government. Already Lord Meston's recent speech at Manchester on the Viceroy's pronouncement brings to our ears the rumblings of the storm.

The problem of minorities raised by Sir Malcolm Hailey in his speech of the 8th February, 1924, and the plea of *The Times* that "the British Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility for the minorities, the Princes, the Moslems and the Depressed classes," remind us of certain similar problems in other parts of the British Empire. The South African Constitution of 1909 was formed in South Africa by the South African National Convention. Undoubtedly the most difficult question which gave the Convention a great deal of trouble was the problem of the native franchise. This difficulty persisted right through until the South African Union Act was finally passed at Westminster. The Convention came to the conclusion that in South Africa those who should sit as members in either House of Parliament must be persons of European descent. This meant that the natives is

South Africa were excluded from sitting in the South African Parliament. There were among the natives, as Lord Crewe, the Colonial Secretary, himself admitted in Parliament, "men who were of high standing, of high character, and of high ability." They regarded this exclusion as a slight and they "pressed with deep feeling and much eloquence" their case before the British Government at Westminster. But the British Government felt powerless to interfere with the decision of the South African National Convention. Lord Crewe, the Colonial Secretary, from his place in the House of Lords, on the 27th July, 1909, defended the action of the Convention in the following terms: "The fact which has decided us in not attempting to press this matter against the wishes of the South African delegates has been that this is undoubtedly one of those matters which represent a delicately balanced compromise between themselves. As a Government we cannot take—and personally I am not prepared to take—the responsibility for the possible wrecking of this Union measure altogether by a provision of this kind; I am assured that such would be the result of any attempt to insert such a provision in the Bill. The cause of those who desire this change to be made, has been pressed with deep feeling and much eloquence by some of the natives themselves, and by those who specially represent their cause. But I do feel that if this change is to be made, it must be made in South Africa by South Africans themselves, and that it is not possible for us, whatever we may consider to be the special merits of the case, to attempt to force it upon the great representative body which with absolute unanimity demands that it should not appear." So the great representative South African National Convention, which as a constituent assembly drafted the South African Constitution of 1909, had its way, and it can with truth be said that the completed Act which the South African delegates brought back with them from England was identical with the draft Bill which they had taken with them to England.

Let us then take the case of Canada in 1838 when Lord Durham was sent out as High Commissioner from England to put down the rebellion in Canada and suggest remedies. The finding of Lord Durham's Report on the Canadian situation in 1838 was that the policy of the British Government was responsible for the racial antagonisms and religious conflicts in Canada. Lord Durham writes: "I expected to find a conflict between a government and a people, but I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state. I found a struggle

not of principles, but of races." And who was responsible for this struggle? Durham gives the answer: "Unhappily, however, the system of government pursued in Lower Canada has been based on the policy of perpetuating that very separation of the races, and encouraging these very notions of conflicting nationalities which it ought to have been the first and chief care of Government to check and extinguish. From the period of the conquest to the present time, the conduct of the Government has aggravated the evil, and the origin of the present extreme disorder may be found in the institutions by which the character of the Colony was determined. . . . The Imperial Government . . . has shaped its policy so as to aggravate the disorder. In some instances it has actually conceded the mischievous pretensions of nationality in order to evade popular claim. . . . The alternate concessions to the contending races have only irritated both, and impaired the authority of Government." And yet the situation was not, perhaps, past redress, if it had been fully understood only a few years before. The Lower Canada Assembly, in January, 1833, put forward the suggestion of a "Convention" for the redress of their grievances. In the petition which was sent by the Assembly to the King very soon afterwards, this request was made again. The request was that "delegates freely and indiscriminately chosen by all classes and out of all classes of the community so as to be in harmony with the interests of the province" should "recommend the proper modifications" in government. "A general assembly of this kind," it was said, "would prove to be a faithful interpreter of all the interests of the Colony taken collectively." (Kennedy, *Statutes, Treaties and Documents of the Canadian Constitution*, 2nd Edition, p. 264). But even this modest demand of the Assembly was totally refused. The reply of the Secretary of State for the Colonial department in answer to the petition of the Assembly fully reflected the attitude of the Imperial Government towards Canadian political aspirations. It was as follows: "The object of the address is to pray His Majesty to sanction a National Convention of the people of Canada, for the purpose of superseding the legislative authorities. . . . His Majesty can never be advised to assent, as deeming it inconsistent with the very existence of monarchical institutions. (*Ibid*, p. 269.) Canadian insistence on "Conventions of the people" in the Ninety-two Resolutions of 1834 did not also gain much support with the British Cabinet, and when nothing else could attain its end, the Assembly had recourse

to the threat of revolution which, in the last resort, is the sanction of all constitutional principles.

For this state of things Durham had his remedies to propose. His healing measures were contained in his recommendations for the immediate establishment of institutions of responsible government in Canada. Let us see what Durham suggests as a cure for racial hatred, religious troubles and administrative disorders. He writes: "When I look on the various and deep-rooted causes of mischief which the past enquiry has pointed out as existing in every institution, in the constitutions, and in the very composition of society throughout a great part of these Provinces, I almost shrink from the apparent presumption of grappling with these gigantic difficulties. Nor shall I attempt to do so in detail. *I rely on the efficacy of reform in the constitutional system by which these Colonies are governed for the removal of every abuse in their administration which defective institutions have engendered.*"* If a system can be devised which shall lay in these countries the foundation of an efficient and popular government, ensure harmony in place of collision between the various powers of the state, bring the influence of a vigorous public opinion to bear on every detail of public affairs, we may rely on sufficient remedies being found for the present vices of the administrative system." And what has been the verdict of History on the remedies proposed by Lord Durham for Canada's evils? It must be admitted that History has completely vindicated Durham. His advocacy of responsible government as a cure for all evils has left his Report enshrined with the great political literature of the English language. At Durham's untimely death, Sir John Cam Hobhouse, afterwards Lord Broughton, probably his closest friend, wrote a true word about him in his *Diary*: "He had an abundance of political courage." Race, self-government, federation, nationhood, these had been some of the greatest problems in Canadian history, and Durham tried to solve them all in six months. Some of his criticisms and recommendations might be unhistorical, but in the life of nations a great tradition may be a fact even if it is not founded upon fact. The tradition of *Magna Carta* throughout the thirteenth century in England, again and again, was of inestimable service to English constitutional liberties. The cry of "confirmation of the Charter" gained many battles in the history of English freedom. Durham, the loyal and devoted son-in-law

* Italics are mine.

of Earl Grey of the Reform Bill, and the father-in-law of Earl Elgin, perhaps the greatest Colonial Viceroy of the 19th century, by his vision and faith, gave us a Report which remains the epitome of responsible government. Durham could forecast the scope of responsible government or its sovereign function in the integration of Canadian nationality. "Self-government plus union," says Professor Chester Martin of the University of Toronto, in the June issue of the *Canadian Historical Review*, 1939 (Issue to Celebrate the Centenary of the Publication of Lord Durham's Report), "equals nationhood and Durham's glimpse of something like a national existence—'some nationality of his own' for the North American colonist—is one of the most discerning prophecies of the Report. . . . The therapeutic function of freedom to engender good-will and co-operation in this wicked world is an incandescent faith in the philosophy of Burke and Howe and Buller and Elgin." Durham knew this well.

What a different note is struck by Mr. Jinnah's reply to the letter of Mahatma Gandhi, dated the 16th January, 1940 ! In that reply Mr. Jinnah takes occasion to assert that "India is not a nation, nor a country. It is a sub-continent composed of nationalities, Hindus and Moslems being the two major nations." We hear in this an echo of the lecture of Sir John Strachey before his Cambridge audience in 1884. The reply of Mr. Jinnah is indeed a very sad and depressing commentary on the history of Indian nationalism during the last fifty-five years. We wonder if the latest pronouncements of Mr. Jinnah emanate from the same Mr. Jinnah who appeared on the Congress platform in Calcutta, in 1917, and supported the resolution moved by the late Sir Surendranath Banerjee for the immediate establishment of national self-government in India. We find that Mr. Jinnah now suspects that the Congress High Command are out for an "alliance with the British Government, in order that Moslems and minorities and other interests may be placed at their mercy, once more for them to begin their process of crushing them downright." He then strikes a note of caution or warning and says that if the guarantees already given to the minorities are not implemented or are not honoured in practice, then it will "create the gravest crisis in India ; and Moslem India will resist it by all the means in their power and will not shrink from making any sacrifice, and the British Government will be wholly responsible for the consequences if they yield or are stampeded by threats and coercion by one party."

This is not the note of protection of minorities, but rather the note of dictation by minorities. This vigorous assertion of so-called minority rights is unprecedented and unheard of in the history of constitutional government. The chances of self-government for India would be utterly annihilated if this note of arrogant dictation is allowed to pass unchallenged. So far as we know, the Indian National Congress has not as yet said that the minorities in India, like the United Empire Loyalists in the American Revolution, might leave the country and shift for themselves. On the other hand, the Congress has given repeated assurances that the rights and privileges of minorities shall be settled in a self-governing India according to the satisfaction of the minorities concerned.

"Nothing is more fatal," said Lord Morley, "than turning history into idolatry." If Mr. Jinnah's reading of Indian history and his reflection on Indian politics have taught him that "India is not a nation, nor a country," then it is time that he should read Indian history in a new light and approach the study of Indian politics from a new angle of vision. The Indian National Congress, as we understand it, is not content to contemplate the past. It has fixed its hope and endeavour on the future and it believes that "upward growth and progress is the law of human life, and that flame brightens as it moves from hand to hand." It seems that the mind of Mr. Jinnah moves entirely within the conditions of society familiar to him, and he does not heed the coming democracy—the uplifted, the enlightened masses of all denominations and of all communities. But the Congress, most probably, believes like the great French philosopher-statesman Turgot, that the future would be unlike the past, that it would be better, and it further thinks that the experience of ages may instruct and warn, but cannot guide or control. "By the hypothesis of progress," says Lord Acton, "the new is always gaining on the old; history is the embodiment of imperfection, and escape from history became the watchword of the coming day. Condorcet, Turgot's pupil, thought that the world might be emancipated by burning its records." Mr. Jinnah would deserve well of his country and countrymen if he could only nerve himself once more to the steadfast work of national regeneration. It is not unreasonable to hope, on the basis of his past services to the country, that his life may still be stimulated by a noble and resolute purpose of furthering India's national freedom.

We must now go back to the debate of the Indian Legislative Assembly in February, 1924, on Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment for the summoning of a representative Round Table Conference. This amendment was accepted by a very large majority in the Assembly—76 members voting for and 43 against. Mr. Jinnah was amongst those who supported and voted for the amendment. During the debate Sir Malcolm Hailey announced that the Government of India was prepared to hold an enquiry into the working of the Act of 1919 up to that time, and was also ready to consider the feasibility and the possibility of any advance within the framework of the Act; but he made it clear that no amendment of the Act or radical changes could be contemplated. As a result of this debate, the Reforms Enquiry Committee of 1924, presided over by Sir Alexander Muddiman, was set up to see what could be done to improve the working of the existing constitutional machinery. The majority of the Committee suggested slight changes here and there within the four corners of the Statute, but the minority pointed out boldly the "inherent constitutional defects" of the prevailing system, and "the practical difficulties experienced in its working," and came to the conclusion that the constitution required to be overhauled. The Report of the Committee was published in March, 1925, and on the 7th September, 1925, Sir Alexander Muddiman, the then Home Member of the Government of India, moved a resolution in the Assembly recommending the acceptance of the principle underlying the Majority Report. A long amendment, which is now known as the National Demand of 1925, was moved to this resolution by Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leader of the Swaraj Party. This amendment confirmed and reiterated the demand contained in the resolution of the Assembly passed by it in February, 1924, and asked the Governor-General in Council to take immediate steps to move His Majesty's Government to make a declaration in Parliament embodying certain fundamental changes in the constitutional machinery and administration of India which would make the Government fully responsible. The amendment further recommended the holding of a representative Convention or Round Table Conference, to frame, with due regard to the interests of minorities, a detailed scheme of government, and to place the said Scheme for approval before the Legislative Assembly, after which it would be submitted to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute. The amendment was carried against the Government by 72 votes to 45.

It is thus clear that from 1919, or even from 1917, the Congress was claiming to exercise the right of self-determination. It consistently and repeatedly made various efforts to come to an honourable understanding with England in the matter of framing the future constitution of India. But it never deviated from the position that the constitution of the country could be shaped only by the accredited representatives of the people themselves. The National Demand of 1925 was in substance a demand for a constituent assembly. "The struggle for reform," said Pandit Motilal Nehru in prophetic words in the Assembly, "once begun must sooner or later have its appointed end, which is no other than the achievement of the fullest freedom. It remains to be seen whether England will share the credit of the achievement by willingly giving a helping hand, or suffer that the achievement be wrested from her unwilling hands. . . . It is for England to choose." Herein was really struck the keynote of the present Congress demand for a constituent assembly. If it is still possible for India to frame her own constitution through a national convention or a constituent assembly elected on adult suffrage, with the good-will and co-operation of England, then certainly the Indian National Congress will welcome this attitude of England. If, however, England, instead of helping, stands in the way of national freedom, then the Congress will do all that is possible for it to do, consistently with its creed and constitution, "to wrest," as Pandit Motilal said, "freedom from her unwilling hands." The present Congress demand for a constituent assembly is quite logical and consistent. Those of our countrymen who think that a constituent assembly can only come into existence after the achievement of sovereign power by the country, are unfortunately confusing an historical accident with an essential factor in human history. The resources or devices of human civilization are not at an end, and human beings may still discover new methods of overcoming human difficulties. "Nothing is more fatal than turning history into idolatry," and while history may instruct and warn, it cannot, it should not, guide or control. If constituent assemblies in the history of certain nations were only established after a good deal of fight and bloodshed, it does not necessarily follow that India should have to pass through the same stage or the same experience. It may yet be hoped that it will be possible in India to bring into existence a constituent assembly with the assent and co-operation of Great Britain. The Congress under the wise and distinguished

guidance of Mahatma Gandhi is unquestionably striving for such a result.

Then again, the Congress demand for a constituent assembly constitutes at once a defence and a programme. It is a defence of the position taken up by the Indian National Congress ever since the year 1919, and it is a programme of action for the country to adopt wholeheartedly. It has given the entire country an opportunity of focussing its political views on a definite and particular issue. This issue at the present moment is the supreme issue before the nation, in comparison with which all other issues or questions pale into insignificance. Let India make her choice.

(To be continued.)

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Mining Education in India

Greater interest in mining education is being shown in India than before, as the increase in the number of scholars attending the Indian School of Mines at Dhanbad, and the Department of Mining and Metallurgy at the Benares Hindu University indicates.

At the Indian School of Mines, the number of students at the beginning of the 1938 session was 76 as compared with 68 at the beginning of the previous session. The number further increased to 87 in November, 1938. At Benares the number at the beginning of the session was 116, as compared with 95 in the previous session.

Advance classes were held under the auspices of the Government of Bihar at Sijua in the Jharia coalfield. The number of students attending at these two centres was 105, as against 79 in the previous year.

Courses of lectures were arranged for colliery 'Sirdars' in Bengali in the Raniganj coalfield, and in Hindi in the Jharia coalfield. There were eight centres in the Raniganj coalfield and 200 enrolled for this course. In the Jharia coalfield there were six centres with a total enrolment of 436. Classes in gas testing were also held in the Raniganj coalfield, and at Jharia in the Jharia coalfield for the training of colliery 'Sirdars' and shot-firers in gas-testing. Nearly 100 received training at these centres.

Indian Literary Enterprise

The Secretary of the 'Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,' Poona, has issued the following to the Press:—

'Probably for the first time in the history of the Indo-British relations, the British Academy has shown its appreciation of a literary undertaking sponsored and carried out by Indian scholars. This Academy has just announced a grant of a sum towards the expenses of the critical edition of the *Mahabharata* inaugurated in 1919, by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, of late Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar.

The Institute has been carrying on this work for the last twenty years with zeal and perseverance in spite of adverse conditions under the guidance of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph.D., the General Editor of the project, assisted by a band of enthusiastic coadjutors.

The work on this project is handicapped for want of adequate funds, but in view of its international interest and importance, as evinced by the award of the grant by the British Academy, it is to be hoped that the Universities and learned societies in India will wake up to the importance of the project, which aims for the first time at putting the great national epic of India in a shape acceptable to all serious students of Indian literature.

Education in India (1937-38)

Bombay among the provinces had the largest number of boys and girls at school in 1937-38. Her percentage of scholars in recognised educational institutions to the total population in that year stood at 7.83. Next came Madras with 7.3 per cent. Central Provinces and Berar had the lowest percentage, namely 3.31.

Bengal led with the largest number of girls at school, her percentage being 6.61 and 4.91 per cent. of the male population ; while Bombay gave education to the largest number of boys, whose percentage was 11.06 but to only 3.92 per cent. of the female population. Madras had 10.2 per cent. boys and 1.2 per cent. girls receiving education. Central Provinces and Berar came last with 5.21 per cent. boy scholars and 1.12 per cent. girl scholars.

Madras spent most on education—over Rs. 5½ crores ; Bengal coming next with about Rs. 5 crores. N. W. F. P. spent least, namely, Rs 31 lakhs.

Taking the whole of British India, 5.38 of the total population were in schools and colleges, the boys representing 7.87 per cent. and the girls 2.31 per cent. of the male and female populations respectively.

British India spent about Rs. 27 crores in 1937-38 compared to Rs. 28 crores in the previous year ; but in comparing the figures, allowance must be made for the separation of Burma in 1937. The number of arts colleges in British India rose from 241 in 1936-37 to 246 in 1937-38 in spite of the difference made by the separation of Burma. Primary schools fell from 164,894 to 158,602.

Sir Atul Chatterjee

The Council of the Royal Society of Arts has elected Sir Atul Chatterjee Chairman in the place of Sir Reginald Glancy. Sir Atul Chatterjee is the first Indian to hold the office.

Calcutta Blind School

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and The Lady Mary Herbert have become Patrons of the Calcutta Blind School. The Government of Bengal have sanctioned a capital grant of Rs. 20,000 for further building projects for the school.

A. I. Women Students' Conference

A strong plea for co-education in all stages, for provision of facilities for engineering and agricultural courses for women students, for removal of disabilities of women and freedom to choose their partners in life was made by the All-India Women Students' Conference, which held its open session recently under the presidency of Miss Renu Roy at the Kaiserbagh Baraderi Lucknow. Delegates from all parts of the country participated.

The Conference adopted a number of important resolutions dealing with the disabilities of women particularly women students.

In view of the extreme poverty of the country's population the Conference urged that more liberal and cheap education should be provided for women.

It protested against the practice of establishing separate educational institutions for Muslim and Hindu girls and urged the organisation of educational institutions for girls on a non-communal basis. Co-education, they felt, would minimise expense and facilitate the advance of education among women of India. Engineering and agriculture courses, it emphasised, should be thrown open to women.

Free and compulsory primary education for girls and introduction of a course of domestic science in the university curriculum were also urged.

The Conference opined that vernacular should be made the medium of instruction and demanded the recognition of Hindustani as the *lingua indica*. It urged that free and compulsory physical training should be provided for girls in schools and colleges.

Finally, the Conference welcomed the resolution on the women students' movement passed at the All-India Students' Convention held at Delhi on 1st and 2nd January, 1940, and accepted the outline of work suggested therein. It laid down the manner in which this programme should be implemented.

Miscellany

RACE-MIXTURES IN EUROPE

"Race" is a purely biological term and connotes the presence of a number of heritable physical and psychological features common to all its members. The term "nation," on the other hand, has a social and historical content and implies that its members are connected by a common language and civilisation, and by the possession of common historical traditions and ethical standards. There are instances in which both terms are identical, but they are of rare occurrence (e.g., Eskimos and the extinct aborigines of Tasmania). Linguistic frontiers are never racial frontiers, and it is always misleading when people speak or write about the Italian, Greek, Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, Slavonic and similar "races". The confusion of the two terms, however, is not restricted to laymen, but extends to experts on the subject as well. Most of the ethnological maps are liable to the same mistake inasmuch as the distinction they make between the different races is based on language characteristics. According to them, the greater part of the population of Europe belongs to three "races"—Slavonic, Romanic, and Teutonic. It is easy to see that these groups are by no means "racial" entities. Among the inhabitants of Normandy, for instance (who, being Frenchmen, ought to belong to the Romanic "race"), numerous individuals are found who are tall, blond, and blue-eyed, so that—according to these biological traits—they ought to be classified among the Teutonic "race". Similar types are met with among the Slavonic Russians and the Mongolian Finns, and in many parts of Germany (not only in the Eastern provinces, but everywhere else also) there are numerous typical representatives of the Slavonic "race".

According to Guenther all the European nations are composed of practically the same racial elements, but the proportions in which these latter occur are different in each case. Individuals of pure racial stock are rare. The mixture of the racial elements can never lead to the development of a uniform race of mixed characteristics, as that would conflict with the laws of the science of heredity. These laws are none others than those discovered by Mendel. It is true that, by cross-fertilising red and white flowers, pink flowers will be obtained in the first generation, but the second generation will contain only 50% of these, the remaining 50% being equally divided between pure white and pure red flowers. Other experiments have shown that, in cross-breeding two types differing in more than one racial feature (e.g., rough-haired dark animals and smooth-haired light-coloured animals) the various features are transmitted independently of one another. Thus, the result of such breeding can never be a new racial type, but only a mixture of the original racial features, and the concept of definite "national races" is scientifically untenable.

By making racial distinctions on the basis of complexion (as people do when they speak of white, yellow, or black races) undue prominence is given to a feature which alone is insufficient as a characteristic of race. There is, for instance, no such thing as a uniform white or European race. The nations of Europe can be divided into four different races, each of which has its own distinctive features. These are: the Nordic race, the

Westic race, the Eastic race, and the Dinaric race. The main difference between them is connected with the shape of their skull, according to which the first two are described as dolichocephalic or long-headed and the other two as brachycephalic or short-headed. The members of the Nordic and Dinaric races are distinguished from those of the Westic and Eastic races by their tall stature, but there are a great many other details in which the four races differ from one another. By drawing up classified lists containing the racial features as ascertained by empiric means, such as the shape of the skull, size of the body, complexion, colour of the eyes, etc., and then entering the regional distribution of these features on a map showing where each of them predominates, it is possible to arrive at certain general conclusions. Such a map shows, for example, that in England at least the areas where tall persons predominate coincides with those inhabited by long-headed people of very fair complexion. If a map of France is drawn on similar lines, one finds that a fair-complexioned, tall and long-headed race in the North must be distinguished from a dark, short and likewise long-headed race in the South, and that dark and short-headed persons form a third race in addition to those two. Thus the Northern French and the Southern French exhibit characteristics always considered typical of the Teutonic "races," although both groups belong to the Romanic "race." For centuries past, however, Europe has been penetrated by a new element—the Jews—who are themselves a mixture of Semites and Caucasians.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

OSTIA-ON-THE-TIBER *vs* POMPEI

A vast new enterprise is about to bring to light the ruins of the Imperial Roman city of Ostia, says Dr. Guido Calza, Director of the Excavations of Ancient Ostia.

Ostia was a Mediterranean city with unmistakably Italian and Roman characteristics. Here there is not the Hellenic or rather Hellenistic influence which is to be found at Pompei; there is here no contact with the Orient, as was the case with Roman towns on Asian or African soil. For this reason Ostia, more than any other ancient town, offers a faithful picture of Rome and precisely in those characteristics which are no longer to be found to-day, even in Rome itself: the urban aspects, dwellings, squares, shops and stores.

The Roman life of Ostia lasted through seven centuries: three under the sway of the Republic and four under the Empire. If one could believe the legend which attributes its foundation to Anco Marzio, the fourth King of Rome, its history would date much further back. Anyhow this legend stands to prove the significance which the Roman historian attached to the foundation of the city, which in reality rose to the importance of a military *castrum* or fortress, only about the year 330 B.C. and was considered as an advance guard of Rome on the bank of the Tiber and by the sea, a testimony of the early expansion of Rome in the Mediterranean, as Dr. Guido discovered sometime ago. With Ostia, Rome gained complete dominion over Latium and opened the way to her conquest of the world.

Ostia, a small military and seafaring colony, grew with the increase of the power of Rome. At the time of Augustus it was already a city of

considerable size and of even greater importance, as it attracted people from all parts of the world, who were considered as Roman citizens, as they represented the aristocracy of commerce and of labour. Ostia was the emporium of trade, the port of landing of all merchandise, produce and tribute from the provinces. It soon became an Empire port and everything which was needed for the life of the capital and for the pomp of the patriariate and for the court, was stored in the warehouses of Ostia.

Wealth made the citizens of Ostia generous in donations in favour of their own city. Providential patrons were the Emperors who, by enlarging and decorating Ostia with sumptuous monuments, rendered it worthy of Rome and of extending the City's first greeting to those arriving by sea. Constantine, who transferred the capital from West to East, took no further interest in Ostia, it being enough for him to continue the life of the Torajano Docks, in which some commercial and seafaring activity still remained. From the sea, which had made the fortune of Ostia for so many centuries, came the menace of barbarity, and destruction and death to the city. The ruins of Ostia seems to have been watched over by Time itself. The city collapsed when the general exodus of the inhabitants deprived the temples, monuments, dwellings and streets of the necessary upkeep ; the natural elements, not floods and earthquakes of which there are no traces to be found, were responsible for the ruin of a city which Rome, herself impoverished, had no longer the strength to sustain or to defend.

Although the sea, from which the ship of Aeneas was destined to come and over which hung the threat of Carthage, has retreated from Ostia, the landmarks which have never disappeared throughout the history of Rome, like the Tiber, the Albany Hills, Lavinium, the majestic pine-woods (" *selvedene*," or the woods of Aeneas, according to the writer of the Middle Ages) and the shores of Etruria and Latium, remain unchanged and untouched, framing what Minucio Felice called the "*amoenissima*" (most pleasant) city of Ostia.

The expectations of the archaeologist are recorded as follows by Dr. Guido :

" One might ask what it is that I hope to find in this Ostia territory which I have been questioning and investigating for twenty-five years. I should immediately reply that our work will not yield a useless repetition of what Pompei has to offer. The conditions of life and of death in the two cities were, as everyone knows, entirely different. Although the profession of sooth-sayer is not an easy one even for an archaeologist, I will add that we derive our hope and encouragement from our study of the excavation grounds. Humps, hillocks, raised grounds and walls emerging from the level of countryside indicate the presence of high, imposing ruins, which have undoubtedly been searched in times gone by for their marblwork, or by some hustling excavator. I have always furthered my researches successfully, retrieving marbles, mosaics, paintings, inscriptions and compiling the complete plan of reconstruction of the buildings and monuments. Considering that about four hundred pieces of sculptures, scattered among the museums of Rome, and of Europe, including statues and busts of great value, are the result of rapacious diggings of past countries, the works of art recuperated during the last few years and now collected at the Ostia Museum serve to show what great quantities still remain to be unearthed."

LIBRARIES FOR THE BLIND

Much has been done in the course of the last century to make the life of the blind happier, and to enable them to have a degree of independence. The greatest benefit they enjoy was the invention of the French expert Louis Braille, consisting of letters which can be read by feeling them with the finger tips. This form of writing bears the inventor's name.

Books play a greater part in the life of the blind than in that of other citizens, for they convey to the sightless the impressions of the outer world which cannot be obtained directly. When reading in a book, the blind person is freed from continual dependence on others, requiring no assistance.

But it is hardly possible for the blind to go to the book-shop and purchase the volumes he selects. Firstly, not all have money enough, and secondly, they have no room for the bulky volumes, for books in Braille take up much space, the letters being large, and the binding loose, so as not to injure the said letters. The blind are, therefore, mainly dependent upon lending libraries.

Circulating libraries of this kind were founded in Leipzig and Hamburg at the close of the last century, offering blind Germans literature for recreation as well as professional training. It is in the works of Kipling, Loens and Selma Lagerloef that the blind see Nature as it is. In 1917 a University library for the blind was established, mainly for those blinded in the War, at Marburg.

The three libraries at Hamburg, Leipzig and Marburg not only supply blind readers in their own areas, but throughout Germany, and in areas beyond the German frontiers. Music is also available for the blind at these libraries. Naturally, these libraries have to be up-to-date, and the purchase of new books is costly. It is usually too dear for printing works, the circulation not being large enough in most cases, and many of the books are produced in handwriting, so as to save printing charges. The libraries produce their own books in this manner. The Post Office only charges 3 pfennigs per 11 pound parcel of Braille books in Germany, equal to about a half penny, while the same sum carries a 2½ pound parcel to any part of the world from Germany. This is an important point, and an international postal agreement enables it to be carried out, for most blind persons would be unable to afford a high charge.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE DIGVIJAYA OF AYURVEDA

Ayurveda is one of the greatest achievements of creative India and among the Indian world-conquerors of ancient and medieval times we have to count the heroes of Ayurvedic medicine.

It is erroneous to believe that the expansion of Hindu culture in Asia and Europe was consummated only by the followers of Buddha and his faith. The digvijaya of Indians in the world outside of India was performed by legion of Indian celebrities who had no professional connection with any religion, Brahmanical or Buddhistic. In Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Sumatra, Java and other lands the laws and morals of Manu constituted the foundations of society. The poets and philosophers who

formulated the ideals of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, as well as the architects and sculptors who gave shape to those ideals were also some of the Indian world-conquerors who contributed to the establishment of Greater India in foreign countries.

Charaka is like Manu, Valmiki, Vyasa, Buddha and others one of the embodiments of Hindu digvijaya or conquest of the quarters.

In Tibetan paintings of the Middle Ages we can see the professors of Ayurveda lecturing to the scholars in their home-schools. In Chinese texts of the Sui dynasty the great Hindu metallurgist Nagarjuna is named the "Snake-Tree" and is venerated as a profound master of medical science.

Throughout Moslem Asia from the west of the Punjab up to the end of the Saracen Empire the schools of Charaka and Vagbhata were held in esteem thanks to the Arabic translations of Sanskrit texts. In earlier times the ancient Greeks as well as their successors the Romans were used to some of the drugs popularized by Hindu masters. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, again, it was in search of the spices as well as the drugs that the Europeans discovered the new routes, etc. The scientific tenacity of Ayurveda through milleniums and its digvijaya in the four quarters of the world are two of the most solid realities of world-history and international culture.

Even now Ayurvedic treatment and drugs are exhibiting their mettle and holding their own in the teeth of tremendous competition from the European system of medicine. Ayurveda is indeed witnessing a renaissance on account of the patriotism, nationalistic self-sacrifice and *Swadeshi* enthusiasm of Kavirajas like the late Shyamadas and others. The time is not distant when the Government, more and more *swarajified* as it is going to be, will be compelled to treat the Ayurvedic schools and colleges established by patriots with the same financial favours as the medical institutions of the European brand. We can then look forward to a new epoch of digvijaya for Ayurveda in the two Hemispheres.

What India needs today for the establishment of Ayurveda as a world-science is the deputation of Indian specialists in this system to the laboratories and clinics of the U.S.A. and Europe. There they would have to carry on their demonstrations in contact with the American and European experiments in modern medicine. It is necessary to impress upon Indian Ayurvedists the importance of going over to the continent and demonstrate, for instance, the science of poisons as developed in the schools of Charaka and others. There should be an organised effort today to employ a number of Kavirajas exclusively in Ayurvedic research without much attention to medical practice. India cannot afford to keep Ayurveda in the condition in which it was in the days of Chakrapani.

There is another problem of extraordinary importance with regard to the future of Ayurveda. Large industrial establishments require to be taken in hand by financiers in co-operation with the Ayurvedic experts in order to manufacture Ayurvedic drugs and medicines on a large scale so that the remedies prescribed by the Kavirajas may be had for the asking and at reasonable prices. This is an industry well worth the attention of India's economic planners.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

SWEDEN'S FOOD SUPPLY AND CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

In an article on "Sweden's food supply" published in the Swedish newspaper *Goeteborgs Handels-och Sjöfarts Tidning* (independent liberal), 8th September, 1939, the role played by the agricultural co-operative movement is referred to in a detailed manner.

"It is not only the increase in the production of both vegetable and animal foodstuffs, says the article, which entitles us to take an optimistic view of our possibilities of supply even if we were cut off from foreign sources and which justifies the opinion that our present position is totally different from that of 1917. Not only have farmers increased production and raised the quality of their produce during recent years, but they have also organised the collecting and processing of the products in a more rational way. This has been accomplished by means of co-operation between producers. The agricultural co-operative movement has been extended, as regards the most important agricultural products marketed, to cover the majority of the producers and by far the greater part of the output, and it has thus become possible to utilise all the modern technical means of processing and transportation. As a consequence the products have also been improved in quality and durability. Almost all the butter which is marketed is high-grade branded butter.

The slaughterhouses are, among other things, fitted with modern cold storage equipment. Owing to the fact that the co-operative slaughterhouses work on a very large scale, it is also possible to utilise all the offal.

Through the agricultural co-operative movement processing and marketing have been concentrated in large units. The importance of this fact in times of scarcity is obvious. It makes correct estimates of the available supplies possible and thus also a just distribution. Considerable experience has, moreover, been gained by the co-operative societies in regard to storage and transportation, which will be of the greatest value if special measures have to be taken in order to safeguard national supplies.

Thanks to the co-operative societies Sweden has now an expert staff, appropriate premises and modern equipment at her disposal. During the period 1914-1918 large quantities of foodstuffs were spoilt on account of the insufficient arrangements for storing and the lack of experience and competence of those in charge of the goods. That the situation is far more advantageous now is obvious from the fact that the country can store the immense reserve stocks of cereals in its possession. The agricultural co-operative societies have large resources in this respect.

The international situation with the danger of a more or less complete cutting off of foreign goods from the Swedish market has led the public authorities to adopt a series of emergency measures aiming at the safeguarding of national supplies and at the maintenance of the standard of social services. In connection with these measures a number of new public administrative bodies have been set up. The co-operative organisations (and in some cases also the trade unions) are represented on the following five bodies which deal with questions concerning the supply of foodstuffs and the control of prices:

1. *The Food Supply Board.* This board deals with questions concerning the supply of foodstuffs and of certain materials which are necessary for agriculture. In order to render the control of national supplies of such

commodities more efficiently 33 district emergency committees are to be appointed. Moreover, a local (communal) emergency committee is to be set up in each commune.

2. *The Price Control Board*, which has to follow price movements in close contact with the Bank of Sweden and in collaboration with the National Commission on Economic Preparedness for War Conditions. It should be mentioned in this connection that the Government has put into operation a decree on maximum prices, which empowers the public authorities to prescribe maximum prices for such commodities as are essential for consumption or production if it is expected that their price will rise in such a way as to involve a steady deterioration or the purchasing power of the Swedish currency at home or a substantial reduction of the standard of living.

3. *The Import and Export Licensing Board*, from 28th August, the import and export of certain commodities has been prohibited. The export prohibition covers a large number of commodities including the most important Swedish export goods. Authority to grant exemptions from these prohibitions has been given to the Agricultural Commission, previously set up, and the New Licensing Board. The regulation of foreign trade is intended to prevent the exportation of goods which are necessary for the maintenance of Swedish production and to safeguard the supply of foodstuffs, and, further, to control the importation of certain commodities. Moreover, this regulation should give more stability to Swedish foreign trade relations.

4. *The Shipping Board*, which has been set up for the purpose of controlling the transfer or chartering of vessels and the transport of cargoes to foreign ports on Swedish vessels, and, further, of granting export licenses for ship's requirements.

5. *The Industry Committee*, this Committee of experts, in collaboration with the National Commission on Economic Preparedness for War Conditions, is to plan and carry out such measures for the regulation of the supply of raw materials and other materials needed by industry as general conditions may necessitate, and to follow developments in industry in order to propose to the Government the adoption of such emergency measures as may appear necessary.

Further, a number of boards have been set up for more particular purposes, namely: the *Petrol Board*, the *Wood Board*, the *Coal Board* and the *War Risk Insurance Board*. Steps have further been taken in order to ensure the necessary collaboration between the various boards and committees.

On 14th October a Ministry of National Supply was established under which the above mentioned Boards and Committees are working.

No system of rationing of foodstuffs has so far been introduced in view of the comparatively favourable situation as regards supplies. A number of consumers' co-operative societies have, however, adopted a voluntary system of card rationing for certain commodities as a temporary measure. Moreover, notwithstanding the inconvenience and increased costs entailed by a system of rationing, the Swedish Co-operative Union and the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions have requested the immediate introduction of such regulation for certain necessities of life. It is pointed out by both organisations that it is better to take such measures while supplies are ample than to postpone them to a date when stocks have

been considerably reduced. These measures would also strengthen and maintain the feeling that all have the same rights irrespective of differences in income and wealth.

It should finally be mentioned that the Co-operative Union has recently published material, intended for the co-operative study groups, on questions of food supply and on the emergency measures taken in Sweden. Co-operators are thus given an opportunity of discussing these problems and of obtaining a better understanding of the general situation and its requirements.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

What English Education Has Made of Us—By Prof. T. K. Datta, M.A., Deaba House, Mohanlal Road, Lahore.

The main thesis of Mr. Datta is "how to remove the evils of English education and how to save us from denationalisation" (p. 120). He is evidently a patriot of the orthodox school but, unfortunately for him, he is not consistent in his point of view nor very sound in his knowledge of the facts he examines. As illustration of this we may refer to some of the observations made by him in different parts of his book. Condemning the contact with the West through English education a dozen times or more, although stretching a point in favour of the missionaries for their "noble mission of popularising English thoughts and ideas," the writer goes on to tell us somewhat unguardedly "But India since those Upanisadic days is now a far greater India because she has been impregnated by the light of the West" (p. 125). He has, however, deplored the fact that Indians have forgotten their culture and civilisation as a result of their acquaintance with western modes of life and thought. Few people will agree with Mr. Datta when he says that "The Hindus only built temples and thatched cottages (p. 37)." The magnificent cities which India owed to their genius are not yet lost and, if Mr. Datta visits some parts of the Indian continent, he will see enough reason to revise his opinion even without being a student of history. Mr. Datta does not believe in education for women. His idea is that they should know enough to feed and nurse their children and from the stress he lays upon cooking, it is evident that his plan is to impart this art to women in order to make men's lives pleasant and comfortable. He thinks that educated women abhor cooking and looking after their children, that they give all their time to playing tennis and going about the country in high speed cars. Mr. Datta does not know that the pinch of hunger drives hundreds of women graduates to hard, grinding labour at offices, schools, and other institutions and that the life he imagines is enjoyed by the rich even in the absence of the most rudimentary education. He concludes the book with an exhortation to women to "rock the cradle and rule the world." His plan in the book is ambitious. He deals with unemployment, education and offers his observations on social reform. But the book reveals neither the breadth of vision nor the command over facts which only would have made such an attempt fruitful. Mr. Datta in addition to his somewhat prejudiced treatment of the Indian situation to-day, seems to be entirely careless about his English and dozens of mistakes disfigure his pages.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Aims and Ideals of Ancient Indian Culture—By Brajosundar Roy, M.A., B.L.—Published by A. Ray and Co., Calcutta, pp. 177. Price Rs. 2.

It is indeed doubtful if the decadence of Ancient Indian Culture is as much due to the excessive spirituality of the Hindus as the decline of the Roman Empire was to the excessive materialism of the Romans. But it is

nevertheless evident that the present crisis in civilisation is the natural result of a decreasing faith in the spiritual values of life. And it is very heartening to find that after the failure of the Marxian recipe, the great savants of the West are seeking for a remedy in a spiritual and moral regeneration of mankind. At this stage therefore, a study of the ancient Indian culture like Mr. Roy's book is very welcome.

Most books about ancient India are either too academic or wholly dogmatic. Mr. Roy has avoided both extremes. He has never sacrificed accuracy and precision in his appraisal. Mr. Roy makes a fervent appeal for a readjustment of values in which the ancient Hindu culture must have to play a very important part. The book is as much illuminating as it is inspiring.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Currents of Thought in European Literature—By Brojosundar Roy, M.A., B.L.—Published by A. Roy and Co., pp. XVII + 163. Price Re. 1-12-0.

It must have occurred to the students of literary criticism that in understanding and evaluating literature critics would either emphasise national tradition or glorify individual genius. But to those who do not wish to set up a 'school' it would appear that a poet is as much the creature as the creator of his times. They would naturally think that it is not an "airy nothing" that a poet encloses in his verses; the mind of the poet, they would feel, acts and reacts upon the accumulated experiences of ages and gives them a significance which generally escapes habitual apprehension. Principal Roy in his "Currents of Thought in the European Literature" gives us a very systematic and thoughtful study of those forces, social, religious, political or otherwise which go into the making of literature and constitute the tradition of an age. Principal Roy has very ably discussed the rise of modern European literature from a mutual recognition between racial character and foreign legacy. The students of our Universities will read this book with profitable enlightenment, especially those, who, owing to their insufficient knowledge of history, are not much benefited by Greirson's "Cross Currents" or Daiche's "Literature and Society." I congratulate Principal Roy on this achievement.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

The Munro System of British Statesmanship in India—By Dr. K. N. V. Sastri, Punjab, University of Mysore, 1939.

Dr. K. N. V. Sastri deserves the thanks of students of the development of Indian polity for this very clear exposition of the system of government initiated by Sir Thomas Munro. For Sir Thomas Munro we have Gleig's *Life* in three volumes published in 1832, Arbuthnot's *Selections* published in 1886 and Bradshaw's biography published in 1894. Dr. Sastri has carried on further researches on Munro and has published fresh documents to illustrate his system with a very able introduction.

In the building up of a stable British administration in India two schools of administrators made their appearance. One ignored altogether local institutions and customs and tried to plant western ideas and forms on Indian soil and the other believed that a permanent government for

the welfare of the people could be established only on the solid foundations of indigenous institutions. Of the early administrators Warren Hastings belonged to the latter school and Cornwallis to the former. Englishmen engaged in revenue work separated as they were from their own countrymen and compelled to move about among Indians, acquired a more intimate knowledge of Indian institutions and traditions and saw the importance of preserving them. Sir Thomas Munro lived and worked among Indians and laid his life in their service. He was therefore in a far better position to formulate sound principles of government than Cornwallis, Wellesley or Dalhousie. Unlike Cornwallis and like Hastings, Munro maintained that "it is one of the primary obligations of a government like ours to suit its rules and forms of local administration to the condition of the people." Unlike Cornwallis and like Hastings again, Munro believed in associating Indians with the administration and pointed out that "if we pay the same price for integrity, we shall find it as readily amongst natives as Europeans." But Munro alone had the wisdom and courage to make what was in his time a bold statement that the object of British government in India should be to "so far improve the character of our Indian subjects as to enable them to govern and protect themselves," thereby visualising the ultimate withdrawal of the English from India.

In drawing attention to these ideas of government held by Sir Thomas Munro, Dr. Sastri does great service to those who have been accustomed to read of Munro only as a soldier and the founder of the ryotwar system.

Munro's ideas were neither confined to himself nor applicable only to the problems of his own times. His opinions were sought by the Directors and Parliament, and influenced many of their decisions. Dr. Sastri believes that "every charter act from 1813 and every declaration of high policy in India from 1858 has contained one or other principle of Munro." Besides Munro had faithful followers of his policy in Malcolm and Elphinstone and in Metcalfe and Henry Lawrence, and through them his principles of government developed into a system. Sir Thomas Munro and his followers in India cannot be thought of except as the Indian branch of the school of English liberal politicians originating from Burke and Bentham. As such Dr. Sastri's work is an interesting study in the influence of liberal political theory on the development of British administration in India.

A.P.D.G.

Ourselves

[I. Political Science Conference.—II. Minto Professorship of Economics.—III. Inter-University Board on Standardisation of Syllabus for Matriculation Examination or its Equivalent.—IV. Election of Ordinary Fellows by Registered Graduates.—V. Election of Representatives to the Syndicate.—VI. Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.—VII. Re-appointment of Asutosh Professor of Islamic Culture.—VIII. Educational Conference.—IX. A New Ph.D.—X. Burmah Oil Company's Donation.—XI. Dates for University Examination.—XII. Revised Dates for L.T. and B.T. Examinations.—XIII. Report on the Teachers' Training Certificate Examination (General), October, 1939.—XIV. Report on the Teachers' Training Certificate Examination (Geography), October, 1939.—XV. Report on the English Teachership Certificate Examination, October, 1939.—XVI. Reports on the Preliminary Scientific, First, Second, Third and Final M.B. Examination November, 1939.]

I. POLITICAL SCIENCE CONFERENCE

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A. (Central), presided over the second session of the Indian Political Science Conference held in January this year at Lahore. Dr. Banerjea is a well known figure in the domain of Indian Politics and His Excellency Sir Henry Craik, Governor of the Punjab while opening the Conference rightly observed :

“ There is another reason why I gladly accepted your kind invitation to open this Conference and that is that your President for the current year, Dr. P. N. Banerjea, is an old acquaintance of mine, and I was for some years a colleague of his in the Central Assembly, whose benches he still adorns. Although in that body our views occasionally differed on the controversial questions of the day, I always listened with the greatest respect and attention to his contributions to the debate, and so indeed did the whole House. That is not surprising, for there were few in that House who could speak with his authority on economic topics, since he was for many years Minto Professor of that subject in the University of Calcutta and has been President of the Indian Economic Conference. I congratulate you, gentlemen, on having as your President for your first meeting in Lahore a personage of Dr. Banerjea's distinction and reputation.”

* * *

II. MINTO PROFESSORSHIP OF ECONOMICS

The Senate at its Annual Meeting decided to meet the salary of the Minto Professor of Economics out of the Fee Fund from next year,

as the grant made by the Central Government since the establishment of the Chair in 1909 will be discontinued from after the 7th March, 1940. The Government of Bengal were approached in this connexion for a grant but they expressed their inability to make it.

* * *

III. INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD ON STANDARDISATION OF SYLLABUS FOR MATRICULATION EXAMINATION OR ITS EQUIVALENT

The Inter-University Board has decided to appoint a Sub-Committee to devise ways and means for securing as much uniformity as possible in the subjects and courses of study for the Matriculation Examination or its equivalent held in India under the auspices of Universities and Boards of High Schools. Invitation has been issued to these organisations to submit suggestions for a suitable syllabus. The Sub-Committee will meet early in March next.

* * *

IV. ELECTION OF ORDINARY FELLOWS BY REGISTERED GRADUATES

We have much pleasure in announcing that Sir Nilratan Sircar, K.T., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L., F.S.M.F. (Bengal) and Professor Harendracoomar Mookerjee, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A., have both been returned unopposed to the Senate by the Registered Graduates of the University.

* * *

V. ELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE SYNDICATE

The following representatives to the Syndicate were elected for the year 1940-41 at the Annual Meeting of the Senate:—

Susilkumar Mukherjee, Esq., I.M.S. (CAL.), D.O. (OXON.),
D.O.M.S. (LOND.), F.R.C.S. (EDIN.), F.S.M.F. (BENGAL).

B. M. Sen, Esq., M.A. (CANTAB.), M.SC.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas, C.I.E., M.A., B.L.

Khan Bahadur Tasadduq Ahmed, B.A., B.T., M.ED.

VI. IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

Professor J. N. Mukherjee has been appointed with the permission of the University to the Editorial Committee of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. The appointment, which is an honorary one, is for the term of one year only.

* * *

VII. RE-APPOINTMENT OF ASUTOSH PROFESSOR OF ISLAMIC CULTURE

We have much pleasure in announcing that Government has sanctioned the re-appointment of Professor Md. Zubair Siddiqi, M.A., B.L., PH.D. (CANTAB.), as Asutosh Professor of Islamic Culture in the University until he completes his 60th year.

* * *

VIII. EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

The fifteenth session of the All-India Educational Conference of the All-India Federation of Educational Association was held at Lucknow during Christmas week last year. Professor Sir S. Radhakrishnan, KT., M.A., D.LITT., F.B.A., participated in its deliberation as the representative of our University.

* * *

IX. A NEW PH.D.

We congratulate Mr. Indubhusan Banerjee, M.A., Post-Graduate Lecturer in History in this University, on his being admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy with a thesis entitled "Evolution of the Khalsa, Vol. I" and a subsidiary one "The Dacitra Natak," both of which were examined by a board consisting of the following members:—Mr. H. L. O. Garret, C.I.E., M.A., Sir Edward Douglas MacLagan, K.C.S.I., M.A., and Mr. H. C. Rawlinson, C.I.E., M.A., F.R. HIST. S.

* * *

X. BURMAH OIL COMPANY'S DONATION

The Burmah Oil Company has promised to place the sum of £2,500 at the disposal of our University as a mark of appreciation for

assistance rendered to it in mud research problems by one of our Professors, Dr. J. N. Mukherjee and also for the ready co-operation given by our University. The generous offer has been thankfully accepted and a Committee with the following gentlemen has been appointed to formulate a scheme on the subject of mud research problems :—

- (1) The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor.
- (2) Sir Upendranath Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., PH.D., F.R.A.S.B., F.N.I., F.S.M.F. (BENGAL).
- (3) Bidhanchandra Roy, Esq., B.A., M.D., M.R.C.P., F.R.C.S. (Eng.) F.S.M.F. (Bengal).
- (4) Professor Praphullachandra Mitra, M.A., PH.D.
- (5) Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., D.LITT., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A.
- (6) Professor Jnanendranath Mukherjee, D.SC. (Lond.).

* * *

XI. DATES FOR UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS

The following dates have been fixed for holding the examinations mentioned below :—

B.Com.—1940	...	Wednesday, the 1st May, 1940
M.B.—April 1940	...	Monday, the 2nd April, 1940
D.P.H., Part I	...	Tuesday, the 27th February, 1940
D.P.H., Part II	...	Wednesday, the 17th April, 1940
English Teachership Certificate Examination—April, 1940	...	Monday, the 22nd April, 1940
Teachers' Training Certificate (General)—April, 1940	...	Wednesday, the 24th April, 1940
Teachers' Training Certificate (Geography)—April, 1940	...	Monday, the 22nd April, 1940
Junior Military Certificate	...	Thursday, the 11th April, 1940

* * *

XII. REVISED DATES FOR L.T. & B.T. EXAMINATIONS

The commencing date for the next L.T. and B.T. examinations, which was fixed for the 15th April, 1940, has been changed to the 16th April, 1940, as the earlier date is a University holiday.

XIII. REPORT ON THE TEACHERS' TRAINING CERTIFICATE
EXAMINATION (General), OCTOBER, 1939

The following is the statement of results of the above examination :—

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 37, of whom 3 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 34, of whom 26 were successful. Of the successful candidates 3 passed with Distinction.

The percentage of pass is 76·4.

* * *

XIV. REPORT ON THE TEACHERS' TRAINING CERTIFICATE
EXAMINATION (Geography), OCTOBER, 1939

The following is the statement of results of the above examination :—

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 137, of whom none were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 137, of whom 124 were successful.

Of the successful candidates 7 passed with Distinction.

The percentage of pass is 90·5.

The percentage of pass in April, 1939 was 92·4.

* * *

XV. REPORT ON THE ENGLISH TEACHERSHIP CERTIFICATE
EXAMINATION, OCTOBER, 1939

The following is a statement of results of the above examination :—

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 26, of whom none were absent. The number of successful candidates was 16.

The percentage of pass is 61·5.

XVI. REPORTS ON THE PRELIMINARY SCIENTIFIC, FIRST, SECOND,
THIRD AND FINAL M.B. EXAMINATIONS,
NOVEMBER, 1939

Preliminary Scientific M.B. Examination, Nov. 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 64, of whom 55 passed, 9 failed.

First M.B. Examination, Nov. 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 123, of whom 90 passed, 32 failed and one was absent. Of the successful candidates no one obtained Honours.

Second M.B. Examination, Nov. 1939.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 156, of whom 75 passed, 80 failed and 1 was absent. Of the successful candidates none obtained Honours.

Third M.B. Examination, Nov. 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 106, of whom 84 passed and 22 failed. Of the successful candidates none obtained Honours.

Final M.B. Examination, 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 224, of whom 85 passed, 135 failed and 4 were absent. Of the successful candidates none obtained Honours.

NOTICE
VINCENT MASSEY SCHOLARSHIP FOR 1940-41
ANNOUNCEMENT

1. Applications invited.

Applications are invited for the Vincent Massey Scholarship for 1940-41.

2. Nature of the Scholarship.

This Scholarship has been made possible by the generosity of Sir Vincent Massey of Canada as a token of good-will towards India. The Scholarship is of the value of 2,000 dollars (inclusive of all expenses) and is tenable for one year at the University of Toronto for Post-Graduate work (ordinarily Masters degree).

3. The award of Scholarship.

The Scholarship is to be awarded by His Excellency the Viceroy at the recommendations of a Committee of Selection. The General Secretary of the Y M C. A.'s in India, is the Secretary of this Committee. In addition to the value of the Scholarship the University of Toronto has agreed to remit the regular tuition fees in the case of this Scholarship. This concession will not apply to laboratory fees for Sciences.

4. Qualifications of the Applicants.

The applicants should be the holders of a first class M.A., M.Sc., or an Honours degree.

5. Subjects available at the University of Toronto.

Opportunities for Post-Graduate students at Toronto are available in the following Subjects :—

Greek, Latin, Semitics, English History, Political Science and Economics, Law, Philosophy, Psychology, Educational Theory, Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy, Biology, Botany, Anatomy, Bio-Chemistry, Zymology, Physiology, Food Chemistry, Pathology and Bacteriology, Pathological Chemistry, Chemistry, Geology and Palaeontology, Minerology, Hygiene and Preventive Medicine, Physiological Hygiene, Epidemiology and Biometrics, Anthropology, Pharmacology, Agriculture.

6. When and whom to apply.

The applications for Scholarship should reach the undersigned not later than the 15th February, 1940, on prescribed form in triplicate which can be had for four annas from the undersigned. The copies of the Testimonials must be submitted on papers specially provided with the Applications.

7. Calendar of the School of Graduate Studies.

(a) Calendar of the School of Graduate Studies of the University at Toronto for the year 1981-82 was sent to the Registrars of all the Universities in India with the request that it may be made available to the public for consultation through University libraries.

(b) A summary of the Calendar is available from the undersigned on receipt of four annas in stamps.

N.B.—(i) Women candidates are not eligible for this Scholarship.

(ii) Applications should be addressed to the undersigned by designation and not by name.

J. S. AIMAN,

Hony. Secretary.

5th January 1940.

Vincent Massey Scholarship Selection
Committee.

5, Russell Street Calcutta.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1940

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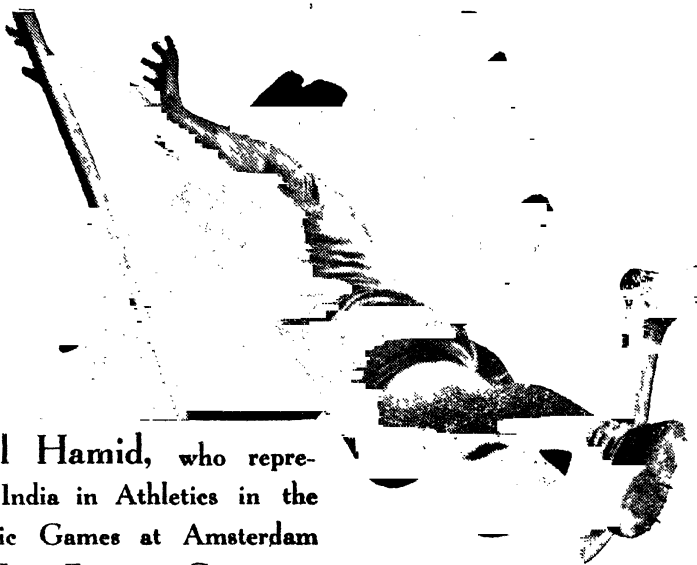
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THE MAHABHARATA

AS A HISTORY AND A DRAMA

BY

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WITH A FOREWORD BY

SIR SARVAPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN, KT.

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So much has been written about the Mahabharata, that people have now come to think that there is nothing new to say upon the subject. This idea, however, becomes exploded as soon as one reads the volume just brought out by Rai Pramatha Nath Mullick, Bahadur. There is hardly any chapter which is not interesting and also refreshing to the mind. It may not be possible to see eye to eye with him in all his disquisitions. Nevertheless, one cannot help thinking that every chapter is thought provoking and places a novel point of view before the mind of the scholar. In some cases the thoughts enshrined in the Mahabharata have been aptly compared to those embedded in English Literature. In fact, the volume is possessed not only of scholarly but also literary merit.

Sd. D. R. BHANDARKAR.

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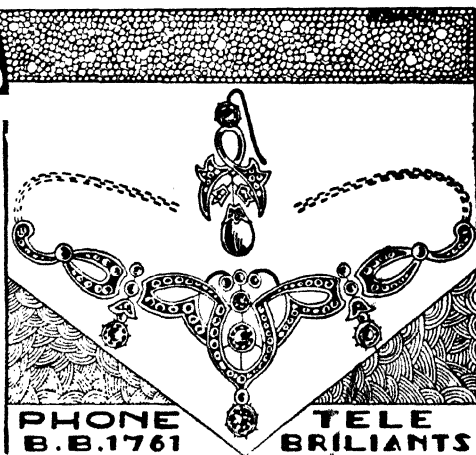
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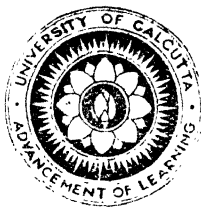


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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1940

THE SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RAY

V

SHAKESPEARE AND THE MERMAID TAVERN

IN the formative stage of English society alehouses, inns and Taverns were no less important than the play-houses. 'Tavern life counted for much in that day. At inns and Taverns a newly arrived stranger would pick up his earliest acquaintance and later, would meet the company of his friends.' There were no Academies, Societies, Clubs or Associations and consequently the creative geniuses of the nation could not sit together to discuss among themselves the matters which interested them either individually or collectively. The inevitable result of this type of isolated study was that an antiquarian, for example, would ever roam about among his discoveries without being helped by his brother-antiquarians, not to speak of historians and philosophers, who could better interpret their discoveries so as to stimulate a regular course of fruitful research. Thus the national literature was entirely dependent upon individual hobbies and eccentricities and could not be pursued as organised research. Poets would compose verses without

ever knowing what would, as a matter of fact, ensure a wider appeal among his readers.

The necessity of finding a common meeting place of the *elite* of the London society first caught the attention of Sir Walter Raleigh and we would certainly do better if we glance for a moment at the origin of the Mermaid Tavern founded by him. Predominantly an adventurer and expert navigator, Raleigh was really versatile in genius and the future writer of the *Historie of the World* required frequent intercourse with the progressive element of the society. Indeed, this requirement of Raleigh demanded a platform where poets would mutter, antiquarians would demonstrate, divines would sermonise and aesthists would open their lips unfettered. The demand, it is said, was materialised by the foundation of the Mermaid Tavern.¹

Taverns were after all very popular among the Elizabethans and the very name Mermaid signifies that it was rather poetic and consequently somewhat *aristocratic* among others of the class, and was the meeting place of a good lot of *literateurs* to discuss matters over a glass of wine which had the effect of heightening their conviviality and lightening their heart. There are numerous contemporary records to show that Raleigh, Beaumont, Fletcher, Donne, Carew, Jonson and many more joined at one time or another and frequented the Mermaid. But absolutely there is no trustworthy record to show our poet's association with the Mermaid Tavern, though tradition connects him with it. Thomas Fuller in his *Worthies* thus narrates:

"Many were the wit-combats betwixt him and Ben Jonson, which two I behold like a Spanish Gallion, and an English man of war; Master Jonson (like the former) was built far higher in learning; Solid, but slow in his performances. *Shakespeare* with *English-man of War*, lesser in bulk, but lighter in sailing. Could turn with all tides, but tack about and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his Wit and invention."

Fuller's *Worthies of England* was published posthumously in 1661 but he began to collect materials for the same some time before

¹ Of Raleigh, we read: "He loved books and the society of men of letters of all kinds. He was a friend of Sir Robert Cotton, the antiquary, who collected the famous library at Cotton House, which became the meeting place of the Scholars of the day. There and elsewhere Raleigh consorted with other men of learning of his times. He was a member of the society of Antiquaries, which archbishop Parker had founded in 1572 and which lasted till 1605, and he is said to have suggested those gatherings at Mermaid Tavern, in Bread Street, where Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Beaumont and other play-writers met the antiquaries and literary men of the day."—*Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. IV.

1641. Ben Jonson died in 1637. We must not, therefore, summarily dispose of the above statement as a specimen of Shakespeare mythos.¹

That Shakespeare had an intimate knowledge of the manners and customs of the people who used to lead a wild Tavern life is amply evident from his everlasting portraiture of Falstaff's sallies at Boar's Head Tavern, East-cheap, which was by far the most notable in Shakespeare's time.² According to Prof. Masefield,³ "The Falstaff scenes are all wonderful. . . . That in which the drunken Pistol is driven downstairs is *the finest tavern scene ever written.*"

In recent times poets and authors have taken much delight in drawing up good many fanciful pictures of the imaginary meetings between Shakespeare, Jonson and others. Keats after more than two centuries refers in a very general way to the Mermaid Tavern in the following lines:

"Souls of Poets dead and gone
What Elysium have Ye known
Happy field or mossy Cavern
Choicer than the Mermaid Tavern?"⁴

David Masson⁵ in his exhaustive life of John Milton gives us a very hypothetical picture of so-called meeting between old Shakespeare and boy Milton (1614) when the former accompanied by Ben Jonson came out of the Mermaid Tavern and walked down the Bread Street. A few lines seem worth quoting:

"Sir Walter Raleigh, it is said, had begun a kind of club there before the close of Elizabeth's reign; during the latter years of that reign and the first of James, while Shakespeare was still in town to make one of the company, the meetings were at their best; but even after that time they were kept up by the rest of the fraternity. Any time, therefore, between 1608 and 1614, while Milton was a child, we

¹ Had there "Wit-Combats" between Shakespeare and Jonson, which Fuller notices, been chronicled by some faithful *Boswell* of the age, our literary history would have secured an interesting accession.—Disraeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, Vol. I, p. 423.

² Boar's Head had never been explicitly named by Shakespeare. The following reference clearly indicates that Shakespeare meant Boar's Head Tavern:

Prince. * * * Is your master here in London?

Bard. Yea, my lord.

Prince. Where sups he? Doth the old boar feed in the old frank?

Bard. At the old place, my lord, in East cheap.

—2 *King Henry IV*, Act. II, Sc. 2.

³ *William Shakespeare* (Home Library series), p. 117.

⁴ *Lines on the Mermaid Tavern.*

⁵ *Life of Milton in connexion with the History of his Time*, Vol. I, p. 32.

may fancy those meetings going on close to his father's house, at which, over a board covered with cups of Canary, and in a room well filled, surely, with tobacco-smoke, the seated gods exchanged their flashes. Nay, and if we will imagine the precise amount of personal contact that there was or could have been between Shakespeare and our poet, how else can we do so but by supposing that, in that very year 1614 when the dramatist paid his last known visit to London, he may have spent an evening with his old comrades at the Mermaid, and, going down Bread Street with Ben Jonson on his way, may have passed a fair child of six playing at his father's door, and, looking down at him kindly, have thought of a little grave in Stratford church-yard, and the face of his own dead Hamlet ? . . . "

In the present century Alfred Noyes in his *Tales of the Mermaid Tavern* (1913) presents some beautiful portrait of the Mermaid Carousals. Noyes, on one occasion, imagines a meeting between Marlowe and Jonson in the Mermaid :

" Ben Jonson and Kit Marlowe, arm in arm,
Swaggered into the Mermaid Inn, and called
For red-deear pies.
There, as they supped, I caught
Scraps of ambrosial talk concerning Will,
His *Venus and Adonis*."¹

Again Noyes fancies Raleigh lamenting in the following tone :

" Why should I stay to chant an idle stave,
And in my Mermaid Tavern drink alone ?
For Kit is dead, and Greene is in his grave
And sweet Will Shakespeare long ago is gone."²

But all these are mere fancies and no evidence. These may sound well but do not disclose truth. Volumes of these subsequent and imaginary writings would only strengthen our tradition and may ultimately lead to conviction based on conjecture.

We thus encounter a new enigma as to whether Shakespeare was a member of the Mermaid Tavern. The present writer has placed the available facts in the foregoing pages and draws the attention of his readers to this problem. In the absence of any direct

¹ Page 16.

² *Ibid*, p. 214.

reference to Shakespeare's association with the Mermaid one would naturally decline to believe that Shakespeare was ever a member of the Tavern. But he must not forget that Shakespeare's history, to quote Saintsbury, "is a big perhaps." When almost everybody used to attend a tavern,¹ why should not Shakespeare do so, why should he remain isolated? The universality of his tavern scenes also supports the notion that Shakespeare was in the habit of visiting Taverns and possibly he attended regularly the Mermaid gatherings of which Beaumont, in a poetical letter addressed to Jonson, writes:

"What things have we seen
Done at the Mermaid! heard words that have been
So nimble, and so full of subtle flame,
As if that every one from whence they came
Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest,
And had resolved to live a fool the rest
Of his dull life; then, when there hath been thrown
Wit able enough to justify the town
For three days past—wit that might warrant be
For the whole city to talk foolishly
Till that were cancell'd; and, when that was gone,
We left an air behind us, which alone
Was able to make the two next companies
Right witty, though but downright fools."

It is rather curious to note that in this epistle though Beaumont refers to Jonson and the Mermaid he speaks not a word about Shakespeare. On another occasion Beaumont in a second epistle to B.J. refers to Shakespeare but no mention is there made of the Mermaid meetings. The relevant passage reads as follows:

". . . heere I would let slippe
(If I had any in mee) Schollershippe,
And from all Learninge keepe these lines as (cl)eere
as Shakespeares best are, which our heires shall heare

¹ Thomas Heywood observes:

"The Gentry to the *Kings Head*
The Nobles to the *Crown*,
The Knights unto the *Golden Fleece*
And to the *Plough*, the clown.

Preachers aft to their auditors to shoue
 how farr sometimes a mortall man may goe
 by the dimme light of Nature."¹

These visits of Shakespeare to taverns may or may not be regular but with his penetrating eye Shakespeare would certainly study the habits of the visitors there. Sidney Lee thus asserts that "The creator of Falstaff could have been no stranger to tavern life, and he (Shakespeare) doubtless took part with zest in the convivialities of men of letters."²

Thus there is no denial of the fact that Shakespeare has depicted Tavern Scenes most faithfully and in the absence of any direct evidence to show his connection with any tavern whatsoever, we should have certainly to rely upon Thomas Fuller's "Many were the wit Combates." We cannot reject this as a mere tradition, in fact, it is something more important than the same. It is a late reference so far as Shakespeare is concerned but not so with respect to Jonson.

Shakespeare was not an extraordinary man in his habits and hobbies. There is absolutely no record to show, that he ever lived a life which did not follow the customs of the day. Besides he produced the best tavern scenes and tradition connects him with the Mermaid Tavern where his friend Jonson was instructing the young entrants aspiring after poetic fame in the arts of playwriting and verse-composing.³

If we consider these points simultaneously, we have no alternative but to admit Shakespeare's connection with the Mermaid Tavern.

But what was the part taken by Shakespeare in these Tavern meetings? In the 'Wit Combates' he defeated the classic-scholar, the central figure of the gathering, namely Jonson. It is perfectly natural, then, that Shakespeare would have gathered his own satellites to form a school, but this he never did. The only explanation, which the present writer can offer to this query, is that Shakespeare, if he

¹ This occurs in a recently discovered document supposed to be of 1615. It is found in two manuscripts, one initialled F. B. (Francis Beaumont) and another R. B. The former is in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, in New York, while the latter one has been preserved in the British Museum. Sir E. K. Chambers authoritatively asserts that it was written by Francis Beaumont. See Chambers, *Life of William Shakespeare*, Vol. II, pp. 222-24.

² Lee, *William Shakespeare*, p. 177.

³ Of course much later Jonson was the oracle in the Apollo Room of the Devil Tavern and instructed his 'sons' in the art of dramatic poetry.

ever joined the Mermaid meetings, went to the tavern to learn and not to attract the young band of poets and playwrights and utilised his whole leisure in studying the characters of the frequenters there. The ' Wit combates ' were incidental and the greatest poet of human passion took scrupulous care not to disclose his to the members assembled there.

(To be continued.)

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE BIHAR CONGRESS GOVERNMENT

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OUR great National All-India organisation has all along been subject to various kinds of criticism. One of these to which no satisfactory reply could be given in the past was that the Congress was, more or less, an organisation of the intelligent, educated middle class, that it had little, if any, concern with the masses who did not join it as they never cared for politics. To-day the Congress members are more than 45 lakhs in number. These figures are, however, in a sense misleading for they give us only the number of those who have paid their subscriptions and joined the organisation formally, I am quite certain that those who sympathise with Congress ideals and wholeheartedly co-operate with the Congress in implementing its programme are many times this number. Where is the man who is bold enough to say to-day that the Congress is an organisation of the middle class or of the rich? Is there any one in India foolish enough to suggest that all or nearly all these 45 lakhs belong to the middle classes?

No political organisation can claim to be truly representative unless it contains within it members drawn from every social, economic and religious group. This proud distinction justly belongs to the Congress. If we have kishans and mazdoors, clerks and teachers, lawyers and politicians, we have also bankers, industrialists and businessmen worth crores of rupees. Similarly, we have also representatives of every religious faith professed in India, Hindu and Muslim, Christian and Sikh, Zoroastrian and Buddhist. The one thing common to all congressmen is the genuine desire to benefit and serve the masses. This utter negation of self, this ardent desire to serve the brother Indian is so great that the cost involved is never taken into account.

Commencing from our great leader Mahatma Gandhi who cheerfully gave up a most lucrative practice in South Africa, we find Pundit Motilal Nehru's son our beloved Jawaharlal and his whole

family sacrificing immense wealth on behalf of the national cause. Other instances in point are Shankerlal Banker, Jamnalal Bajaj, our Chitta Ranjan Das, the young Muslim Umar Sobhain one of the richest men in Bombay, the celebrated Dr. Ansari, the famous Hakim Ajmal Khan. Who does not know the immense sacrifices of Rajendra Prasad, of Rajagopalachariar, of Pant, of Kher, and of Sinha the Premiers of the different Congress provinces ? The list could be added to almost indefinitely. These men have given up their all and have gladly exchanged comfort or rather luxury for coarse Khaddar and a life spent in incessant labour and continuous sacrifice for our country's masses. Mahatma Gandhi, our All-India national leader, has fixed his home in a village near Wardha and I feel that he has done so because he is desirous of daily experiencing himself those difficulties which are being undergone by our rural brethren. I would not be surprised if, at long last, it is found that his enthusiasm for rural work finds its best inspiration in the disadvantages from which he suffers in his village home.

It is true enough that the leaders who are guiding the destinies of India do not themselves come from the masses. All of them are educated and some are wealthy. But the question which concerns us is whether they have identified themselves fully with the masses and also whether they are doing everything which lies in their power to benefit them. It has been my privilege more than once to prove this by the help of irrefutable facts and figures that that is what they are actually doing all over India including the province of Bihar.

In this article it is my intention to place before my readers my ideas of what the Congress cabinet has done for Bihar. It would not be true for me to say that I have personal knowledge of every one of these ameliorative measures. My information is drawn to some extent from the communiques published in the papers from time to time. I have also a home of my own in Bihar, have visited some parts of the province and seen many of the things referred to with my own eyes. I am aware that I have missed many important things and that what I shall put before my readers cannot but be a incomplete list of all the good work done by the Congress ministry. Not only ignorance but want of space are responsible for this.

My contention is that the work of the Bihar Congress is merely a sample of what has been attempted by the Congress ministries in all parts of India, for all these Governments were seeking to put through, of

course with slight modifications demanded by local conditions, one uniform plan aimed at benefiting our masses. If I succeed in convincing my readers that the Bihar Government did everything which lay in its power to help our poor and ignorant brethren, I have proved, though indirectly, that the other Congress Governments were doing the same thing.

AGRARIAN LEGISLATION

In Bihar, a raiyat who cultivates land in a village for 12 years becomes a settled raiyat of that village. Every settled raiyat acquires occupancy rights which are heritable without payment of any premium to the landlord and also transferable subject to payment of landlord's fee amounting to 8 per cent. of the consideration money. An occupancy raiyat cannot be ejected from the holding for non-payment of rent. He is entitled to dig wells or tanks in his holding, to erect a house on it, to make bricks for such house or well or tank and to plant and cut trees on it.

Among other things, the new act provides for (i) the cancellation of all enhancements between January, 1911 and December, 1936; (ii) total or partial remission of rent in cases where the soil has deteriorated by deposit of sand or submersion under water or where the landlord had neglected the irrigation arrangements which he is bound to maintain; (iii) reduction of rent where there has been a fall in the average local prices of staple food crops (not due to a temporary cause) during the currency of the present rent; and (iv) settlement of fair rent in other suitable cases.

Formerly, a raiyat's entire holding was sold in most cases for nominal prices. Now only that part of the holding will be sold which is, in the opinion of the court, sufficient to satisfy the decree. The raiyat has now been given complete immunity against arrest and detention in civil prison in execution of a decree for rent. Even his house and movables cannot be attached and sold in execution of such decrees; illegal exactions by landlords or their agents have been made a penal offence punishable with imprisonment which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to Rs. 500 or with both.

On account of the economic depression which began in 1929 many raiyats were unable to pay the rents of their holdings with the result that many holdings were sold for arrears of rent and purchased by the landlords, in most cases, for nominal prices. To remedy this, the

Bihar Restoration of Bakasht Lands and Reduction of Arrears of Rent was enacted. This Act deals with two matters, namely, (i) restoration of lands which had been sold in execution of decrees for arrears of rent during the depression and (ii) reduction of arrears which had accumulated during the said period.

ORGANISATION OF SUGAR INDUSTRY

The sugar industry has developed very rapidly in recent years and large numbers of sugar factories have sprung up in Bihar. The cultivation of sugarcane has also increased by leaps and bounds. As the result of this, the factories commenced to take undue advantage of the extensive cultivation of cane and the helplessness of the cane-growers. The Bihar Sugar Factories Control Act, 1937, was passed with a view to ensuring the progress of the industry on sound lines both in the interest of the grower and of the industry as a whole. The new Act provides for the licensing of sugar factories, regulation of the supply of cane and development of cane cultivation in factory "zones," the encouragement of cane growers, the organisation of co-operative societies and the elimination of cut-throat competition between factories, besides fixation of minimum price for sugarcane and the establishment of a Sugar Control Board and Advisory Committees. As the result of this piece of legislation, a fair price is ensured both to growers and manufacturers. It has to be stated in this connection that the attempt to fix the minimum price of an agricultural product grown over millions of acres was undertaken by the Bihar and U. P. Congress Governments jointly and also that it has met with unprecedented success.

RELIEF TO DEBTORS

It was pointed out by the Provincial Banking Committees of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa when the last two provinces were under one Government that about the year 1929 when these enquiries were held the population of Bengal was 50 per cent. more than the population of Bihar and Orissa but that the burden of debt of Bihar and Orissa was 50 per cent. more than Bengal. It is true that since the inauguration of provincial autonomy, Orissa has been separated from Bihar but this has made no difference so far as the burden of debt is concerned. It has been stated authoritatively that 90 per cent. of the population of

Bihar are deeply in debt and that, for all practical purposes, they are living in a perpetual state of bankruptcy.

The Bihar Money-Lenders' Act is designed to give relief to debtors by regulating money-lending within the province. Provision has been made for the registration of money-lenders who are bound to maintain proper accounts and give receipt to their debtors for all payments made. No one who is not a registered money-lender can institute any suit for the recovery of his dues from the debtor. The rates of interest have been fixed at not more than 9 per cent. per annum in the case of secured and 12 per cent. per annum in the case of unsecured loans. But in no case can a decree on account of interest be passed for an amount which exceeds the principal advanced.

PROHIBITION

Like all Congress Governments, the Bihar Government was committed to the policy of prohibition of alcoholic beverages and narcotics. Prohibition was introduced in the district of Saran with effect from the 1st April, 1939. This has an area of nearly 2,700 square miles and a population of nearly 25 lakhs. In pursuance of its policy, the Bihar Government did not renew the licenses of excise shops in this district. In other words, about 2150 licenses were cancelled which caused a loss in the revenue amounting to about Rs. 10 lakhs. Government had also to think about the 5,000 odd people who were engaged in the business of supplying these articles. Many of them have been given land in Khas Mahal areas which they are cultivating thus leading better lives than in the past. After April, 1939, the Bihar Government extended prohibition to two other districts in the province, *viz.*, Ranchi and Hazaribagh. Between them, the total area of these two districts is 14,123 square miles and the population is approximately 31 lakhs. It is understood that with prohibition in three districts the loss of revenue will be between 13 and 20 lakhs every year.

From the reports received from the officers in charge of these districts, it appears that prohibition is welcomed by all classes of people. Even the addicts express satisfaction that abstinence from drink has been made compulsory for, according to many of them, without it, they would never have found it possible to give up their evil habits. The women and children have hailed this move on the part of the Bihar Government with delight for the earnings are not wasted

and therefore more money is available for food, clothing and the other necessities of life.

It is to be noted that in all these areas, the people benefited have almost universally been the poorer people specially of the cultivator class. No one can deny that by the sacrifice of such a large amount of revenue, the Bihar Government undoubtedly proved its love for the masses.

IMPOSITION OF NEW TAXES

In order to find more money for nation-building activities and improving the condition of the rural masses, Government imposed some new taxes. Of these fiscal measures, the most important is the Bihar Agricultural Income-tax Act. Next in importance are the Bihar Stamp (Amendment) Act and the Bihar Entertainments Duty Acts. The taxes which have been imposed by these measures will affect only the well-off and will not touch the poorer classes. Under the Agricultural Income-tax Act, petty landlords and the smaller cultivators have been left untouched; incomes below rupees five thousand having been exempted from the tax. The Bihar Stamp (Amendment) Act enhances the rate of stamp duty on certain instruments, etc., so as to bring in an increased annual revenue. The Bihar Entertainments Duty Act empowers the levy of a tax on all payments received for admission to places of public entertainment. Government saw no reason why those who derived large or relatively large incomes from agriculture should not pay tax on those incomes or why those who spent money on entertainments should not contribute something towards the revenues of the State.

THE ANTI-ILLITERACY CAMPAIGN IN BIHAR

According to the last census, the province of Bihar, so far as literacy is concerned, stands lowest. The percentage of literacy for the different provinces is as follows:—Bengal—11; Madras—11·8; Bombay—10·2; Assam—9·1; C. P.—6; Punjab—5·9; Bihar—5·2. Recognising the seriousness of this menace, the Hon'ble Dr. Syed Mahnud, Minister of Education, started the Mass Literacy movement towards the end of April, 1938. It is noteworthy that the Minister of Education succeeded in infecting thousands of our countrymen with the passion of doing this great nation-building work without

which the phenomenal success referred to below could not have been achieved.

The Mass Literacy Committee recruited and trained thousands of honorary workers, printed special charts and primers for illiterate adults and organised literacy centres in every part of the province. Professors and teachers arranged lantern lectures on useful and interesting subjects to supplement the ordinary instruction imparted at these centres. Funds for contingent expenditure were collected by local subscriptions and, in some cases, grants were made by local bodies. The text of the primers and charts which are in Hindusthani were printed in Nagri and Urdu scripts the result being that, in a large number of literacy centres, many Hindus and Moslems have learnt both these scripts.

Literacy work was organised in jails. Arrangements were made to make all police and choudkars literate within six months or so. Industrial concerns were also persuaded to join the movement. While the main agency for instruction consists of the honorary labour of teachers, students, unemployed youngmen and social workers, provision was made for the payment of a small honorarium of five annas per each adult male literate. Small grants in-aid were also made to meet the cost of contingent expenditure. To ensure lasting literacy, a carefully graduated series of readers was prepared and provision made for the publication of a fortnightly in Hindusthani printed in Nagri and Urdu scripts. It is expected that, if the intensity of the movement is maintained, it may be possible to banish illiteracy from Bihar in about 10 years. It has been stated that within four months of starting the campaign, over 3 lakhs of adults were made literate.

There are four types of schools for adults:—(1) Organisations which do not seek grants from Government. These include the Tata Company, sugar mills, collieries and other industrial concerns. (2) Private organisations such as churches, clubs of women and other public associations. (3) Colleges and High schools which offer facilities to their students to take part in this campaign in the evenings, on Saturdays and during vacations. (4) Permanent centres where teachers in addition to their work during the day, engage in teaching at night. It was estimated in May, 1939, that there were more than eleven thousand night schools for adults with an enrolment of nearly three lakhs. This is in addition to an equal number previously made literate. According to a recent communique, all the police constables

in Bihar have been made literate while out of 48,000 chaukidars, 22,000 have already learnt to read and write.

Probably the most interesting feature of the movement is that it has also spread in the jails. A literacy campaign was started in the Gaya Jail in July, 1938, with the result that practically every illiterate prisoner has become literate while many of them have gone up to the fifth standard in one year. At the Bhagalpur Central Jail, about 6,200 male and female prisoners have learnt to read and write in the course of a single year. The expansion of literacy among women is progressing steadily. The Bihar Council of Women has given a great impetus to the movement and has appealed to other women organisations for help and co-operation.

The literacy campaign was begun at Jamshedpur by the Tata Iron and Steel Company in July 19, 1938. There are now about seventy centres here with an enrolment of nearly 3,600 adults of whom about 20 per cent. are women. According to the statement of the General Manager of this company, it is probable that, at the present rate of progress, Jamshedpur will be literate in about five years.

The campaign which was originally started on a purely voluntary basis, has now been placed on a permanent footing. In 1939, the Bihar Government gave a grant of Rs. 80,000 but last year it was increased to 2 lakhs and then it went out of power.

As an educationist with more than 40 years' experience of teaching work behind me, I offer my congratulations to the Bihar Government for the ability with which the ministers organised this campaign, the ease with which they secured the loyal co-operation of the volunteer workers, the thoroughness with which they did the work and the success which has crowned their efforts. Bihar, the most backward of provinces in India so far as literacy is concerned, is now the acknowledged leader in this work in India in just the same way as Madras, notorious for its drunkenness, is the leader in the prohibition movement. All honour to those of our leaders who, undeterred by the serious difficulties which stood in their way, boldly faced and successfully solved these two great problems.

Even non-Indians who have watched the mass literacy campaign at close quarters have been filled with admiration and realised its importance. This is evident from what Dr. Laubach that world-famous specialist on adult education, says on this matter. He observed, " The significance of the Bihar campaign is hardly to be

exaggerated. If it turns out to be a signal success as it promises to do, all India will be encouraged. If it should fail, all similar campaigns now afoot would be affected and perhaps killed. Since India has one-third of all the illiterates in the world, the success of Bihar would probably mean the start of the most titanic educational movement of all times. More than one-half of the human race are still illiterate. India is now awake and full of faith that the task can be accomplished."

After all this, dare even the worst enemy of the Indian National Congress suggest that it does not take any genuine interest in the welfare of the masses? Surely they must admit that this is the last charge that can justly be brought against the Congress Ministers.

MINISTERS' SALARIES

Of the acts falling under this group, those worth mentioning are the acts fixing the salaries of ministers, the officers and members of the legislatures. The salary which the ministers, under the old constitution, used to draw was Rs. 48,000 each per annum. Even under the new constitution of 1935, before the advent of the Congress Government, the salary which the interim Premier used to draw was Rs. 24,000 per year and the salary of each of the other interim ministers was Rs. 18,000 per annum. Following their ideal of economy and national service, the Congress cabinet, voluntarily fixed for themselves a salary of only Rs. 6,000 each per year. In this respect, no distinction has been made between the Prime Minister and the other ministers.

This compares very favourably with what we find to-day in the two non-congress provinces of Bengal and the Punjab. According to the monthly published by the U. P. Government and known as "Public Information," the amount spent out of the taxes for each minister of Bengal is Rs. 37,508 per year while the amount spent every year for each minister of the Punjab is Rs. 45,755.

Similarly, the salaries of the Speaker of the Bihar Assembly and of the President of the Bihar Council have also been fixed at Rs. 6,000 per year. In this connection we have to remember that the President of the old Legislative Council used to draw a salary of Rs. 24,000 a year. In so far as the daily and travelling allowances of members of the legislatures are concerned, each of them used formerly to draw

a daily allowance of Rs. 10 and first-class travelling. By the "Members' Salaries and Allowances Act 1938," each of the members of the legislatures has been given a salary of Rs. 900 per year, only second-class travelling allowance and a daily allowance of Rs. 3 during the session of the legislature. These measures alone are expected to effect a saving of thousands of rupees annually. It seems to me that this one fact alone is sufficient to prove the great concern felt for the masses by the Congress leaders who are willing to work on a basis of sacrifice in order to effect economies so that more money might be available for helping the poor people.

THE RATIONAL OUTLOOK

A question which presents itself to almost every thinking man is what exactly is the nature and the amount of the beneficent work accomplished or proposed to have been accomplished by the different provincial Governments which came into power after the introduction of provincial autonomy under the Government of India Act, 1935. Just as there are nationalists in every part of India, so also there are various parties and groups which either openly proclaim or indirectly suggest that though large promises were made by politicians or by political parties, they have not been fulfilled. This type of criticism was levelled specially against the different Congress Governments.

It is known to every one that, till the other day, the Congress was in charge of the work of administration in seven provinces, that it formed a Congress-Coalition Government in another province and that in only three out of the eleven provinces of British India did we have non-Congress Governments. What, one may well ask, is the reason why the Congress which, only the other day, was a proscribed organisation, achieved such wonderful success at the polls? The answer to this lies in the fact that though in the past the Indian National Congress was composed of the educated middle classes and of some of the more well-to-do Indian businessmen, mill-owners, bankers, etc., it is no longer the exclusive body it was at one time. Under the influence and guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, it has succeeded in drawing within its ranks, agricultural and industrial labour as well as members of the lower middle classes. Nowhere is this seen on a larger scale than in the province of Bihar where kishan organisations played so important a part in shaping the policy of public administration.

It is quite true that before the Congress came into power, many of our poorer and less educated brethren imagined that they would have a new heaven and new earth as soon as the work of administration was taken up by our national organisation. They quite naturally felt disappointed because the high hopes they had entertained were not fulfilled. I would ask all to consider the amount of progress achieved in India during the time that the administration of our motherland was in the hands of the British Government and then to pass their judgment on the work done by different Congress ministries. No fair-minded man will deny that the British Government has done much for us but, at the same time, we should not forget that the progress we see to-day was achieved during a period extending to nearly two centuries.

The Congress Governments, on the other hand, were in power for a little over two years. All along they had been in the opposition and their only work had consisted in criticising the doings, good, bad and indifferent, of our rulers. I question whether a single man among the present leaders had any experience of the work of administration. On coming into power they had, first of all, to familiarise themselves with the routine work of daily administration and to study each problem many of them unfamiliar in all its bearings. It is true that they have been receiving the willing and loyal co-operation of the permanent staff which probably is the best possible proof of that sense of discipline which lies at the root of the success of the British as administrators in every sphere of life.

It is only recently that, after mastering all these details, the ministers in the different Congress provinces were initiating new legislation and adopting new policies. It should be noted that a majority of these measures aim at the benefit of the masses for, under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, all genuine Congressmen have realised that the improvement and prosperity of India ultimately depend on the educational, social and economic uplift of all her children and not on the well-being of only the rich and the educated among them. I admit that much remains to be done in this direction but, at the same time, I am constrained to point out that much was done within the two years or so that the Congress was in power. We should all remember that the members of the different Congress cabinets are human beings with limited powers and not magicians who can do in the twinkling of an eye what an ordinary man

takes months and years to accomplish. I contend that taking into account the difficulties which had to be overcome, the progress achieved within the short period when they were in office is quite satisfactory and I would request every genuine lover of India and of the cause of nationalism to trust our leaders and to give them time in which to carry to a successful issue the task they have set themselves. As it is, they have a sufficiently heavy burden to carry. It is not therefore wise to add to their difficulties by ungracious and very often unjust and bitter criticism the only effect of which is to embarrass them and to curtail their usefulness as willing, cheerful and unselfish servants of our motherland and her children.

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE NEW EDUCATION MOVEMENT

J. M. SEN

Krishnagar

MANY, if not most, schools are in a state of transition. Few teachers are willing to conceive of the curriculum or of the aim of the school exclusively in terms of isolated subjects, formally organised and administered in small prescribed doses to reluctant pupils. On the other hand, few schools have yet been able to bring about a *perfect correlation* of the curriculum and the pupils' growing stream of life experiences.

Changes in procedure are the result of changed points of view as to aims and functions. These latter changes are usually gradual, while modifications in procedures tend to lag behind the acceptance of new points of view. One should not expect or wish for fundamental wholesale changes in school procedures overnight. There is a real danger that elementary education shall make apparent headway too rapidly. If teachers see only the outward forms and miss the inner spirit of the "new education," much will be lost. If teachers are made to feel that they must exhibit evidences of "activities" without being primarily concerned with the growth of their pupils, we shall merely have "old wine in new bottles." The teacher's point of view is of first importance. We cannot over-emphasize this significant fact. The most important constructive force in the world is education, and both elementary and secondary education are fundamental phases of schooling. The most important factor in the school is the teacher, and the fact of supreme significance about the teacher is his philosophy of life and of education.

Improvement in school practice, therefore, implies, first of all, gradual acceptance of newer conceptions of the meaning of education, and a sane effort to grow progressively in the application of the newer principles. Modifications of administrative relationships, of teaching technique, and of buildings and equipment grow out of changed points

of view as the values of new procedures are made evident through actual trial.

Certain cautions and specific applications of the principles enumerated should be given. First, let it be emphatically stated that freedom in education does not mean "letting children do as they please." It means helping them to please to do better things. Oftentimes it is not only cruel but morally wrong to allow children to suffer the consequences of their own actions. Freedom, however, does not imply many opportunities for choosing and for making decisions, in situations of significance to the pupils, and with kindly counsel at hand. Learning based upon interest, rightly conceived, is not pampering but the only effective means to true educative effort. There is no growth without freedom; but freedom must be earned. Freedom is a relative matter, to be progressively achieved.

What of discipline? The opinion here expressed conceives of discipline as intimately related to the whole school programme. The school's fundamental aim is to provide situations in which children may learn and practice desirable forms of conduct. Every phase of school activity should contribute to the acquisition of new and more appropriate modes of behaviour. Provision for this is at the same time discipline, teaching and character building. From an educative standpoint, *discipline is the positive, constructive process of building habits and attitudes of conduct* and not restrictive repression of normal activity of the pupil in order to satisfy traditional standards of routine. Obviously pupils cannot always do just as they please. Teacher-control can be withdrawn only as habits of self-control are developed. On the other hand, it is unwise for the teacher to deprive pupils of legitimate opportunities to make their own decisions and to act on their own responsibility. Nothing is more debasing than the use of coercion when an appeal to self-respect or to a sense of social responsibility would accomplish the same end.

The new education movement recognizes that activity is not merely an end in itself, but a means to growth. It is not enough that children be active; the activity must be to some purpose—controlled, directed activity. Nor is it sufficient that children be physically active only. Their fondness for dramatization, construction, manipulation and imitation should be encouraged. At the same time they should be stimulated and helped to see relationships, to understand significances, to gain insight in regard to their many "doings." Mental

and physical activity should be closely correlated ; adequate time must be provided for both. Mental play is as important as physical play, and requires stimulation and guidance.

Exhibits of children's work have a universal appeal ; yet they reveal little regarding the educative value of the activity which produced them. *They show what happened to the materials used, but not what happened to the children.* Nearly perfect exhibitions may result from teacher-dominated activity which has had slight influence on the growth of the pupils. A product, comparatively crude, judged by adult standards, may be the result of substantial pupil growth. Did the pupil set himself a harder task than ever before ? Did he plan more wisely ? Did he persist more tenaciously in the face of difficulties ? Did he work more skilfully and effectively ? Did the result bring satisfaction and self-confidence, and a desire to go on to more and greater achievements ? These are the questions we should ask in judging the educative values of any activity. Results are important, both within and without the school's walls, but from the educational standpoint they must be evaluated in terms of the pupils' present abilities and their growth producing possibilities.

This is not the place for a detailed consideration of school marks, tests, grades and promotions, but since they so profoundly affect the school's work it is imperative that they should be in accord with the fundamental principles mentioned in the previous paragraph. It is apparent that they have some value in so far as they further the continuous, full development of children, and that they become pernicious whenever they interfere with the attainment of the school's basic purpose ?

One of the most significant conditions of modern life is that people are having to work more and more together. In the home, the political, or the business world, one is constantly confronted with the need to carry on enterprises and work out solutions to problems with other people. This fact breeds an insistent demand for the abilities involved in real co-operation. Success in such co-operative enterprises involves the practice of habits of willing sharing of responsibility, intelligent tolerance of others' ideas, appreciation of others' abilities and contributions, and helpfulness. Thus whole-hearted effort expended by a number of pupils working together upon the same activity builds gradually many attitudes and habits which make for genuine citizenship. The teacher helps them through hints to realize

the need for these and to develop a co-operative group spirit. In co-operative work the following qualities are developed :—

- (i) Consulting the group and accepting the decisions upon problems pertaining to the group.
- (ii) Helping others to help themselves.
- (iii) Feeling responsible for a definite part in a group activity.
- (iv) Judging accurately of one's own and others' work.
- (v) Appreciating the abilities of different members of the group.
- (vi) Desiring every one to work in harmony.

A thorough analysis of all activities to be used is necessary to insure a choice of those richest in meaningful experiences. The teacher must know what possibilities for growth are inherent in a proposed enterprise and whether or not his pupils have advanced to that stage of development which will enable them to make use of these possibilities. Such an analysis cannot be made once and for all times. The fact that life is constantly changing means that those situations in which pupils will learn about life in order to adapt themselves to its conditions will constantly change also. Moreover every group of pupils differs from every other in its process of development. At any given time, no two groups are alike in backgrounds, capacities, interests and needs.

The values inherent in any activity depend upon three things, *viz.*, (i) its possibilities for producing learning situations like those the pupil meets outside the school, (ii) its possibilities of leading pupils to newer, larger, more challenging experiences, and (iii) the previous experiences and capacities for growth of the pupils who are to undertake it. An activity, for instance, which would be "large in scope" and "rich in possibilities of growth" for the Kindergarten child of limited experience or the first-grade child who is immature mentally, might not challenge to his level of effort a first-grade child who had had rich previous opportunities and who was mentally mature. Whether or not an activity will provide the desired learning situations must then be determined anew for each group of children concerned. Thus the "activity programme" cannot be a cut and dried course of study to be carried out through an inflexible school organisation. It must be a changing, growing plan, adapting itself to changing conditions and differing needs of the pupils. Herein lies its challenge. Through it the programme of teaching and learning becomes a

stimulating adventure. To insure right adaptation, each activity undertaken will need to be constantly checked according to certain carefully chosen principles which have been tested and which will insure to pupils some rich worthwhile experiences. These principles should apply to the selection of activities on each level of development of pupils in elementary and secondary schools.

In a world which changes as rapidly as that in which we live, the school or the college cannot complacently perpetuate the practices of an earlier period. An institution so inherently social as the secondary school or college cannot to any degree remain aloof from the surging life of its time. It is not for teachers to live in a house by the side of the road while the race of men go by. Ours is the joy of studying not only pupils and their growth but also the thrilling life of our times in its infinite aspects, in order that the growth of all students may be closely directed. In these efforts may we keep our vision clear ! May we value, above all else, abundant life, for our pupils and ourselves !

LORD AUCKLAND ON DELHI

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LORD Auckland has left an unhappy record in India. He ruined his reputation for good when he sent a futile expedition to Afghanistan that ended in disgrace and disaster. Success alone might have justified unprovoked aggression but no apology can be offered for a fruitless war. Yet in fairness to him we should not forget that Lord Auckland was not the real author of his foreign policy. The portfolio of foreign affairs at home was held by that masterful person, Lord Palmerston, and the Whig ministers of Queen Victoria expected the Governor General to be an unquestioning instrument of their anti-Russian measures. Though a misfit in times of war, there is reason to believe that Lord Auckland, if left to himself, might have proved an excellent administrator in times of peace. His minute on Delhi, dated Karnul, the 7th March 1838, bears ample testimony to Lord Auckland's solicitude for the welfare of the people he was called upon to govern. This alone would offer some justification for reproducing *in extenso* this interesting document which incidentally goes a long way to prove that Lord Auckland was prepared to do everything possible for the economic, civic and intellectual improvement of the Imperial City.

It is no wonder that the Governor General should give the problem of defence a place of precedence. In 1838 the Sutlej marked the north-western boundary of British India and Delhi formed an advanced military post of great strategical value. Nor could its political importance be safely ignored, for a titular emperor, a descendant of Akbar and Aurangzeb, still held his court in Shahjahan's palace, and though shorn of power and prestige he still commanded the reverence, if not the allegiance, of many citizens of light and leading. In 1804 the Maratha hordes of Jaswant Rao Holkar were repulsed from the outskirts of Delhi by the prowess of Sir David Ochterlony and we are told that "many lakhs have since been laid out in its defences. These defences consist of a high wall enclosing a circumference of nearly seven miles, with Martello Towers at long intervals and bastions at the seven gates." Lord Auckland had no illusion about

the utility of these extensive ramparts against a well-equipped force in a major war. But he thought it would be false economy to leave it unfinished when only one-seventh of the work originally contemplated remained to be done. He appreciated the value of the city walls for the maintenance of peace and order in normal times but he held that the money would have been better invested in "a citadel of much smaller proportions strongly fortified capable of being occupied by an inconsiderable garrison." The Mutiny proved twenty years later how sound his judgement was.

The problems of defence naturally turned Lord Auckland's attention to the Jumna. The Jumna had receded from its former bed immediately below the ramparts of Shahjahan's fort and the Governor General suggested that steps should be taken to divert the river to its original course by means of fresh embankments so that it might add to the "strength, beauty and the cleanliness of the town."

It was left for Lord Curzon to enunciate a comprehensive policy and to organise a new department for the restoration and preservation of the ancient monuments of India. But it is no small credit to Lord Auckland that he evinced similar interest in the magnificent ruins in which Delhi and its environs abound. He particularly urged Captain George Thomson, Executive Engineer of Delhi, to take special care for the preservation of the Kutb Minar and the remains of the stately mosques and tombs in its immediate neighbourhood.

Lord Auckland was a professed Whig and shared the liberal principles of his party. Although anxious to add as much as possible to the amenities of civic life he held that such improvements though inspired by officials should in general be carried out by private contributions. "Far less," he observes, "has certainly been accomplished in this manner at Delhi than might have been effected, and it is melancholy to find in this climate aqueducts crumbling into decay, sewers and drains choked up, and roads in many places with difficulty passable when by a very limited outlay all might have been maintained." He suggested that the Executive Engineer should be called upon to submit a report on the ancient aqueducts and drains of the city and an estimate of the expense for their repair and restoration. The Governor General also recommended that the waste lands belonging to the Government or to the titular king might profitably be let out on lease for residential purposes. "The demand for land," he writes, "within the walls is every day increasing, and

as these lands or ancient gardens may be appropriated to building, it should be done upon some consistent plan so that consideration may be given to objects of health and convenience and police and even to beauty and symmetry of architecture." Lovers of old Mughal gardens may sincerely deplore the appropriation of those beauty spots for residential purposes, and Lord Curzon's government would doubtless have taken suitable measures for their preservation and upkeep had they survived to our times, but otherwise it will be difficult to take exception to the general principle laid down by Lord Auckland that the new buildings of the city should not be out of harmony with their environments and while provision should be made for the proper policing of the new suburbs, the aesthetic sense of the residents should not be unnecessarily offended. In fact no modern city architect could wish anything better.

The Governor General next dealt with the waste lands outside the city walls and suggests that much of the waste lands to the south of the city could be reclaimed and brought under cultivation without any risk to the interesting remains of antiquity. He was of opinion that the waste lands could profitably be leased out to intending cultivators without any rent for a term of twenty years or more. In this connection he emphasised the need of co-operation between the Magistrate and the inhabitants of Delhi for the general improvement of the city. "I have already remarked," he goes on to say, "that the success of projected improvements in the avenues of towns or in other local arrangements must very mainly depend upon the co-operation of the leading inhabitants and upon the personal exertions of the Magistracy, and I know also that there is too prevalent a feeling that the indifference of the natives upon these subjects is not to be overcome, and that it is idle to contend with it. I am far from acquiescing in this opinion, on the contrary I believe it not to be difficult to direct the love of popular regard and the liberality which might waste itself in merely personal or temporary objects to works of public utility—a bridge, a school, a road, an aqueduct, or a tank; but to do this there must be conciliation and intercourse and mutual good will and confidence." It is superfluous to add that Lord Auckland's expectations have been more than justified in recent times, and he was perfectly right when he laid down that the proof of a Magistrate's worth or lack of it is to be found in the measure of co-operation that he can command from people of wealth and influence in works of public utility.

The police of Delhi met with Lord Auckland's approval but he was horrified with the primitive condition prevailing in the prison. But for the segregation of women prisoners "there was no pretence of classification of any kind but the prisoner convicted of heinous or of light crimes, the prisoner under examination, even the sick and the convalescent are all herded together except that the prisoners for life are in the most revolting manner chained to their cells either by the neck or by the leg, and not able to move beyond the range of their chains." The jail hospital was in able hands but, unlike those in other populous cities, did not administer to popular needs. The only well administered public institution was the Lunatic Asylum but it compared unfavourably with that of Benares. "Except to the insane, no public succour of any kind is given to the sick of this great city" and Lord Auckland suggested that a small dispensary should be established at an early date.

During his short stay at Delhi the Governor General visited two colleges that catered to the intellectual needs of the city in those days. The Oriental College was fairly well endowed by private munificence; the English institution, however, depended entirely on Government subvention, and it appears that at one time every student expected some sort of stipend or allowance. The Governor General speaks well of the English school although it was overstaffed and stood in need of a higher grade of tuition. In 1835 the system of general alimentary allowance was abolished and there was a marked fall in the roll strength of both the institutions.

The important question of canal irrigation also engaged the Governor General's attention and problem of draining the Najafgarh JHIL and using the water of the Ghaggar river for irrigation purposes was carefully considered. It may be noted that shortly after Lord Auckland penned his minute an outlet was provided for the waters of the extensive Najafgarh *Jhil* which covers many scores of square miles by means of a canal.

Lord Auckland concluded his minute with a brief note on the royal household. The family had its residence in the fort and consisted of four hundred princes and more numerous women. Most of these princes were ignorant and uneducated and spent their time in profligate idleness. Obviously something had to be done, for the future of the royal family looked gloomy in all conscience. Lord Auckland desired that some provision should be made for the education of the

junior members of the royal family. Twenty years later the Mutiny sealed the fate of the titular emperor and his kinsmen and there were no room for the descendants of Babur in Shahjahan's fortified palace any longer.

Lord Auckland's survey embraced all the public institutions of Delhi and if he is judged by his intentions irrespective of his achievements he may rightly claim to be ranked with Lord Curzon and Lord Hardinge as one of the most sincere benefactors of the ancient metropolis of Hindustan.

MINUTE

1. Having passed some days at Delhi I am desirous of recording the points to which I think that the attention of the Government and of the Officers under the Government should be especially directed, and the more so as there are few places in India to which from size, position, and association more importance is to be attached, and because I have seen much which seemed to me to offer a larger field for improvement.

2. The Military importance of Delhi in the event of a new struggle being at any time forced upon the British Government for the possession of India, is sufficiently obvious. It contains the Magazines and the Munitions of war which are first in advance on our most open frontier. Its population from a sense of the decay of their great capital, and partly also from connection with the family of the ancient Dynasty, is supposed not to be well affected, and the presence of that family which the whole of the Mahomedan population yet regards with reverence, gives a political value to its occupation which would not otherwise belong to it. The gallant and the successful defence of the City against Holkar by Sir David Ochterlony in 1804, gave it something of military character and many lakhs have since been laid out in the improvement of its defences. These defences consist of a high wall enclosing a circumference of nearly seven miles, with Martello Towers at long intervals and bastions, at the seven gates. In front of the wall is a mud ditch, the approaches are tolerably clear, and a glacis has been nearly formed covering in height from two thirds to three fourths of the wall; against a superior and well-equipped and well directed force these defences would be most inefficient, and they are so extensive that a large force would be required sufficiently

to man them. Yet they would be strong against any popular movement or even against any native army, and they are completed with the exception of one bastion—of a few hundred yards of the glacis—of the removal of some mounds of earth on the river facing—and of the repair of another of the bastions the foundations of which have been undermined by the river—and guns for all the defences have been provided though with some inconsistency of arrangement all provision of gun carriages has been omitted. As therefore six sevenths of the work originally contemplated have been accomplished it would seem to be but bad economy to neglect this last fraction and Captain Thomson¹ might I think be authorised to proceed with the glacis and with the other works alluded to as he may have means at his disposal applicable to these objects. I should indeed as I have said in the event of any formidable Military struggle look for but little useful protection from these works, and I heartily regret that the money which has been expended upon them has not been applied to a citadel of much smaller proportions strongly fortified capable of being occupied by an inconsiderable garrison and covering whatever of public property it might be desirable to accumulate within such a work. For purposes however of police and if not against foreign war yet against any local or partial outrages and ebullitions of discontent, I consider the wall of Delhi to be very valuable, and I would not be understood as too much inclined to depreciate it. I am told that different schemes have been agitated for extending and improving these fortifications and although under such disadvantages as must attach to fortification around a city of so great a circuit, I am little inclined to favour any notion of this kind, yet having had my attention drawn to the subject, I should be glad to learn from Captain Thomson in a succinct report what plans of the nature are upon record, what are his own views in regard to them and what time would be spent and (approximately) what expense would be incurred in giving effect to any of them and in completing the equipment and mounting of the guns. For the prosecution of the works already sanctioned, or now to be carried on under the

¹ Captain George Thomson (afterwards Lt. Colonel) was appointed commander of the Bengal sappers and miners at Delhi and executive engineer of the Delhi Division of the Public Works Department in March, 1837. Born in 1799 he joined the Bengal service as an engineer cadet in 1818. He served with distinction in the Burmese war and gave evidence of exceptional engineering skill constructing the Rohri-Bakkar bridge in 1839 when he was the Chief Engineer of the British expeditionary force in Afghanistan. He particularly distinguished himself in the capture of Ghazni. He retired from Indian service in 1841 and died in Dublin forty-five years later.—*Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XIX, pp. 722-24.

recommendation which I have before recorded, I would give to him all reasonable facilities in the labor of convicts, in the use of Commissariat bullocks, and other such available means.

3. I should also be glad, I may here say, to obtain from Captain Thomson any plans which may be in his office for raising an embankment the effect of which shall be that of bringing the Jumna back into its ancient course immediately under the City face. The plan may be difficult of execution and may otherwise have objections, of which I am not aware, but materials are cheap, the proximity of the river would add as well to the strength as to the beauty and the cleanliness of the town, and the project is at least worth the trouble of enquiry.

4. My attention had previously to my visit to Delhi been directed by the Commander in Chief as well in private as in public communications, to the Corps of Sappers and Miners—and after local observation and enquiry, I entirely agree with His Excellency in opinion that this valuable corps ought not to be, as at present, stationed in the City of Delhi exposed to many temptations injurious to good discipline and with no facilities for good Military exercise—I am quite prepared therefore to acquiesce in the proposition which has been made for moving the lines of the Corps to the right of the present Military Cantonment, and for selling or applying to other useful purposes the ground which is occupied by the present lines, and this measure will, I should expect, be attended rather with profit than with loss to the Government.

5. I cannot also but agree with the Commander in Chief in thinking that sufficient attention has not been paid to this Corps, and that its efficiency has been in some degree impaired by the absence of nearly all its officers upon duties connected with the public works. No one can estimate more highly than I do the value of the services in this respect of our Engineer officers, or would more reluctantly withdraw them generally from a line of employment in which they are so exceedingly useful and so highly distinguished, yet I am ready to admit that sufficient care has not been taken either by myself or by those who preceded me to keep this regiment under the control and direction of European officers, and I shall be glad gradually to apply myself to the amendment which I think desirable in this part of its discipline, so that at least four or five of the junior officers should generally be present and contributing as well to their own experience of regimental duty as to the improvement of the men whom they may one day be called upon to lead in the most important operations. The Corps is

itself in some degree disheartened and labouring under disadvantage from the presence of supernumeraries to the amount of nearly 140, in consequence of which the course of promotion is unduly checked, and it is open to consideration whether the removal of this disadvantage may not be hastened by the discharge, or by the drafting into other Corps, of many of these supernumeraries. I have to recommend that early attention be given to this subject which is material to the efficiency of a valuable part of our Military Force.

6. It is but lately that this Corps has been placed under any consistency of direction by combining its command with the office of Executive Engineer of Delhi, and I anticipate great advantage from the efficiency of Captain G. Thomson who has been recently appointed to these united offices.¹ I think too that pains may with advantage be applied in a greater degree than has hitherto been the case to the instruction of the Sappers and Miners in accomplishments which may fit them for employment in the subordinate offices of the Public Works—I believe such instruction to be given to European Corps of this description, and I should be glad to see it extended to our Native Sappers.

7. Captain Thomson has been directed to complete the bridge over the Hindan² which was commenced by Captain De Bude,³ and I have heard enough upon this bridge to make me anxious for a report upon it. I fear that from the ground upon which it was intended to rest not having been sufficiently examined, much of the work which has been will have to be removed and recommended.

8. The Kootub Minar and the very interesting remains of antiquity in the neighbourhood of that extraordinary column, are also under the care of Captain Thomson—and I cannot too strongly express my wish for its careful preservation and for an ostensible regard on the part of the Government for this as for any other similar monument of their past history to which the interest and respect of the native community must naturally be attached. I was pleased with the excellent condition in which I found this pillar, and I would request

¹ Thomson himself thought otherwise and held that the duties of the two offices could not be conveniently combined. That was why he resigned in 1841.—*Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XIX, pp. 722-24.

² Hindan, also called Chhaja in its upper course, rises in the Siwaliks in Saharanpur District and falls into the Jumna.—*Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

³ Henry De Bude (1800-43) joined the Engineer's as a cadet in 1815. He was appointed Garrison and Executive Engineer at Delhi in April 1831. See Hodson's *Officers of the Bengal Army*.

Captain Thomson from time to time to inspect it and guard it from injury. Without also except after reference to the Government incurring any great expense I would authorize him to provide by the removal of rank vegetation and by diverting all accumulation of water that the effect of time upon what yet remains of the very curious buildings adjacent to the Miner should be as little destructive as possible, and I would particularly draw his attention to the Arches of two of the Gateways the key stones of which appear to be sinking and which might possibly by early attention be saved. I should be well disposed at once to sanction any not immoderate expense for this latter object.

9. It has also seemed to me that much good may be effected within the City of Delhi by the Executive Officers if assisted by an able and zealous Magistrate—I am not desirous that much should be done directly under the orders and at the expense of the Government for I am in this, as in other instances, inclined to wish that the charge and control of municipal improvement should be borne largely by the inhabitants of each City. Far less has certainly been accomplished in this manner at Delhi than might have been effected, and it is melancholy to find in this climate aqueducts crumbling into decay, sewers and drains choked up, and roads in many places with difficulty passable when by a very limited outlay all might have been maintained. I think that Captain Thomson should be called upon for a report upon the ancient aqueducts and drains of the City, and for a general estimate of the expense at which each may be repaired and made effective, I could wish too to obtain from him a report upon the waste ground within the city which is the property of the Government or over the disposition of which as property of the King the Government may exercise some influence. The demand for land within the walls is every day increasing, and as these lands or ancient gardens may be appropriated to building, it should be done upon some consistent plan so that consideration may be given to objects of health and convenience and police and even to beauty and symmetry of architecture.

10. Outside of the walls I have been led to believe that without injuring and of the most interesting remains of antiquity, much of the immense plain of rain and desolation which extends to the south of the town would be gradually reclaimed and brought into cultivation if it were tendered to occupiers free of rent for a term of twenty or more years, and I am desirous that the

Commissioner should be authorised after further consultation on the precise terms to be fixed with the Board of Revenue, to try this experiment. I have already remarked that the success of protected improvements in the avenues of towns or in other local arrangements must very mainly depend upon the co-operation of the leading inhabitants and upon the personal exertion of the Magistracy, and I know also that there is too prevalent a feeling that the difference of the natives upon these subjects is not to be overcome, and that it is idle to contend with it. I am far from acquiescing in this opinion, on the contrary I believe it not to be difficult to direct the love of popular regard and the liberality which might waste itself in merely personal or temporary objects to works of public utility—a bridge, a school, a road, an aqueduct, or a tank; but to do this there must be conciliation and intercourse and mutual good will and confidence, and as a Magistrate is able and willing or otherwise, to establish these, and to lead those under his charge who have most of wealth and influence to act in co-operation with him, so is he peculiarly fit for his office or to be pronounced wanting in some of the qualifications on which the Government sets the highest value. I have seen traces and beneficial proofs of this union in other place—I cannot say that I have found it at Delhi with regard to what may be accomplished directly by the Government, I have to beg that information may be called for as to whether any surplus of the Chowkedarry tax, or any ferry or other local fund may be made applicable to the purposes which I have in view. Possibly the King of Delhi might be influenced to employ some portions of the Royal Grant for such objects when directly connected with the improvement of the Buildings and grounds of the Palace or its Environs.

11. I would not in any remarks be understood as unduly censuring Mr. French,¹ the present Magistrate. He has been but a few months in the office, he found here many of the defects upon which I have had to comment, and I am afraid that at Delhi as at other places, such defects are greatly to be attributed to that frequent change of officers which leaves no one responsible, and which makes a persevering and consistent course of improvement so peculiarly difficult in India. Yet it is impossible for me not to say that I should have been much better

¹ It appears from the enclosure to the letter, dated the 26th May, 1838, from Mr. T. T. Metcalfe, Agent to the Governor General at Delhi to Mr. W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary to Governor General, Political Department, that Mr. P. C. French was officiating as Collector of Delhi in 1838. (Pol. Cons., 4th July, 1838, No. 6.)

pleased by finding not only a due attention to the ordinary and necessary duties of office, but also a zealous and warm interest for the comfort of the community by the promotion of measures of general convenience and advantages.

12. It is to the credit of the Magistracy that the police is very well-spoken of and said to be within the City most efficient for the maintenance of order and the repression of crime, objects for which much assistance must be derived from efficient outer wall as also by the means which are at command of closing at night the communication between one section of the City with another. Without the walls, I had not reason to commend either the efficiency of the police or the goodness of the roads, on the contrary thefts and acts of violence were frequent beyond what is commonly the case in my camp and its neighbourhood, and the roads were unusually rugged. I was too far from being satisfied with the Jail. In discipline it is at least as faulty as any which I have seen, in construction it is more so, and although I am unwilling to attempt many changes before the subject of Prisons shall be brought, as is intended, with a view to a general reform before the Government, I think that this jail is particularly open to observation. The building is an ancient Serai,¹ consisting of one large square, the Chambers of which abutting upon the outer walls, are the cells of the Prisoners. One small yard is walled off for the women, and a building for the sick stands in the middle and except that the women are separated, there is no pretence of classification of any kind—but the prisoner convicted of heinous or of light crimes, the prisoner under examination, ever the sick and the convalescent are all herded together except that the prisoners for life are in the most revolting manner chained to their cells either by the neck or by the legs, and not able to move beyond the range of their chains. The Hospital seems to be carefully attended by Mr. McIntosh,² but it opens on the great Court, and it is utterly inapplicable to those general objects of charity to which I have been glad to find that the hospitals of our jails are in most populous cities open. I would require the Commissioner to report on the means of improving this jail in the points in which I have marked it as being deficient (if the means cannot be furnished without great expense of wholly

¹ The Sarai is named after Farid Khan, one of the grandees of Jahangir's Court.

² Robert McIntosh was Asst. Garrison Surgeon, and Civil Surgeon, Delhi, in 1838 and was promoted to the rank of Surgeon next year.

removing it to another site) and I would specially ask for plans and estimates for dividing the enclosure into a proper number of wards.

13. Within the city an Insane Hospital is supported by the Government and I am glad to bear witness to the cleanliness, the quiet, and excellent order of its management, but the locality is bad and confined, and the establishment is very inferior to that of the same description which is supported at Benares, the free ventilation of which and the means of occupation which its gardens afford to those who are but slightly effected, make it to stand favorably in contract with the narrow space allotted to the purpose at Delhi I would ask the Commissioner to report whether upon the removal of the lines of the Sappers and Miners from within the City some better accommodation might not well be procured for the purpose of this Hospital.

14. Except to the insane, no public succour of any kind is given to the sick of this great City, and as a Medical establishment is already supported for this one object, and the extension of the services of such an establishment to the general purposes of a dispensary might probably be accomplished at a very small expense, I would desire the attention of the Commissioner to this subject, also in communication with the Executive Engineer and with Mr. McIntosh and in connection with the enquiry respecting a change in the site of the Hospital, I am strongly favourable to the plan of establishing in the Western Provinces two or three dispensaries on the scheme recently settled in my correspondence with the President in Council such as it has been resolved to found at four of the Principal stations in Bengal and Behar—and no City would appear to be more appropriate for an establishment of this kind than Delhi.

15. Upon the ordinary course of the revenue and Judicial business, I do not think it necessary here to speak at length—Whatever I may had to remark upon these will be found in my communications with those to whom these departments are immediately subordinate, but whilst I think that enough has not been done at Delhi in that most important though undefined course of administration by which the general welfare of a people is consulted and promoted, their affections and feelings are conciliated, and their co-operation secured to a Government, I would in justice say that I have had no reason to find fault with any want of diligence or regularity in the manner in which the business strictly imposed upon its officers has been performed.

16. There are at Delhi two Colleges, one an Oriental one supported in part by a munificent Private donation which yields a monthly income of about Rs. 556 and the other than an English Institution wholly endowed by the Government. I visited both of these schools and during my residence at Delhi particular enquiries were made into their conduct and management by my direction and in pursuance of a wish expressed by the General Committee of Public Instruction. The result of these enquiries will be laid before the Government in due course, and in the mean time, I need only observe, that the scale of instruction at the Oriental College appears to have been found every deficient. For many years this college seems not to have trained up any distinguished scholars, its system to have been in many respects faulty, and its teachers but imperfectly qualified; and I am quite disposed to favour any reform which may within the ample means allotted to the college, secure to all desirous to prosecute Oriental studies, the best possible means of instruction. The English Institution has already supplied several promising young men to the Public Service. It seemed however to have an establishment of teachers disproportionately large as compared with the number of scholars and yet to want a higher grade of tuition for the youths of the senior classes who have already acquired a considerable mastery over the English language. Arrangements for providing for this want are under the consideration of the Committee of Education and the particular measures which it may be most desirable and practicable to adopt have formed part of the recent investigations to which I have alluded.

17. The Nuwab Hamid Ullee Khan as representative of the individual by whom the Delhi Oriental College has been so liberally endowed has urged frequent and strong complaints of neglect and abuse in the management and superintendence of the Institution—A further Memorial of the same nature was presented to me when at Delhi, and the subject shall have the most accurate enquiry. I find the annexed ¹ Notice of these complaints in the published report of the

¹ "Towards the close of the year 1835 Nawab Hamid Allee Khan requested that the interest of his late father-in-law Fuzul Ali Khan's grant might be expended on this college under his superintendence on which we remarked that *more than the monthly income derived from the grant (about Rs. 556) was laid out in the encouragement of Arabic and Persian learning in the college*, that in our opinion pecuniary rewards of merit ought to be substituted for the small alimentary allowances hitherto indiscriminately granted to the Oriental students &c."

Education Committee for 1836 (Page 105). The question of giving pecuniary rewards of merit in one sum as prizes at the annual examinations or of granting in preference to the most distinguished candidates fixed stipends restricted in number but to be held for a limited time after a fair and very strict competition in the place of the former objectionable system of indiscriminate alimentary allowances is one worthy of grave attention in maturing our plans for the improvement of education in this country.

18. It may be of interest to incorporate with this Minute the subjoined statement of the effect of the order of March, 1835, abolishing the system of general Alimentary allowances at both the Oriental and English Colleges at Delhi.

A memorandum of the students of the Oriental and English College for the past 5 years.

Oriental College, Delhi				Delhi or English Institution			
On 1st January	Stipendiaries	Non Do	Total	Stipendiaries 1st January		Non Do	Total
1833	243	36	279	1833	134	18	152
1834	230	18	248	1834	129	11	140
1835	217	10	227	1835	127	61	188
1836	164	34	198	1836	117	50	167
1837	124	17	141	1837	68	40	108
1838, February 26th.	89	34	123	1838	47	41	88

19. The very interesting and important subjects of the improvement of the canal irrigation in the Delhi Districts, the drainage of the Nujufghur Jheel,¹ and the employment if it be found practicable of the

¹ "The area which drains into the Najafgarh Jhil is estimated at some 3,000 square miles; in years gone by an area of more than 80 square miles has been known to be submerged by the floods." In 1838 a channel known as the Jhil drain was cut to run the surplus water into the Jamna under the supervision of Captain (afterwards Sir Henry) David. The drain

waters of the Guggur River¹ for irrigation purposes, engaged much of my attention in my enquiries respecting the internal condition of this Territory. In a season like the present of disastrous drought, it has been peculiarly gratifying to observe the benefits conferred by the canals on the tract of country through which they run and the maintenance (and the extension as far as the supply of water from the Jumna will admit) of such works, is an object worthy of all the care of the Government. The result of my observations on these works and topics connected with them, will be found in a resolution recorded by me on the proceedings of the Government of the N. W. Provinces, and as a copy of that resolution will of course be brought before the Supreme Government, I need not recapitulate the contents of it in this paper.

20. Before closing this paper, I would only add a few words upon the Royal family at Delhi. This family occupies a larger section of the City. The King's Palace is surrounded by a high wall, enclosing a space not less than two miles in circumference, within which he resides with Princes four hundred in number and with women far more numerous—Education is only bestowed upon a few of the higher branches of the family; the others are represented to be lamentably ignorant, living in unrestrained profligacy and many of them in a state bordering upon absolute penury, yet daily multiplying in number. It is impossible to foresee what end this accumulation of misery and degradation is to reach, nor can I point out the manner in which the Government can well and usefully deal with it, but I wish the Commissioner to be called upon to report on the condition and conduct of this family in all its several branches, and upon the present regulation of the Palace. I am desirous also that some early definite settlement should be formed of the question of the acceptance or refusal by the

begins at Chaola and falls into the Jamna at Wazirabad.—*Delhi District Gazetteer* (1912) p. 7; *Gazetteer of the Delhi District* (1883-84), pp. 8-9.

For the draining canal see a map of the Najafgarh area appended to Fanshawe's *Delhi Old and New*.

Mr. J. Thomason, Secretary to the Governor General, N. W. P., forwarded to the Military Board on the 15th March, 1838, a report from Lt. Durand, Engineer, dated the 26th February, 1838, relating to the drainage of the Najafgarh and other Jhils in the Southern Division of Delhi.—(Mily. Board's progs., April, 1838, pages 12, 123-40).

¹ The Ghaggar rises in the lower slopes of the Himalayas in the Sirmur State and runs through Ambala, Patiala and Hissar into Bikaner territory. The Ghaggar canals were constructed in 1896-97 and irrigate nearly 90 square miles of land in British and Bikaner territories.—*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XII, pp. 212-13.

king of the terms on which a sum of three lakhs of additional stipend has been offered to him and of the proper distribution and appropriation of the amount. I hope that in the final application of the increase it may be found possible, in some degree, to improve the condition of this family, or at least to make some satisfactory general arrangement for the education of its junior members.

AN ACCOUNT OF SIVAJI'S FIRST RAID ON SURAT, AS GIVEN IN THE DAGH REGISTER (1664)

J. C. D., M.A., B.L.(CAL.), M.A.(LOND.)

INTRODUCTION

EARLY in 1664 the Maráthá rájá Siváji with unusual daring and consummate skill and precision, swooped down on Surat by way of Nar-durg, Mahuli, Kobaj, Jawhar, Ramnagar with about four thousand picked horsemen and six thousand rather doubtful allies ; drove the Mughul Governor of Surat, the newly appointed Ináyát Khán, in panic, to the fort ; kept him and his colleagues inactive there with musketry fire, plundered the town at his will and pleasure for a few days ; collected a huge booty designed to pay the augmented Maráthá army of the near future ; and dashed back to safety before the huge armies of the Mughul at Aurangabad and elsewhere could take a single step to compel him to disgorge the spoil. The English factory, well defended by artillery of a superior make and by gunners trained in a more efficient school, hurled defiance at his threats, which, it very probably knew, could never be vigorously enforced by this captain of light raiders, surrounded as he was by actual and potential enemies. One must also remember that the English President at that moment was able to muster a comparatively large number of Europeans to aid him in the task of defence. He had marched in military array and pomp through the " body of towne," " taking a great circle round," and took energetic measures to defend the Company's property. But the Dutch, deficient in resources, adopted a very conciliatory attitude towards the Maráthá leader.

There are various Dutch accounts of the period bearing on this notable expedition, for example, in the Dagh-Register, Batavia, 1664 ; the Surat Factory Diary ; a narrative of a Dutch factor of those days, Volquard Iversen, and that in Valentyn's compendious *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*. The description in the " Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia " etc. (the Day-Register kept in the fort of Batavia of occurrences both there on the spot and throughout Netherlands-India, published by the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, with the co-operation of the Netherlands-Indian Government), based as

it is on contemporary or almost contemporary sources, is one of the most valuable of these. It is the Dutch official journal of events of that time, and covers nearly the whole of the seventeenth century beginning with the year 1624. The series is being still continued by publishers at the Hague.

As an English translation is not available (at least, readily), I have ventured to append one with notes leading to further information on the subject, here. I must acknowledge my indebtedness to a genial and scholarly colleague of mine—Rev. L. Jansz of Colombo—in this connection.

TRANSLATION

We come now to the contents of the Surat despatch in which we shall note first the affairs of the Court, thereafter the trade both of the Company and of the foreign nations. The Duke, Saestchan,¹ who led an expedition against Siwasi, was defeated, and personally had a narrow escape. The King of Visiapour has become a vassal of the Mogol. Old Chasiaen² is still capable of service but is held a close prisoner at Agra. The widow of the late Nabab, Chanchanna,^{2a} appeared at Agra on the 18th January with about 500 elephants carrying a great treasure-load of jewels, gold and silver and something like 700 "man" of cloves. The aforementioned Siwasi,³ following up his recent victory, made a sudden attack on the town of Suratte, plundered the place and fired it. We have received provisional news (voorlopende tyding) about this from other quarters. We can now give the history of the affair in detail.

On the 15th January of the year tidings came to Suratte⁴ from Gandivy^{4a} (15 kos distance from Suratte) how over there a General

¹ Hertogh=Duke. Sháyista Khan (Cakestkam of Carré), the Amír-ul-Umará, took Poona on 19th May, 1660, and the stronghold of Chákan on 25th August. On the 15th April, 1663, the Mughul Viceroy became the victim of that famous Maráthá raid into his palace. This made Siváji into a Satan with his enemy, and a deva (=god) with his friends. "Wee are informed," says a letter from Surat to Hugli of 3rd September, 1664, "hee is worse then outed already" (as a result of his inability to ward off the Maráthá attack), "and wee pray and hope it is true that the King hath taken off his revenue, that was upwards of 50 lacks of rupees yearly" (F. R. Surat, Vol. 86, 116).

² Sháh Jahán, the Mughul emperor.

^{2a} Mír Jamla, the "Caun Caun," "Con Conno," etc., of the English documents was granted the title of Khánkhánán or Captain-General. He died on 10th April, 1663, on his way to Dacca. (F. R. Surat, Vol. 103, 274, 284, etc.)

³ Siváji, the Maráthá rájá.

⁴ Surat lies about twenty-eight miles to the north of Gandevi.

^{4a} Gandivie of the Hague Transcripts Series I, Vol. XXVII, No. 719 (which we shall refer to as H. T. later on), and Gundavi of an English record of a consultation held at Surat on 6th January.

had arrived, alleging he was a servant of the King but not giving his name, having with him 8 to 10 thousand cavalry and infantry,⁴ pretending to be on the move to Amadabath⁵ and the 'Duke' Mobotchan⁶ for the purpose of aiding him against the rebel prince Suppersecour⁷ in Pattan. On this the whole town of Surat was thrown into confusion. The English President decided to go to Sualy,⁸ but the Moorish Governor (Moorse gouverneur)⁹ prevented him doing so, saying that if he and the Director of the Dutch fled, not a man would then remain in the town. The English therefore resolved to place themselves in a position of defence. The Director, (Directeur) van Adrichem,¹⁰ planned to send on board his wife, his mother-in-law and the children, but the aforementioned Governor did not permit him to do that either, saying that the Hollanders and the English were bound in such a predicament to lend him a helping hand.

The Director then with much difficulty obtained the services of 50 or 60 Moorish soldiers,¹¹ totalling with our own fold 80 men, fully armed, to which number were further added 15 armed sailors¹² from the brigantine (fluyt) the 'Leerdam,' together with three free¹³ Europeans (3 Vrye Europeanens) who offered their services. The enemy approached; the domestics took to flight. The following day tidings came that this general¹⁴ had come to a spot¹⁵ as near as $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles

⁴ All this force did not consist of Maráthá horsemen. About 5 to 6 thousand of them were Siváji's temporary allies. The H. T. gives the same figures.

⁵ Ahmadábád.

⁶ Mahábat Khán succeeded Jaswant Singh (Yaśovanta-siŋha) as Viceroy of Gujrat.

⁷ Siphr Shukoh, Dárá's second son, is apparently meant. Of course, the story lacked any foundation.

⁸ Swally or Suvali. This statement is not apparently supported by the English documents, probably because it would have smelt of cowardice. But the H. T. corroborates this information. "L'Escalot" admits that this thought apparently entered into the calculations of the English. But he definitely adds that the idea was abandoned because "it was thought more like Englishmen to make ourselves ready to defend our lives and goods to the uttermost than by a flight to leave money, goods, house to mercesless people."

⁹ Ináyat Khán.

¹⁰ Direct van Adrichem.

¹¹ Moor = Muhammadan. "L'Escalot," calls them "Moors, the conquerors of the country." These soldiers were mercenaries who could be then hired, in Surat, on low wages.

The H. T. says that they demanded more than usual rates on this occasion. They were armed with bows, sword and pikes. "L'Escalot" speaks in glowing terms of their warlike nature and bravery in the field, and opines that had it not been for the inefficiency of their leaders, they would have given a good fight to the Maráthá. "Through the unworthy covetousness of the Governour of the towne they had no body to head them nor none unto whome to joyne themselves."

¹² Armed with cutlasses and guns.

¹³ The H. T. says eight.

¹⁴ Siváji is called by the same title in the account recorded on the Loyal Merchant (Orme Mss. no. 268).

¹⁵ Udhas of Bernier.

from the town, being none other than the notorious Siwasi. The Governor sent him a message requesting him to be so kind as not to approach any nearer. The Director sent at the same time two servants.¹⁶ Siwasi detained these messengers without returning an answer, but subsequently set the two servants free but retained their weapons.¹⁷ All the dyers, glazers (gommers), weavers, grainers and others in the meanwhile brought their gear and fabrics which they were preparing into the Lodge. The English President, well provided with men, had the courage in their company to pass through the town and come into the Lodge, thinking of offering resistance to Siwasi, with the assistance of 200 Englishmen and his Moorish sailors.¹⁸ Our sloop (smalschip), the 'Macassar,' took on board the aforementioned Dutch ladies, whom the Director had embarked without the knowledge of the Governor, and the Lodge (logie) was closed. The town was given to the flames. The King's Custom-house (tolhuys) was the first to be attacked.¹⁹ The Governor with 100 cavalry²⁰ and his retinue, shut himself up in the fort, abandoning the town to the brigands, who moved right up to the fort. On the 17th of the same month Siwasi sent some men to the Lodge with a message as well to the English, asking for money, saying that Chasousa²¹ was still alive and had made over the town of Surat as a gift to him, and adding threats of setting fire to the whole town if the money was not forthcoming.²² The Director put the messengers politely off, presenting nevertheless a gift of cloth (laker) and spices

¹⁶ for obtaining information.

¹⁷ One of them had according to the H. T. seen Siváji at "Ragiapoer."

¹⁸ The H. T. confirms this statement. Sir George Oxenden was the then President. "Wee your factors (and) servants...haveing drawne (our men) out in ranke and file, with drum and trumpet, your President in the head," says an English document (O. C. 28, 3019; F. R. Surat 86, 4), march(ed) through the body of the towne to the green before the Castle..... Wee...marcht on, taking a great circle round." The visit to the Director is referred to by H. T.

¹⁹ Much booty was appropriated from that place.

²⁰ He was paid a certain amount of money by the Imperial Exchequer to keep 500 men "trayned and in a readiness" (L'Escalot's letter). (Shoane Mss. No. 1861). But he misappropriated nearly the whole of this contribution, and the guard existed mainly on paper. "The Governour, etc," say the English President and Council, "dared not show his head." The H. T. calls him a captain of a thousand cavalry. The letter to the Company of 14th November, 1663 (O. C. 28, 3001), calls him "a person of honour." "His quality is 2,000 horse pay." "Hee made us great proffers of favors that hee would shew not very pleased us upon all occasions...but (later on) hee cam short of his promise." The Dutch also were with him, soon after he had taken over charge from Mustafa Khán. "The Directeur was invited," says the Dagb Register (1663), "to a feast... he thought it well to keep aloof, since, if once you allow a Moor to tread on your neck, it will go hard with you afterwards. This refusal had a good effect."

²¹ Sháh Shujá.

²² The messenger according to the H. T. was "Nicolae Calostra" a Greek trader then in Surat.

and using many civilities.²³ The brigands did not dare to pass our Lodge, being afraid of our guns. The flames went up again and would have attacked our Lodge but the wind suddenly changed from East to North, so that the flames flew past our Lodge at the distance of a musket-shot. The English made two or three sorties and killed two brigands and a horse. They also brought away two prisoners.²⁴ Our men secured themselves against a sudden charge by bringing 4 or 5 sailors with firearms off the ship, being in addition provided by the Governor on the following day, of his own free will, heavy shot and two large pouches of powder.²⁵ Siwasi now lay with the bulk of his army two kos (2 cos buyten de stadt) out of the town, threatening to attack us because he received no money, but not one of his dared to come even in view of the Lodge. The Governor sent a troop of 40 Moorish horsemen to the Director with the request that he would add some Dutchmen to their number in order to go out and draw the enemy, while they remained quiet now and the fire for the most part had died down; but the Director declined, deeming that this inaction of the enemy meant further mischief brewing and would only result in a resumption of the attack in a day or two with greater vigour; and the very thing occurred, for the next day in the morning, it being the 19th January, there could be seen the flames going up simultaneously at 8 or 10 spots in the town.²⁶

²³ The Directeur's reply was as conciliatory as possible. He explained that the funds of the factory were invested in commercial undertakings; that he was ready to present the Maráthá with broadcloth and spices; and that Siváji had always been friendly towards the Dutch, elsewhere.

²⁴ The English documents, generally speaking, corroborate this statement. "Wee caused a party of foote to sally forth the house," say the President and Council, for example, "and fight them, in which scuffle wee had three men slightly wounded, our men slew a horse and man, some say two or three but wee routed them." "They discharged at them," says "L'Escalioi," "and wounded one man and one horse." But as I have shown elsewhere, the Maráthá king did not think the game of storming the English factory worth the candle, and it is very probable that it was for that reason only, that it escaped destruction. Siváji could have adopted the same method which, he says (in his letter to Shahj), he employed elsewhere. "By means of explosives, we blew up one of the bastions of the fort. Thus we became masters of their territory." The English President envisaged the possibility of the factory being "undermine (d)" and "blow (n) up" in his letter of 28th January, referred to above. At the same time, the English spirit to dare and do, the excellent military dispositions and the superb artillery certainly made the project of taking the factory by force, a difficult one.

²⁵ This fact again aids us in proving that it was not the absence of armament which prevented Ináyat Khán and the other Mughul officers from deserting his charge, and taking refuge in the fort. The H. T. also says that an offer of ammunition was made by the Governor and accepted by the Dutch. "L'Escalioi" says that "a competent store" of "powder" was "gott" for defence of the English factory, apparently, locally. A "marchant in towne" sold "two brass guns" of about 300 (weight) a piece.

²⁶ The H. T. tells us that the brother of the Kotwál who wanted to lead a sortie against the Maráthás had sent a messenger with this communication. The Directeur very appropriately pointed out that it was the Governor's duty to undertake defensive measures, and not certainly theirs.

The wailing of the townsfolk on one side and the blare and din of the trumpets, the rattle of the drums of the brigands on the other side, were more deafening than before. The Moors, showed their poltroonery in face of the brigands, and the brigands in turn showed their terror before our men, so that no one dared to pass through the streets where our guns could take them in the flank.²⁷ The North Wind grew rapidly cool; the fire rose higher and approached as close as a pistol-shot to our Lodge, so that our men, seeing no other result possible than that of being attacked by the flames, got their gear ready for flight, tying the necessary papers of the Company together, intending, in case the flames came nearer, to worm their way through in single file, put the fire out forcibly, and to show the brigands that they had no Moors with them. However, as though the cup was at their lips and yet left untasted, it happened that the wind veered from the North to the East so that in less than half an hour by the sandglass it had swung completely through a quadrant of the compass.²⁸ That was indeed a notable kind office which the wind brought out of its treasure-house and mercifully bestowed its favour upon us, for thereby the Lodge remained standing out of danger, while the flames annihilated all else that lay about them.^{28a} The English, when they saw our men in such distress, offered them help but, thank God, there was now no need for succour. Thus was this great commercial town plundered and burnt, without resistance. On the following day it being the 20th of January, all was quiet again. There was heard no moaning; the fire diminished and went out; for Siwasi

²⁷ The superiority of European artillery and marksmanship do not seem to require any historical demonstration during this period. Fryer, for example, points out that when Surat was fortified later on, it was planned that "Europe gunners" should be put in charge of the city gates (Hak Society, Vol. I, II, series no. XIX, 249).

²⁸ The flames were of such an intensity that the Dutch made all preparations for abandoning the factory. The H. T. also mentions that a change of wind saved them. In this connection one must not forget the notable action of Oxenden, who, finding himself unable (owing to the smoke) to discover the Dutch flag from his quarters, concluded that the Dutch were in an extremely helpless position. The European feeling of which I have spoken in my paper in the Calcutta Review (November, 1938) prompted him to send a messenger with offers of aid to his commercial rivals. The Dutch, however, did not accept it, because of their comparative security (after the wind had veered) and if I may add it, because of their unwillingness to be obliged, for anything, to the English factors. An earlier suggestion from the English President that the Maráthá rájá be informed that the English and the Dutch stood as one against his demands and threats, had not been agreed to by the Dutch who declined to curtail their liberty of action thereby. But at the same time friendly messages were exchanged during the raid.

European solidarity and national particularism bumped heavily against each another in Indo-European events of the seventeenth century.

^{28a} The English factory however was not in danger of catching fire. "The fier," says "L'Escalio" came not soe neere us as to take hold of us." He also speaks of "a fier soe great as turned the night into day."

had broken up camp and departed with his army that night, carrying away with him a great quantity of booty, leaving, however, a rearguard of 4 or 5 hundred cavalry, who showed themselves just once and shortly afterwards moved away. Half the town lay on the ground in ashes. With the exception of the Lodge and the English quarters and also of the new Sara,²⁹ which is the mansion occupied by some Turkish and Armenian merchants, there were not ten houses left which survived the disaster.

Siwasi, thereafter, employed his troops for the purpose of capturing Hagiesiaesbeek³⁰ and Wiergenora,³¹ two notable Banyan traders. The Ethiopian ambassador was caught and brought to Siwasi but was subsequently enlarged in return for a handsome bribe.³² The

²⁹ sarai=an inn. "L'Escalio" calls it "seraw, or a place of reception for strangers." Another inn in the town was occupied during the raid by the Ethiopian envoy to the court of Aurangzib.

³⁰ "Hodgee Zaed Beague" "Hodjee Zaide Beague," or "Hogee Said Beeg" of English accounts. He was Hájí Záhíd Beg. His house had to be defended by the English, because it was "soe very neare us, as one wall to part both houses." Its occupation by the Maráthás would have enabled them to attack the English factory from a vantage point. The letter of 16th February to Fort St. George speaks of "Hodjee Zaide Beagues our neighbour(s) 'house' 'that we preserved in defence of our own.'" "L'Escalio" 's statement: "It being posed by the enemy might have been dangerous to our house" supports this point of view. Even after the raid, "Hodjee Zaied Beague ann Virgee Vorah, the two great merchants of this towne" are said (in an English record) to "hould up their heads still; and are for great bargaines; soe that it seems Sevagy hath not carryed away all, but left them a competency to carry on their trade."

³¹ Baharjī Vorá, Vírājī Vorá, Vraja Vorá or Vírājī Bohri, was one of the great Indian merchants who commanded respect of the English on the Western Coast during the seventeenth century. His name appears in numerous English documents of this period, and his trading activities were undoubtedly farflung. According to another Dutch account (of Iversen) this merchant-prince lost six tons of gold. He ("Virgia Wora") could have avoided all this loss, if (according to the H. T.) he engaged some peons for a few thousand rupees.

³² The Ethiopian (according to H. T.) was forced to hand over presents meant for Aurangzib to Sivájí. He had nothing else of value with him. "L'Escalio" says that "the embassadour from the Great King of Ethiopia unto Orom Zeb" was kept "prisoner and pinioned" by Sivájí.

Manucci in his gossiping way furnishes us with many details of this embassy. It was sent "to congratulate" the Emperor "on his accession," and brought "horns of oxen full of civet"; "two elephant tusks, very handsome, to lift one of which four men had as much as they could do"; some "forged letters"; horses and a mule striped naturally in various colours, so beautiful that a tiger could not be striped in a more lovely manner," as presents. (The striped mule was without doubt a zebra.) The ambassadors reached Surat. At this time Sivájí "came to Surat, and in seven days sacked the city, took from the ambassadors the elephant's tusks, the horses," a "horn full of civet and all merchandise they had." The poor envoys had to appeal to the Mughul governor for money to continue their journey to Court. "To tell the truth," adds Manucci, "this that is being plundered by" Sivájí "was the best thing that could have happened to secure them reception at, and a favourable dispatch, from the court." On other conditions, seeing the few presents they brought, it would have been exceedingly difficult to obtain a royal audience." Eventually, they were granted an audience, and robes of honour, six thousand rupees, a khanjar, studded with rubies, "two kettle-drums", "two trumpets of silver-gilt", "twenty thousand gold coins and rupees", "a considerable sum to be spent" on renovation of a "mosque", and religious books (Storia II and IV) were given to them. "A certain rebel of Visapour named Seva-Gi", says Bernier in course of giving a similar account of this embassy's doings, "entered the town (of Sourate) which he pillaged and burnt". The house of the ambassadors did not escape

Company's rented ware-house (pakhuys) standing opposite the alfandigo or King's custom-house remained unscathed, having so it seemed too insignificant an aspect to challenge an attack from the brigands, so that the Company's goods lying there were retrieved and brought over to the Lodge. Moreover, there were also some of our purveyors who were taken captives,³³ those who were behind-hand with their obligations to the Company, and the company will not apparently suffer any consequent loss, the damage being supplies to the value of 20 thousand r o/a and reported as such to the Court.³⁴ Fourteen days after the departure of these brigands the great Duke Mobetchan^{34a} with four or five thousand horsemen came down from Amadaba into Surat and restored better order there. Subsequently orders came from the Court. The Governor, Anajetchan,³⁵ was deported, also the Governor of the Fort (gouverneur van 't casteel) and the Commissary were suspended, because they had acquitted themselves unworthily against Siwasi. Furthermore, the King resolved to have the town of Suratte walled, at the same time exempting the Company, the English and other merchants from payment of one year's custom duties in Suratte, inclusive of the 16th March of this year, whereof the Company

the general conflagration; and all their effects that they succeeded in rescuing from the flames, or the ravages of the enemy were their credentials; a few slaves that Seva-Gi could not lay hold of, or whom he spared because they happened to be ill; their Ethiopian apparel which, he did not covet; the mule's skin, for which, I expect, he had no particular fancy; and the ox's horn that had already been emptied of its civet." "It was insinuated", adds Bernier in his usual jocular vein, "by the malicious Indians who witnessed their deplorable condition on landing without decent clothing, destitute of money or bills of exchange, and half famished, that the two ambassadors were in fact lucky people, who ought to number the ransacking of Sourate among the happiest events of their lives, since it saved them from the mortification of conducting their wretched presents as far as Dehli."

"This attack upon Sourate had also covered their misdeeds, in disposing for their own benefit, of the civet, and many of the slaves" (Smith and Constable: *Travels in the Mogul Empire*). The Maāsiri-i-'Alamgirī says that an envoy from Ethiopia came to Court in 1075 A. H. "L'E-calot" says, "Hee had sett free" "the ambassador of Ethiopia" "upon dillivery of 12 horses and some other things sent by his king to Oron Zeb." This envoy is also said to have been sent by Sivá'i as a messenger to the English during this expedition.

³³ The Dutch Company's broker (for example) Kṛṣṇadāsa lost his house and other property.

³⁴ So that compensation might be obtained.

^{34a} The H. T. says that the "Duke Suberdescham" was on his way to Surat at the head of Mughul forces, to be followed later on by the soldiers of "Mirfetta." "Suberdescham" probably is used for Mahābat Khan, the then Viceroy of Gujarat.

³⁵ Ināyat Khān. "The King having received and understood these things," says an English document of 2nd January, 1665, "the Governor of Surat, Resite (sic) Chaun was turned out of that Government, and in his place Ghasty Chaun is appointed by the King."

is already reaping the benefit.³⁶ Wherefore the Director makes request that His Excellency's order be graciously given for the purpose of having the ships in working trim as early as possible next year, so that they be ready before the expiry of the stated period. His Excellency has housed 12 sailors in the Lodge for the time being, making with the former ones a guard 18 strong.

³⁶ "The King out of his own favor," continues the same (English) record, "to the merchants Mahometans, Hindoes, Armenians, Hollanders, English for jewells, gold, silver, horses, and all other goods...the who'e customes thereof...he hath given free for one yeare."

VOCATION, VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE*

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OF late, the problem of vocational education has begun to attract a good deal of attention from the public and the Government in this country. The popular demand for vocational education is traceable to the acute unemployment in the land. It has been suggested that the existing system of education has failed because it has been unable to provide occupation to the people receiving it. Several Provincial Governments set up Unemployment Enquiry Committees which have made drastic recommendations regarding the reorganisation of the entire system of general education and the provision for a more adequate system of vocational education.¹ The Central Government has also moved in the matter. Experts were indented by them from England to offer suggestions regarding vocational and technical education in India and they have submitted a valuable report.²

That there is an urgent need for reorganisation of education in this country cannot be doubted (in fact, such reorganisation has been long since overdue); nor is it doubted that any well-organised system of education should make ample and adequate provision for vocational education; but there are several points in this connection which need clarification. Can the mere provision of vocational education solve the problem of unemployment? Then again, what is vocational education and what are its scope and functions? It may at first appear that consideration of the second question would be purely theoretical and so not quite relevant for our purpose; but it is not so. Different people have different ideas about vocational education. All are not unanimous as to what it exactly means and what its functions are. Some are of opinion that we would sufficiently provide for vocational education if we make provision for handwork of different types

* Address of the Chairman of the Vocational Education Section, All-India Educational Conference, Lucknow.

¹ *Vide* the report of U. P. Unemployment Enquiry Committee presided over by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

² *Vide* the Report of Messrs. Wood and Abbot on Technical and Vocational Education (submitted to the Central Government).

like carpentry, spinning or gardening in our institutions. There are others who complain that vocational education does not begin in the primary stages. Others there are who would abolish all common types of school and substitute technical institutions in their place. In fact there have been discussions about vocational education and schemes have been prepared treating the whole problem as something separate from other problems in our national life. Ambitious programmes of vocational education have been proposed without reference to the actualities of the situation. The result has been that often the issues have been clouded. Hence it becomes necessary to discuss some of the fundamental ideas regarding the subject of vocational education.

In a very real sense all education is vocational, for education is the preparation for living and living certainly is the greatest of all vocations. But when we use the term 'vocational education' we restrict its connotation. General education is a sort of a general preparation for life; life offers many vocations and vocational education is the preparation for a particular vocation. In so far as it is a specialised type of education it follows and is closely co-ordinated with general education and can so be distinguished from it; but such distinction as has often been made has not been done so always with happy results. For example there is a widely prevalent but erroneous notion that general cultural education, *i.e.*, the so-called liberal education and vocational education do not go well together, that liberal education is the education of the gentlemen while vocational education is the education of the workers, of craftsmen and technicians and that vocational education necessarily lacks in cultural contents. Such ideas belong to an age which has or ought to have disappeared. To-day we must realise that vocational education is as much cultural as general education is, and that vocational education can have as much liberalising influence as the so-called liberal education. In fact, if we look to history we find that what is liberal education to-day was vocational education yesterday. This is all the more true in the case of India. In this country what is to-day known as general cultural education was at one time—and that not long ago—the only kind of vocational education open to us. That education was directed for the purpose of providing its votaries with the vocation of clerks in private and public services. It is only because education no longer serves that purpose and that jobs as clerks have become scarce, that demand is being made to-day for vocational education as distinguished from

general education. By vocational education to-day we have come to mean a specialised type of education, technical in nature and aiming at providing the individual with a specific type of vocation, preferably not that of a clerk, as clerkship has ceased to be a remunerative occupation.

Necessarily then the problem of vocational education is closely connected with the problem of vocations. If there are vocations, there must be vocational education, if there are many types of vocation, there must be many types of vocational education. But when we talk of vocations we have entered into the larger domains of economics and politics. After all it is the economic and political forces which guide the course of the life of the nation at every step. The political and economic conditions alone determine which vocations will be open to the people and how these vocations will be organised and co-ordinated. When this has been satisfactorily done, then alone we can talk of vocational education. Vocational Education comes only when vocations have been created and avenues of employment have been opened.

Our discussions about vocational education often become unreal because we are apt to forget this fundamental fact. We must realise once for all that the organisation of vocational education, as of education in general, must be correlated to the organisation of vocations, *i.e.*, to the industrial, economic and political structure of national life. Times without number we have seen how the lack of such correlation has had disastrous results. Many youngmen have received vocational education, have spent fortunes in foreign countries for specialised technical instruction, but their efforts were wasted because they could not find their proper vocations. They could control and plan their education but they or those who were responsible for their education had no control over the vocations, nor over the forces which created such vocations. Hence in organising vocational education we cannot for a moment even ignore the fundamental forces in the economic and political life in the country. Opening of technical schools will never solve the problem of unemployment, for unemployment is primarily an economic phenomenon and not an educational one. And as has been rightly suggested the problem is not so much of lack of employment as of vocations. The Sapru Committee rightly drew the attention of the country in this direction. Until and unless vocations are provided through reorganising the entire industrial and economic life of the

people no amount of vocational education will be able to solve the problem of unemployment in India.

This brings us to the problem of the relation between State and Education in general and Vocational Education in particular. The State is ultimately responsible for the economic organisation of the national life. So unless the State comes forward to organise vocational education, there can be no true correlation between economic needs of the people and their educational preparations. Naturally it follows that vocational education cannot be left to voluntary agencies. It must be closely and actively associated with the economic and industrial life of the country and the State must organise it. Until and unless this happens vocational education will be something in the nature of a hothouse of exotic plants which have no roots in the soil of national life.

Voluntary agencies have no influence over the larger problems of economics and industry and so they are not in a position to offer any real solution to the problem of vocational education. So the State must be made responsible for it. We must strenuously fight the tendency of the State to refuse to accept that responsibility and to push it on to the shoulders of voluntary agencies and philanthropic institutions. In India the State for a long time failed to provide for general education of the people (in fact, even now compulsory primary education has not come) as it failed to provide for vocational education. It is now necessary to convince the authorities of the utter futility of this policy. The State must come forward with a co-ordinated programme of general and vocational education.

In this connection, I may incidentally touch upon the relation between general education and vocational education. Vocational education can begin only when the pupils are physically and mentally prepared to take up a vocation. Naturally there can be no talk of vocational education in the primary stage or even the middle stage. It is only possible when pupils have reached the secondary stage of general education. For to allow little children of 10 and 11 to be prematurely drafted into vocational schools before they have had a sound general education—an education which would teach them in general terms the supremely important art of living a richer and fuller life—would be a tremendous wastage and misuse of man-power. It would be a denial of the rights of the individual to develop all his potentialities to the fullest extent and to bring out all that is best in him with the help of a well-organised system of education. It is a pity that

economic conditions often force us to send young children to vocations ; but there can be no doubt that it is an unsatisfactory state of affairs and it should be changed in the interests of the individual as well as of the nation.

In the primary and middle stages we can only talk of practical pursuits as distinguished from specific vocational instruction. There such pursuits are necessary for their general educative and cultural values and not for purposes of providing the pupils with specific vocations. This point needs to be clearly emphasised ; for there is an idea that practical pursuits are to be directed for vocational purposes and that the earlier we begin vocational education the better it would be for the individual and the society. The introduction of practical pursuits in the elementary stages of education, however, has been long in coming, for unhealthy traditions of the so-called liberal education were responsible in making even early general education in this country extremely academic in outlook and bookish in nature. Even at the primary stage we divorced education from the realities of life, activities found no place there and books reigned supreme. But all educationists are now agreed that in the early stages education should be mainly through activities. In this country, however, we are yet to accept these ideas and translate them into practice. Fortunately the scheme of Basic National Education is before us. It has forcibly drawn our attention to the importance of practical pursuits as instruments of education. Personally I consider that to be its most important contribution to Indian education. Let us hope that the gradual acceptance of the ideas and ideals of the Basic National Education will ultimately change the character of general education, and will facilitate its co-ordination with specific vocational education in this country.

I have already referred to the wastage of man-power due to a lack of correlation between vocational education on the one hand and economics and industry on the other. There is yet another force which nullifies to a great extent our attempts in providing vocational education even in the limited manner at our disposal. In spite of all the adverse forces a few avenues of employment are still open to our youngmen and women. How have these opportunities been utilised ? It is a very common experience to find youngmen trained for a particular vocation discover too late that for physical, intellectual, temperamental or other reasons they are

not fitted to that vocation. In such cases they have either to make a change (and it is often too late to change), or they have to adapt themselves somehow or other to an uncongenial environment. The result is, on the one hand, they never find that satisfaction which is the privilege of those who are properly adjusted to life and, on the other, the vocations they have taken never get the best from them. This is a sad wastage both from the point of view of the individual as well as of the nation. The nation has a right to demand the best service from the individual just as the individual has the right to demand that the nation should make proper provision which will enable him to give that service to it. When the demand of the nation cannot be fulfilled, not because there is lack of provision but because the individual is led to choose the wrong avenue of service, it becomes an individual and a national tragedy. Unfortunately for us such tragedy has become a common feature in the national life in India.

The remedy lies in vocational guidance. Let the individual be properly guided in the choice of his vocation ; let his abilities, aptitudes, and temperaments be studied and closely correlated to the needs of the vocation he wants to take up and we shall have saved a lot of energy and heart-burning, of useless wastage of human material, the most precious possession of a nation.

Vocational Guidance has to be scientifically organised. Vocational Guidance means two things ; analysis of the vocation, its needs and requirements and analysis of the person for whom the vocation is meant, his abilities, tastes and temperaments. We must know both these factors before we can offer effective vocational guidance. Vocation or job analysis, as it is also called, would require the co-operation of the psychologists and all those who have vocations to offer. Personality and analysis will be the work of the psychologist. He will have to study analyse not only the intellectual abilities of the person concerned but also his temperament, his character which ultimately decides whether a particular person would be fitted for a particular job.

Western countries have come to realise the great importance of Vocational Guidance and so we find that it has come to be a regular feature in the educational systems there. Unfortunately, however, in this country not much has been done in this direction ; but I am glad to be able to say that in my own University, Vocational Guidance has received its due recognition and researches are being conducted there by a band of earnest workers.

That these researches may lead to results important to the future educational, economic and industrial developments of the country can hardly be doubted. I wish, all those who are connected with education and national welfare would see the important role Vocational Guidance must play if education is to help the people to live a richer and fuller life. It is specially and urgently necessary that not only the Universities should be alive to their duties in this direction and conduct researches in the field of Vocational Guidance, but the State and the different agencies of employment should also realise the importance of such researches. They should come forward to help the Universities generously with all assistance in their power. Sooner or later we must have special institutes for Vocational Guidance working in co-operation with the Universities and other bodies. For effective Vocational Guidance there must be close collaboration between the schools, and the different employing agencies, between education on the one hand and agriculture, commerce and industry on the other. The services of Universities will be utilised for purposes of finding reliable methods whereby an individual may be helped to the choice of proper career for himself and the State will see that such career is open to him. The problem of Vocational Education will be solved only when such collaboration has been effected and not before.

I have not here entered into any detailed discussions of the manifold problems of vocational education ; I have not discussed what different types of vocational institutions we must organise or what should be the courses taught or what would be the length of such courses and such other points ; such details should better be left to specialists. I have only attempted to point out one or two fundamental issues involved in the matter, issues which, in my opinion, cannot be evaded if we want to find any satisfactory and abiding solution of the problem of vocational education. I shall now sum up what I have said in a few words: I feel that vocational education must be correlated on the one hand with vocations, *i.e.*, the economic life of the people, and on the other with Vocational Guidance, *i.e.*, economy of man-power. Unless we can effect such twofold correlation we can never solve the problem. For a proper solution there must be re-planning of the economic and industrial life in India along with a re-planning of the educational programme of the nation, of which programme vocational education forms only one item, though an important item.

INDIA'S DEMAND FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

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II

THE National Demand of 1924 and 1925 which was endorsed by the representatives of all political schools in the Indian Legislative Assembly, was further considered by the Indian National Congress at its Cawnpore session in December, 1925. The main resolution of this session which was moved by Pandit Motilal Nehru, outlined the political programme of the Swarajya Party in the Central and Provincial Legislatures of the country. The Congress adopted the terms of settlement offered by the Assembly to the Government as terms on behalf of the country, and directed the Swarajya Party in the Assembly to invite the Government to give their final decision on the said demand before the end of February next. Failing a satisfactory response from the Government, the Swarajist members in all the Legislatures of India were asked to leave their seats and not attend meetings except to prevent seats being declared vacant. As no response or gesture was made by the Government to this resolution of the Congress, Pandit Motilal on March 8, 1926, declared from his place in the Indian Legislative Assembly that the Swarajya Party must walk out of the Assembly in obedience to the Cawnpore resolution. He made a short speech in which he said that the terms of honourable co-operation offered by the late Mr. C. R. Das in his Faridpore speech only a month before his death had been contemptuously rejected by the Government, and the Swarajists in the Assembly had received nothing but humiliation. On the conclusion of the speech, the whole of the Swarajya Party walked out of the Assembly after their leader, Pandit Motilal Nehru. This incident created such an impression that the President of the Assembly, Mr. V. J. Patel, felt compelled to adjourn the House after making a statement that the Assembly had ceased to retain its representative character as the result of the vacation of seats by the strongest party

in the Assembly. It was, therefore, incumbent upon the Congress, as the President of the Cawnpore session, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, said in her presidential address, "to inaugurate from Kailas to Kanyakumari, from the Indus to the Brahmaputra, an untiring and dynamic campaign to arouse, consolidate, educate and prepare the Indian people for all the progressive and ultimate stages of our united struggle."

The Indian National Congress which met at Gauhati in December, 1926, reiterated its resolve of the previous year that the general policy of Congressmen in the Assembly and various Councils should be one of self-reliance in all activities which make for the healthy growth of the nation and of determined resistance to every activity, governmental or other, that may impede the nation's progress towards Swaraj. In these circumstances, suddenly on November 8, 1927, Lord Irwin, the Governor-General of India, announced the formation and composition of the Simon Commission. Lord Irwin's statement attempts to explain why Parliament decided to appoint an entirely Parliamentary Commission and also why it chose to appoint the Commission in 1927, in other words, two years before the fixed statutory period. The Viceroy's case is that in appointing the Commission two years earlier the British Government was responding to Indian political pressure. These are some of the words of the statement: "Considerable pressure has during recent years been exercised to secure anticipation of the statute Having regard to such considerations as these, His Majesty's Government has decided to invite Parliament to advance the date of the enquiry and to assent forthwith to the establishment of the Commission." (*India in 1927-28*, pp. 387-88.) But the private correspondence between Lord Birkenhead and Lord Reading published in the biography of Birkenhead by his son leaves no doubt that as early as December, 1925, Lord Birkenhead's mind had turned to the appointment of the Statutory Commission from an entirely different consideration. His letter of December 10, 1925, written to Lord Reading shows how strongly he recoiled from the possibility of a Socialist government handling the appointment of the Commission. This letter makes it perfectly clear that the main object of Lord Birkenhead in advancing the date of enquiry was to keep in his own hands "the nomination of the personnel of the Commission," and to prevent the risk of a future Labour government having anything to do with the Commission. A few extracts from

this very important and interesting letter may be cited: "When I made my speech in the House of Lords suggesting that it might be possible to accelerate the Commission of 1928, if some measure of co-operation were forthcoming in India, I always had it plainly in mind that we could not afford to run the slightest risk that the nomination of the 1928 Commission should be in the hands of our successors. You can readily imagine what kind of a Commission in its personnel would have been appointed by Colonel Wedgwood and his friends. I have, therefore, throughout, been of the clear opinion that it would be necessary for us, as a matter of elementary prudence, to appoint the Commission not later than the summer of 1927. I should, therefore, like to receive your advice if at any moment you discern an opportunity for making this a useful bargain counter or for further disintegrating the Swarajist party. But I am sure that, having regard to political contingencies in this country, we must keep the nomination of the personnel of this Commission in our own hands. In this matter we cannot run the slightest risk. My present view, therefore, is—and I believe that the Prime Minister shares it—that we shall in any event, playing for safety, be driven to nominate the Commission in the middle of 1927. If such an acceleration affords you any bargaining value, use it to the full, and with the knowledge that you will be supported by the Government." (Birkenhead, *The Last Phase*, pp. 250-251.) This letter thus abundantly shows that the acceleration of the Statutory Commission of 1927 was no yielding to Indian political pressure, but on the other hand, it was a measure of "elementary prudence" and "safety," as Lord Birkenhead expressed it, for the British Government. Indian pressure could do little or nothing to "secure anticipation of the statute." In the light of this letter of Birkenhead it is difficult to accept the statement of Lord Irwin at its face value. The King-Emperor no doubt delivered through the Duke of Connaught in February, 1921, the hopeful message: "To-day you have the beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire," but the machinations of his Secretary of State for India were all employed in subsequent years in the task of "disintegrating the Swaraj Party."

It is thus perfectly understandable that the Indian National Congress, which met at Madras in December, 1927, would decide to boycott the Simon Commission "at every stage and in every form" in order to vindicate India's right of self-determination which had

been so gravely infringed. The Congress also passed a resolution declaring Complete National Independence to be the goal of the Indian people. Finally, the Congress authorized the Working Committee, in consultation with other political organisations in the country, to "draft a Swaraj Constitution for India on the basis of a Declaration of Rights," and to place the same for consideration and approval before an All-Parties' Convention.

Lord Irwin, the Governor-General of India, in his address to the members of the Indian Legislature on the 2nd February, 1928, made a striking appeal for co-operation and pointed out the dangers of the boycott of the Commission. In this speech, however, he did not fail to assert vigorously the legal and moral right of the British Parliament to decide the political destiny of India. He said: "Let nobody suppose that he is assisting the realisation of his ideals by reluctance to look on facts as they are. It is in no spirit of argument or lack of sympathy with Indian aspirations that I repeat that India, if she desires to secure parliamentary approval to political change, must persuade Parliament that such change is wisely conceived, and likely to benefit those affected by it. She has now the opportunity of making her persuasion felt, through the means of the Commission. . . . They will carry through their enquiry with, it is hoped, the generous assistance of all shades of Indian opinion. But whether such assistance is offered or withheld, the enquiry will proceed, and a report will be presented to Parliament on which Parliament will take whatever action it deems appropriate." This is the assertion of the doctrine of the Preamble of 199 reinforced with the strength and power of the Statutory Simon Commission in 1928. Again and again Indian political and national aspirations are confronted with the bogey of Parliamentary sovereignty. "Parliament will take whatever action it deems appropriate"—this slogan has been the greatest hindrance to Indian national freedom. The fundamental difference between Nationalist India and the British Government is there. As Mahatma Gandhi in a signed cable to the *Daily Herald* on the 8th February, 1940, said regarding his interview with the Viceroy on the 5th February at New Delhi: "What is offered is not real independence. Reality demands that India should determine what she needs and not Britain." India must have her own independent status. "Its content and nature," to use the words of Mahatma Gandhi again, "must not be dictated or determined by Britain. They must be

determined by ourselves, meaning the elected representatives of the nation, call such an assembly what you will. Unless British statesmen definitely concede this, they do not mean to part with power."

In spite of the appeal or warning of Lord Irwin, Nationalist India persisted in its policy of boycotting the Simon Commission, and the Committee appointed by the All-Parties' Conference in 1928 produced a Report outlining the scheme of a constitution for India. This Report, commonly known as the Nehru Report after the name of Pandit Motilal Nehru, the President of the All-Parties' Committee, envisaged a constitution for India more or less on the lines of the constitution of the Dominion of Canada. The Congress which met in Calcutta in December, 1928, after a great deal of discussion, decided to adopt this Constitution if it was accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before the 31st December, 1929. But in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress would organise a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as might be decided upon. This resolution no doubt meant a lowering of the Congress flag of complete National Independence hoisted at Madras in the previous year, but on the insistence of Mahatma Gandhi who would be content with "the substance of independence," the resolution could pass through the Congress. India would be satisfied with Dominion Status if it could be brought into existence on or before the 31st December, 1929. The question now was whether England would seize this opportunity and solve once for all her Indian constitutional problem. But England was found wanting and there can be no doubt that the searching inquest of history will not fail to return judgment against the British Government which sought to use their power to hinder the nation's progress to self-government.

On the 31st October, 1929, Lord Irwin on his return to India from his four months' stay in England where he had gone "to tell his fellow-countrymen, as faithfully as he might, of India's feelings, anxieties and aspirations," issued a statement in which he declared with the authority of His Majesty's Government that the goal of British policy in India "was the attainment of Dominion Status." In this statement the Viceroy also announced "the setting up of a Conference" between His Majesty's government and the representatives

both of British India and of the States for the purpose of discussing proposals for Indian constitutional reform. It should be clearly understood that the "Conference" in the Viceroy's statement was not called the Round Table Conference, nor was it exactly the kind of "Round Table Conference" which was demanded by the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1924 and 1925, and by the Indian National Congress at Cawnpore in December, 1925. The Conference promised in this statement was to be held "for the purpose of seeking the greatest possible measure of agreement for the final proposals which it would later be the duty of his Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament." So a real representative Round Table Conference would not be set up, and it would not be permitted to fashion the new Constitution of India without outside interference. The undiluted "duty" of His Majesty's Government to submit "final proposals" to Parliament would not be in the least disturbed. Certainly the Indian National Demand was not for such a Conference, nor was the demand of the Indian National Congress in 1928 for the immediate establishment of a Constitution based on Dominion Status met by the prospect of holding at some future date the proposed Conference. The Viceroy's statement held out no hope that the Conference would accept even as the basis of discussion the constitutional scheme of the Nehru Report which was adopted by the All-Parties' National Convention as well as by the Indian National Congress which had assembled in Calcutta in December, 1928. As for the promise of Dominion Status in the Viceregal announcement, it was vague and indefinite; there was no reference to time. Perhaps, the time factor, as a Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead, openly declared in Parliament on a former occasion, was not of much importance "in the history of the immemorial East."

The reactions to the Viceregal announcement may now be considered. The Working Committee of the Congress in consultation with some leading politicians such as Pandit Malaviya, Sir T. B. Saprú and Dr. Besant, issued a joint manifesto from Delhi on the 2nd November, 1929. This manifesto was a cautiously worded document which stated: "we hope to be able to tender our co-operation to His Majesty's Government in their effort to evolve a scheme of Dominion Constitution suitable to India's needs, but we deem it necessary that certain acts should be done and that certain points should be cleared so as to inspire trust and to ensure the co-operation of the principal

political organizations in the country." The signatories to the manifesto considered it vital for the success of the proposed conference that the representation of progressive political organisations should be effectively secured and "the Indian National Congress as the largest amongst them should have a predominant representation." As some doubt had been expressed regarding the Viceroy's statement about Dominion Status, the manifesto asked for more light in the following lines: "we understand, however, that the conference is to meet not to discuss when Dominion Status is to be established, but to frame a scheme of Dominion Constitution for India. We hope we are not mistaken in thus interpreting the import and implications of the weighty pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy. . . . We hold it to be absolutely essential that the public should be made to feel that a new era has commenced even from to-day, and that the new constitution is to be but a register of that fact." Thus, once more was the hand of friendship extended by Nationalist India to England to be grasped by her if she wanted. But once more, unfortunately, England failed to rise to the occasion.

In the meantime a number of English friends had been sending cables to Mahatma Gandhi requesting him to respond to the Viceroy's offer. In his answer, Gandhiji said that he was "dying for co-operation," and he further expressed his political views as follows: "I have, therefore, responded on the very first opportunity that offered itself, but I have meant every word of the joint manifesto, as I have of the now famous Calcutta resolution of the Congress. . . . I can wait for a Dominion Constitution if I can get real Dominion Status in action. . . . My conception of Dominion Status implies present ability to sever the British connection if I wish to. Therefore, there can be no such thing as compulsion in the regulation of the relations between Britain and India." These views were quite definite and clear. The question only was whether the British Government would be prepared to make them the basis of the next constitutional advance. As early as the 9th February, 1921, the Duke of Connaught, in inaugurating the Indian Legislature on behalf of His Majesty the King-Emperor, was visibly moved by the "shadow of Amritsar lengthening over the fair face of India," and he announced that "the principle of autocracy had been abandoned." But it is common knowledge that where there is no real change of heart, autocracy reappears again and again in different forms.

The 23rd December, 1929, was one of the most fateful days in the history of the Indian National Congress, and indeed in the history of Indo-British relations. A meeting was arranged on that date at Delhi between Lord Irwin and Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jinnah, and Mr. Patel, the President of the Legislative Assembly. The object was to discuss and clarify certain points arising out of the joint Delhi Manifesto of the 2nd November, 1929. From the outset the two Congress leaders, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru, took their stand on the basis of full Dominion Status and they wanted an assurance from the Viceroy that the contemplated London Conference would proceed on that basis. The Viceroy's answer was that no radical alteration could be effected in the offer which he had so recently made, and so after two and a half hours of futile discussion, the interview was terminated. It became abundantly clear that Lord Irwin was not in a position to invite the Congress to the London Conference with any definite promise of Dominion Status. (*India in 1929-30*, pp. 92-93.)

The scene now shifts to Lahore whither Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru proceeded, sorely disappointed, after the conclusion of their discussions with the Viceroy, for what proved to be perhaps the most important meeting of the Indian National Congress. The failure of the conversations on the 23rd December, left no doubt as to what should be now the real attitude and policy of the National Congress. On the 31st December, 1929, therefore, in full Congress was passed the main resolution on Complete Independence. In this resolution it was said that nothing was to be gained in the existing circumstances by the Congress being represented at the proposed Round Table Conference. The Congress, therefore, in pursuance of the Calcutta resolution of 1928, declared that the word "Swaraj" in Article I of the Congress Constitution should mean Complete Independence, and it further declared that the entire scheme of the Nehru Committee's Report lapsed. It now asked all Congressmen to devote their exclusive attention to "the attainment of Complete Independence for India."

The plunge had now indeed been taken and it remained to be seen whither the movement was destined to lead. The Viceroy's address delivered to the members of the Indian Legislative Assembly on the 26th January, 1930, blasted all hopes of a final peaceful settlement or reconciliation. The Viceroy explicitly stated that the

assertion of a goal was of necessity a different thing from the goal's attainment. "No sensible traveller would," he added, "feel that a clear definition of his destination was the same thing as the completion of his journey, but it is an assurance of direction." Thus the Viceroy made it quite clear that Dominion Status for India immediately or even in the near future was out of the question. The conference procedure which was demanded by the representatives of the Congress in their interview with the Viceroy on the 23rd December, 1929, was considered by Lord Irwin as impracticable and impossible of reconciliation with the constitutional responsibility that must rest both on His Majesty's Government and on Parliament. Lord Irwin then concluded by saying that "in any case the Conference would be formed," and that His Majesty's Government should not be deflected from their declared purpose.

In answer to this speech of the Viceroy, Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Young India* as follows:—"His Excellency the Viceroy deserves thanks from every Congressman for having cleared the atmosphere, and let us know exactly where he and we stand. The Viceroy would not mind waiting for the grant of Dominion Status till every millionaire was reduced to the level of a wage-earner getting seven pice per day. The Congress will to-day, if it had power, raise every starving peasant to the state in which he at least will get a living, even equal to the millionaire's. And when the peasant is fully awakened to a sense of his plight and knows that it is not the 'Kismet' that brought him to the helpless state, but the existing rule, unaided, he will in his impatience abolish all distinctions between the constitutional and the unconstitutional, even the violent and non-violent means. The Congress expects to guide the peasants in the right direction." (Quoted in *The History of the Indian National Congress*, by B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, p. 619.) Mahatma Gandhi's impatience for Dominion Status in 1929 reminds us of the impatience for reform of a benevolent and well-meaning Chinese Emperor, Kwang-Hsu, who was not allowed to carry through his reform programme in 1898, and the result was that what might have been a successful constitutional evolution ultimately ended in the Chinese Revolution of 1911. These were the words of the Emperor in inaugurating his policy of reform: "Whilst I am waiting and considering, my country is falling into pieces. And now when I attempt heroic measures, I am accused of rashness. Shall I wait till China has slipped from my hands?"

Mahatmaji's reference to the hard lot of the Indian peasants brings to our mind the condition of the French peasants before the Revolution. Lord Morley in his life of Turgot has found justification for all the excesses committed by the French people in the Revolution as measures of vengeance for their long sufferings and lost lands. He says: "When we consider the grinding and extortionate spirit thus shown in the face of a common calamity, we may cease to wonder at the ferocity with which, when the hour struck, the people tore away privilege, distinction, and property itself, from classes that had used all three only to ruin the land and crush its inhabitants into the dust." (Morley, *Biographical Studies: Turgot*, p. 76.) Mahatma Gandhi wants to prevent by all means such a calamity happening in India. He expects "to guide the peasants in the right direction" by giving them control over their own lives and the political destiny of their own country.

The issue of the economic condition of the Indian peasants which Mahatma Gandhi formulated in the *Young India* in 1930, is, without doubt, the most vital issue before the Indian nation at the present moment. Without full self-government, without a constitution fashioned by a Constituent Assembly elected on adult suffrage, this problem cannot be adequately solved. In the Puritan Revolution of the 17th century—more precisely in the Army Debates at Putney in the autumn of 1647—the English Levellers led by John Lilburne, Wildman and Rainboro demanded adult suffrage exactly on this ground. Strangely enough, Oliver Cromwell and his son-in-law Henry Ireton defended the principle that voting should be based on property and confined to those who had a permanent stake in the country. But all these arguments based on expediency and opportunism were swept aside by the passionate vision and impassioned eloquence of the Levellers. "Really," said Colonel Rainboro in ever memorable words, "I think the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live as the richest he." This is undoubtedly the authentic note of democracy. Dr. A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford and late Vice-Chancellor of the University, has made some pregnant observations on these Army Debates. He says: "The poorest has his own life to live, not to be managed or drilled or used by other people. His life is his and he has to live it. None can divest him of that responsibility. However different men may be in wealth or ability or learning,

whether clever or stupid, good or bad, living their life is their concern and their responsibility. That is for those Puritans as for all true democrats the real meaning of human equality. . . Men who could say things like that have gone deep into the heart of things. " (Lindsay, *The Essentials of Democracy*, p. 13.)

From this eternal and universal right of life, Rainboro drew certain conclusions: " And therefore truly I think, Sir, it is clear," he goes on, " that every man that is to live under a government ought first by his own consent to put himself under that government, and I do think that the poorest man in England is not at all bound in a strict sense to that government that he hath not had a voice to put himself under. " He appealed straight to the " law of God " and the " law of Nature. " He said: " Every man born in England, cannot, ought not, neither by the law of God nor the law of Nature, to be exempted from the choice of those who are to make laws for him to live under and for aught I know, to lose his life under. " On more definite ground, he then pleaded that the continual oppression of the poor by the rich could only be remedied by an equal franchise. (*Clarke Papers*, i., pp. 235, 300, 301, 305, 309, 311, 353; *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* by W. C. Abbott, pp. 515-50). Mr. Wildman, another member of the group of Levellers, spoke in the same Army Debates at Putney in the same strain: " I conceive that the undeniable maxim of government is that all government is in the free assent of the people. If so, then upon that account there is no person that is under a just government or hath justly his own, unless he by his free consent be put under that government. This he cannot be unless he be consenting to it and therefore according to this maxim there is never a person in England but ought to have a voice in electing; there are no laws that in this strictness and vigour of justice any man is bound to that are not made by those whom he doth consent to. And therefore I should humbly move that if the question be stated which should soonest bring things to an issue it might return to this: whether any person can justly be bound of law who doth not give his consent that such persons should make laws for him. "

It is now recognised by all that the modern conception of democracy in England had its birth in the Army Debates at Putney in the autumn of 1647. The Levellers created a revolution in the world of ideas. The spiritual principle implied in Rainboro's " the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live as the richest he " was now tran-

slated into the principle that no man has a right to be governed save by his own consent. Cromwell and Ireton, no doubt, successfully opposed the Levellers because they represented the dominant forces for the time being, but Rainboro, Wildman and other Levellers represented the deepest insight—insight into the meaning and purposes of life, and the future belonged to them. The Indian National Congress from the year 1920 has definitely stood for the “starving millions,” the “dumb millions,” for the “naked” and the “unemployed.” It is on their behalf that Mahatma Gandhi seeks interviews with Viceroys again and again; it is on their behalf that he demands and the National Congress demands the formation of a Constituent Assembly. The poorest he that is in India hath a life to live as the richest he, as the greatest he; and the “poorest he” will not be able to enjoy the fruits of his toil and have the necessities of life and opportunities of growth till a government is established based upon his full, free, and willing consent. Only a Constituent Assembly elected on equal franchise can cure India’s fundamental evils—can perhaps devise a constitution which will not be forgetful of its responsibilities to the masses. At any rate something will then surely be done to check the “deepening poverty of the Indian masses.”

A close and minute study of English constitutional history also reveals that the doctrine of Parliamentary sovereignty emanates from the principle of representation. The legal sovereignty of Parliament with which we are now familiar sprang historically from the representative character of Parliament. Parliament’s legislative power in the sphere of taxation was acquired when the representatives or attorneys of the Commons appeared in the national Parliament at Westminster in the 13th century fully armed with the *plena potestas* or supreme power. Until the year 1872, and for nearly six centuries before, the writs ordering the election of knights and burgesses for Parliament directed that persons chosen should come having “full and sufficient power to do and consent to those things . . . so that for want of such power . . . affairs may in no wise remain unfinished.” The significance of this formula is evident. It means that only representatives can bind the people whom they represent. The necessity and meaning of this formula was realised by Sir Thomas Smith in his classical work *De Republica Anglorum*, published in 1583. Parliament, according to Sir Thomas Smith, possesses its wide and various powers because “it representeth and hath the power of the whole realm, both

the head and the body. For every Englishman is intended to be there present, either in person or by procuration and attorney. . . from the prince (be he king or queen) to the lowest person of England. And the consent of the Parliament is taken to be everyman's consent." (Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, written, 1565; first published, 1583; edition by L. Alston, 1906). According to this principle, therefore, what made Parliament "the most high and absolute power of the realm of England," was that in it were present the fully empowered attorneys of shires and boroughs with their *plena potestas*. By their presence only could every Englishman be legally understood to be present, and by their presence alone the consent of Parliament could legally be taken to be everyman's consent. Nor was this doctrine a mere ingenious invention of Sir Thomas Smith in the 16th century. In a case argued in the Court of Exchequer Chamber in the 15th century counsel for the Crown remarks that an Act of Parliament binds everyone to whom it extends, "because every man is privy and party to the Parliament, for the Commons have one or two for each community to bind or unbind the whole community." The doctrine of representation was thus in accord with the established tradition of English Common law. Parliamentary sovereignty thus sprang from the *plena potestas* of the representatives of the Commons. (*Oxford Essays in Medieval History presented to H. E. Salter*—The *Plena Potestas* of English Parliamentary Representatives by J. G. Edwards.) Taking our stand on the same time-honoured principle we hold that the future constitution of India should be framed by the representatives of the people of India armed with the *plena potestas* conferred by the Indian people. The cry of the American Colonies in the 18th century that there cannot be any taxation without representation had a historical basis and justification; it was consistent with the genius of the English constitution. The demand of the Indian people also for a fully representative Constituent Assembly gives expression to the same well-tried historical principle. In this business of representation there can be no question of property or stake, because, as the French economists of the Revolution said, a man's most sacred property is his labour. It is anterior even to the right of property, for it is the possession of those who own nothing else. Life is the greatest stake or responsibility of man and he must be free to make the best use of his life and labour. To ensure this, conditions of good life require to be created—conditions which will

promote the development of human equality. But equality, as we know, and as a very distinguished writer, R. H. Tawney, has pointed out, "is not the absence of disabilities, but the presence of abilities." (R. H. Tawney, *Equality*, Halley Stewart Lecture, 1929.) It is certain that "abilities" for the poor, the unemployed, the naked and the starving in India will not be provided till the principle of universal equal franchise is recognised and established in India. It was an example of rare political insight and wisdom of the members of the Nehru Committee that as early as the year 1928, they unanimously decided to build the Constitution of India on the foundation of universal adult suffrage.

It is clear that the National Congress and Mahatma Gandhi have raised a new standard of light and social hope for the masses in the wilderness of India. Whatever may be said in favour of the so-called benefits of British rule and *Pax Britannica* it is beyond doubt that the British rule has done very little to relieve the distress of the dumb and starving millions. The Congress during the last twenty years has increasingly identified itself with the interests of the Indian masses and has done its best to represent their feelings and aspirations. It has shown itself conscious of the responsibility that rests upon it to adopt measures to arrest "the deepening poverty of the masses." The Karachi Congress in 1931, "in order to end the exploitation of the masses," solemnly resolved that "political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions." This was indeed a wonderful gospel, and the beginning of a new dispensation. The Congress wanted to proclaim this resolution from the house-top, and the clear object of the resolution was to enable the masses to appreciate what 'Swaraj,' as conceived by the Congress, would mean to them. But this economic and social policy cannot be successfully carried out until a radical transformation is effected in the scheme of government. And this transformation, again, is incomplete or impossible without the participation of the masses in the task of the making of the future "Swaraj" Constitution of India.

The social significance and the positive quality of this new move of the Congress must not be missed. The early Congress stalwarts, in their own way and according to their light, did their best to promote the cause of the Indian National Congress. But all these meritorious precursors were made weak by one cardinal defect, for which no gifts of intellectual acuteness could compensate. They had the scientific

idea—the rationalistic outlook, but they lacked the social idea. They were undoubtedly good and useful in many different ways, but they were wholly unfitted to deal with the prodigious difficulties of moral and social direction. This function, so immeasurably more important than the mere clamouring for self-government, it has been the glory of the Congress under its present leadership to undertake. The Congress, in the new phase, is animated at once by the scientific idea and by the social idea. It thus shows an advance both in knowledge and in moral motive. "Great thoughts," said the intellectual Bacon, "arise from the heart and not from the head;" and we also know another great saying of the same intellectual Bacon: "The nobler a soul is, the more objects of compassion it hath." The Congress in its new phase and under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi is striving to recognise the qualities of the heart and the claims of compassion and sympathy. The Congress is now impregnated with a growing enthusiasm for social justice. This new hunger and thirst after social righteousness may yet save India from disintegration and ruin. It is a noble faith that will lead the nation to victory. "A people once saturated with a passionate conception of justice," says a great writer, "is not likely to fall into a Byzantine stage."

The break-down of negotiations between Lord Irwin and the Congress leaders on the 23rd December, 1929, and the Viceregal speech before the Indian Legislative Assembly on the 25th January, 1930, had momentous consequences in the political history of India. One issue clearly emerges out of this speech of the Viceroy—an issue which has been the supreme issue before the Nation during the last ten years. Lord Irwin or the British Government, as the Viceroy said in this speech, would not suffer the "constitutional responsibility" of the British Parliament to be impaired in the least degree. This catchword—constitutional responsibility of Parliament—has been used times without number to thwart Indian national aspirations. Even very recently, on the 5th February, 1940, the negotiations between Lord Linlithgow and Mahatma Gandhi were wrecked on this rock of the constitutional responsibility of the British Parliament. "The vital difference between the Congress demand and the Viceroy's offer," says Mahatma Gandhi in his statement issued from New Delhi on the 6th February, "consists in the fact that the Viceroy's offer contemplates final determination of India's destiny by the British Government, whereas the Congress contemplates just the contrary. The

Congress position is that the test of real freedom consists in the people of determining their own destiny without outside interference." In other words, England must accept the position that the time has come when India should be allowed to determine her own constitution and status through a Constituent Assembly elected by the people of India. The failure of talks between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Linlithgow on the 5th February, 1940, is a rehearsal of the failure of similar talks between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin, on the 23rd December, 1929. The issue in both the interviews was practically the same. There was in 1929 the same Congress demand for self-determination, and there was on the side of the British Government the same objection that the constitutional responsibility of Parliament could not be evaded. As Mahatma Gandhi himself has narrated in his historic letter written to Lord Irwin from the Sabarmati Ashram on the 2nd March, 1930, the Viceroy could not give any assurance that he or the British Cabinet would pledge themselves to support a scheme of full Dominion Status at the Round Table Conference. In this interview, as Mahatma Gandhi tells us in his letter, Lord Irwin raised the question of Parliament's verdict being anticipated. Mahatmaji, of course, wrote to Lord Irwin: "Needless to say there never was any question of Parliament's verdict being anticipated. Instances are not wanting of the British Cabinet, in anticipation of the Parliamentary verdict, having pledged itself to a particular policy."

This question of Parliamentary responsibility needs discussion and further clarification. There are many instances in English Constitutional history when the British Cabinet, in anticipation of Parliamentary sanction, took decisions of tremendous significance in the history of the Empire. Parliament was anticipated when it did nothing more than embody in legislative form in 1867 the Seventy-two Quebec Resolutions of 1864, which represented the ultimate agreement between the Canadians themselves in regard to their own Constitution. Parliament was anticipated when it accepted in toto the Commonwealth of Australia Bill which was prepared, as Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, admitted in his speech on the introduction of the Constitution Bill in the House of Commons on the 14th May, 1900, "without any reference" to the British Parliament or the British people. The Imperial Parliament in this instance was merely a Court for the registration of the decrees of the

Australian people. Parliament was anticipated when it adopted the South African Bill of 1909 which was the work of the South African National Convention in South Africa. Finally, Parliament was dangerously anticipated when the British government accepted Articles of Agreement for a treaty between Great Britain and Ireland, on the 6th December, 1921, without the previous consent of the British Parliament. Mr. Bonar Law, the Prime Minister of England, on the 27th November, 1922, in his speech on the introduction of the Irish Free State Constitution Bill in the House of Commons, defended the drafting of the Constitution Bill by the people of Ireland sitting in a Constituent Assembly, and pointed out that "as a matter of fact, the Constitutions of Canada, Australia and South Africa were all drafted in those Dominions." (Parliamentary Debates: Commons, November 27, 1922, p. 329). Sir John Simon, later the Chairman of the Indian Statutory Commission, in his speech on the same day on the same Bill, made it still more clear that the British Cabinet or the British Parliament was again and again anticipated by the British Dominions which invariably prepared their own constitutions without any reference to the British people or the British Parliament. Sir John Simon observed: "The procedure that has been followed is, however, by no means a novel or revolutionary procedure. . . The principle that Constitutions in our Empire have usually been found to have a permanent basis in the cases where they have been arrived at and settled on the soil affected by them, is by no means limited to the different Federal Unions under the British Crown. I believe it would be true to say that Constitutions which promote prosperity and loyalty, and which have been found to be lasting Constitutions for subordinate States in our Empire, have, almost without exception, either actually or virtually been framed by those who were to live under them themselves." (House of Commons Debates, November 27, 1922, p. 344). The first thought that comes uppermost to our minds on a perusal of this speech of Sir John Simon is if the Chairman of the Indian Statutory Commission himself made any attempt to give effect to this wholesome principle when he was called upon to serve His Majesty's Government as the principal architect of the constitutional edifice of India. There is no doubt an expression of pious wish in the Report of the Statutory Commission (*Report of the Simon Commission*, Vol. 2, Para 7, p. 5), that "the new Constitution should, as far as possible, contain within itself provision for its own

development " and that " it should not lay down too rigid and uniform a plan, but should allow for natural growth and diversity." But it is a matter of common knowledge that the Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare, introducing the Government of India Bill in the House of Commons on the 6th February, 1935, knocked any such idea of Sir John Simon on the head and said: " This Constitution is a rigid Constitution and it can only be amended by future Acts of Parliament." (House of Commons Debates, 6th February 1935, pp. 1166-68). Not that the Simon Commission made a generous recommendation that the Constitution of India, like " the lasting Constitutions for subordinate States in the Empire," should be framed by the Indian people who are to live under it; but even the very modest recommendation that the " Constitution should provide opportunities for natural development " was intolerable to Sir Samuel Hoare, and the result was a rigid, cast-iron Constitution without any element of elasticity, without any scope for a continuous evolution, and without any method of internal adjustment and growth. Of course, it is too much to hope that either Sir John Simon or Sir Samuel Hoare should advise the experiment of extending such a measure of self-government to a race which has no connection with the British blood. For, did not Lord Crewe, then Secretary of State for India, openly declare in Parliament on the 24th June, 1912: " The experiment extending a measure of self-government practically free from Parliamentary control to a race which is not our own. . . is one which cannot be tried ? "

Let us go back again to the question of the constitutional responsibility of Parliament which is proving to be such an obstacle to India's demand for a Constituent Assembly. It is a fundamental principle of English Cabinet Government that the Cabinet has to, and on many occasions ought to, arrive at important decisions without waiting to secure the acquiescence of Parliament. Parliament, if not in session, has to be called, and it is at best an unwieldy body for the purpose of dealing with present and pressing difficulties. The Cabinet system enables the constitutional responsibility of Parliament to be discharged by a group of ministers who can be removed if they prove incompetent; but at the same time it is expected that Cabinet ministers will not shrink from responsibility when decisions may be made and action taken without waiting to secure the acquiescence of Parliament. This dictum is in conformity with

English constitutional practice and has been supported by Sir William Anson in his *Law and Custom of the Constitution* (Vol I, pp. 341-42). Lord Irwin's punctilious demurrer that the constitutional responsibility of Parliament cannot be undermined or even touched is, therefore, opposed to the spirit and custom of the English Constitution.

It has been the fashion, no doubt, since the sixteenth century, to speak of the "absolute power" of Parliament. Sir Thomas Smith, in his *De Republica Anglorum*, published in 1583, referred to "the most high and absolute power" of the English Parliament. Sir Edward Coke, the great oracle of English Common Law in the seventeenth century, described the power of Parliament in the following terms : "Of the power and jurisdiction of the Parliament, for the making of laws in proceeding by Bill, it is so transcendent and absolute, as it cannot be confined either for persons or causes within any bounds." Blackstone, in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, in the eighteenth century, used language to the same effect, and Dicey in the nineteenth century repeated the maxims of Smith, Coke and Blackstone. But it is important to observe that this transcendent and absolute authority of Parliament was properly applicable only to the British people who were adequately represented in Parliament. I have already shown that the doctrine of sovereignty in England proceeded from the principle of representation, and the American Colonies in the eighteenth century rightly denied that the British Parliament could impose legislation on them. The ground of the Americans was that without the representation of the American Colonists in the British Parliament, there was no *plena potestas* or *suprema potestas* inherent in the British Parliament to impose taxation or law on the American people. But in spite of the American Revolution which broke up the first British Empire, the pretension of the absolute power of Parliament was maintained. "The King's Majesty," said the Declaratory Act of 1766, "by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, had hath, and of right ought to have, full Power and Authority to make Laws and Statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the Colonies and people of America, Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatever." (G. Robertson, *Statutes and Documents*, p. 245.) This Statute still remains on the Statute-book, and is commonly

understood, as Dr. W. Ivor Jennings has recently pointed out in his book, *Parliament*, "as expressing the law not only for subjects of the Crown in America, but for subjects of the Crown anywhere." (Jennings, *Parliament*, p. 1.) In other words, the legislative authority of Parliament is said to extend to all persons, to all places, and to all events and circumstances. But in the present century the British Dominions have definitely and successfully challenged this conception of Parliamentary sovereignty. Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, has curtailed this sovereignty of Parliament so far as the Dominions are concerned. It declares that no Act of Parliament "shall extend or be deemed to extend to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in the Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to, the enactment thereof." It may, no doubt, be said that this legislation does not bind a subsequent Parliament, and that the Statute of Westminster may be repealed by another Parliament. But this is mere theory and, as Lord Sankey said in the case of *British Coal Corporation v. The King*, (1935), "has no relation to realities." Legal principles must ultimately yield to social facts. Imperial legislative sovereignty and imperial good-will and co-operation cannot go harmoniously together. Even in England, the transcendent and absolute power of Parliament is practically subject to many limitations. The present Parliamentary system has made the Government autocratic by pushing Parliament to the background.

Some of the Dominions, however, for example, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State utilised the Statute of Westminster for their own purpose of repudiating legally British Parliamentary sovereignty. The Union of South Africa passed some time ago in the South African Parliament two very important Statutes, known as the *Status of the Union Act*, 1934, and the *Royal Executive Functions and Seals Act*, 1934, which declare "the Status of the Union of South Africa as a sovereign independent State" and assert that the "Parliament of the Union shall be the sovereign legislative power in and over the Union." Section 4(1) of *The Status of the Union Act* provides that the "Executive Government of the Union in regard to any aspect of its domestic or external affairs is vested in the King, acting on the advice of His Ministers of State for the Union." The two Acts taken together support the doctrines of the divisibility of the Crown as regards the Union, the right of Union

neutrality in the case of a war declared by the Crown on the advice of British Ministers (this issue was definitely raised by General Hertzog in the South African Parliament in last September, namely, the right of the Union to remain neutral in the present war), and the right of the Union to separate from the British Empire. (Kennedy, *The Law and Custom of the South African Constitution*, pp. 614-20.) The vital point in the *Royal Executive Functions and Seals Act* is the power which it gives to the Governor-General to exercise any royal function in respect either of internal or external affairs on the advice of the Union Ministry without obtaining royal approval. Professor A. B. Keith thinks that "in strict law there seems no obstacle to the Governor-General issuing a proclamation of neutrality in the event of the Crown declaring war on the advice of British Ministers. There seems further no obstacle to the Governor-General assenting to an Act which would sever the connection between the Union and the Crown." We know that the issue of neutrality was raised in the Union Parliament by the Premier of the Union, General Hertzog, in September last, and although Hertzog's motion for South African neutrality in the present war was defeated, yet the defeat was due to the vote of the members of the Union Parliament. It was not due to any outside pressure or external interference. The example proves beyond doubt the right of the Union to remain neutral in a war declared by the British Government.

South Africa, of course, has not yet gone so far as to think of severing the connection between the Union and the Crown. But this task has been successfully accomplished in another British Dominion—the Irish Free State, now known as *Eire*. The Irish Free State persistently and legally eliminated all elements of monarchy from the Constitution of the Free State between the years 1933 and 1937. In 1937, however, Ireland took the momentous and fateful step of adopting a Constitution which has made her to all intents and purposes a Republic. In the Constitution of 1937, which was approved by plebiscite of the people of Ireland on the 1st July, 1937, and which entered into operation on the 29th December, 1937, there is no mention of the King. The preamble of the Constitution asserts in unequivocal, firm and dignified language the sovereignty of the Irish people and the right of the Irish nation to be the architect of its own destiny. The preamble runs: "*In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, from whom is all authority and to whom, as our final end, all actions both of men and*

states must be referred, We, the people of Eire, humbly acknowledging all our obligations to Our Divine Lord, Jesus Christ, Who sustained our fathers through centuries of trial, gratefully remembering their heroic and unremitting struggle to regain the rightful independence of our nation, and seeking to promote the common good, with due observance of prudence, justice and charity, so that the dignity and freedom of the individual may be assured, true social order attained, the Unity of our country restored, and concord established with other nations, do hereby adopt, enact, and give to ourselves this Constitution."

Section 1 of the Constitution declares: "The Irish nation hereby affirms its inalienable, indefeasible, and sovereign right to choose its own form of government, to determine its relations with other nations, and to develop its life, political, economic and cultural, in accordance with its own genius and traditions." Section 4 says: "the name of the State is *Eire*, or in the English language, *Ireland*." (*Constitutions of All Countries*, Vol. I, The British Empire, pp. 190-221, H.M.S.O.) So nothing now prevents Ireland from being called a Republic and it is important to point out that Ireland attained her present status quite legally by taking advantage of the legal position created for her by the Statute of Westminster, 1931.

But this must not make us think that Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety is the same thing as Independence or is identical with Independence. There are within the framework of the Statute of Westminster different varieties of Dominion Status. Canada or Australia, for instance, cannot do, under the Statute of Westminster, what South Africa and Ireland have done. There are definite limitations on the constituent powers of the Canadian and Australian Parliaments according to the Statute of Westminster. Canada cannot repeal the British North America Act, nor can Australia repeal the Commonwealth Act. The Statute of Westminster has inserted safeguards both for the Canadian and the Australian Constitutions which the Parliaments of those Dominions cannot alter or modify. The preamble of the Statute of Westminster which incorporates the Balfour formula of 1926 is more or less an empty recital. At most it may possess a fine moral value. It confers on the Dominions no powers or privileges. "Seldom have the recitals of a statute," says Professor Kennedy (*Constitution of Canada*, p. 517), "so little relation to the enacting clauses." It may be doubted if they have any function other than that of pompous sentiment. The most

important thing in a statute is the enacting clauses, and some of the enacting clauses of the Statute of Westminster have imposed definite limitations on the constituent powers of the Parliaments of Canada and Australia.

It is very important to know with precision the legal situation of the different Dominions under the Statute of Westminster, and to understand the narrowness of the equality of status of the Dominions. "As the law now stands, it is idle to believe," says Professor Kennedy, "that, under the Balfour formula, Canada is 'in no way subordinate' in *any* aspect of its *external* affairs. Indeed, the blessed Balfourian phrase is at the best a pious wish, at the worst an anodyne; while it is too often forgotten that it is effectively qualified by the legal truth: 'united by a common allegiance to the Crown.' The verdict of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council declaring invalid, in 1937, a scheme of legislation, arising out of economic and pressing social conditions in Canada, and commonly known as the Canadian *New Deal*, has brought the question of constitutional changes in Canada to the forefront. But the Canadian Parliament does not possess constituent powers. The British North America Act has been specifically safeguarded in the Statute of Westminster. Section 7 (1) of the Statute provides: "Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to apply to the repeal, amendment or alteration of the British North America Acts, 1867 to 1930, or any order, rule or regulation made thereunder." Section 7 (3) enacts: "The powers conferred by this Act upon the Parliament of Canada or upon the legislatures of the Provinces shall be restricted to the enactment of laws in relation to matters within the competence of the Parliament of Canada or of any of the legislatures of the Provinces respectively." The result is that, although Canada has outgrown the British North America Act of 1867, yet she is compelled to carry on to-day "the highly complex life of a modern state under a constitution drawn up for a primitive community, scarcely emerging from pioneer agricultural conditions." It is now more than obvious to the Canadian nation that the British North America Act should not be regarded as a sacred and inviolate constitutional charter. The need, now, of the Canadian people is to discover the best method of making the constitution serve the purposes of national life. (*Vide* the Canadian Bar Review, June, 1937.) The difficulties and obstacles in the path of the realisation of this object are not merely the obstructing provisions of the Statute of

Westminster ; there are undoubtedly other factors. But we are not concerned to discuss here the difficulties created in Canada by other factors. We have said enough to show that the Dominion Status of Canada under the Statute of Westminster is not the same thing as Independence.

Ireland, fortunately both for England and herself, was not placed under any such impediment created by the Statute of Westminster. It thus became possible for her legally to assert her independence and to remove all elements of monarchy from the constitution of *Eire*. But the Irish question was not absolutely free from difficulty. There was a talk in the British House of Commons, when the Statute of Westminster Bill was being discussed in the House in November, 1931, of imposing a limitation on the constituent power of the *Dail Eireann*. An amendment was moved by Col. Gretton to safeguard the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 6th December, 1921, in the following terms: " Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to authorize the legislature of the Irish Free State to repeal, amend or alter the Irish Free State (Agreement) Act, 1922, or the Irish Free State Constitution Act, 1922, or so much of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, as continues to be in force in Northern Ireland." It was apprehended that under the powers granted by the Statute of Westminster the Free State might repeal the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and thus destroy the Northern Government and Legislature, and might make any changes, including the abolition of monarchy, in the constitution of the Free State. Mr. Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons on the 20th November, 1931, gave vigorous utterance to this view. He said: " I am advised on high technical authority that this Bill confers upon the Irish Free State full legal power to abolish the Irish Treaty at any time when the Irish Legislature may think fit." So there was a definite proposal of safeguarding the Irish Treaty of 1921 in the Statute of Westminster, and if this had taken place, then the constituent powers of the Irish *Dail* would be of very small importance indeed. Fortunately, on receiving a letter of remonstrance from Mr. Cosgrave, the President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, on November 21, 1931, against any such proposal, the Government of the day decided to oppose the amendment moved by Col. Gretton, and the result was, that the House of Commons rejected by 360 votes to 50 the said amendment. This clearly and unmistakably shows that the Statute of Westminster,

with the amendment of Col. Gretton incorporated in it, would be a quite different thing from the Statute of Westminster as it subsequently proved to be in the case of Ireland. There cannot, therefore, be any shadow of doubt that Dominion Status under the Statute of Westminster is not identical with Independence. Nor is Dominion Status of the different Dominions of the same quality and of the same content. A great deal of difference is made by the enacting clauses of the Statute. If India ever gets Dominion Status, then she will get it, as was made clear by the British Government in the House of Commons on the 2nd December, 1931, by a separate Act of Parliament. (Commons Debates, 2nd December, 1931, pp. 1114-16). In that case much will depend on the enacting clauses. If, for instance, in such a Statute of the Statute of Westminster variety, safeguards are introduced regarding defence, the Services, the European interests, the minority interests, and the interests of the Indian States, then this so-called Dominion Status for India might lead to results quite different from those contemplated by nationalist India. In a sense, such a Dominion Status for India may be used to block in future the road to complete national self-determination. I am not decrying the ideal of Dominion Status. What I plead is that India should make her choice and cast her vote after a full realisation of the meaning and content of both the concepts of *Dominion Status* and *National Independence*. Let the Constituent Assembly judge.

(To be continued.)

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Government School Teachers' Conference

The All-Bengal Government School Teachers' Conference was held on Saturday, the 17th February, at the Hare School premises, College Street, Calcutta. Mr. W. C. Wordsworth presided. The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister and Minister in charge of Education, Bengal, performed the opening ceremony of the Conference.

Industrial Development

It is understood that the Central Government have decided to constitute a Board of Industrial Development presumably to collaborate materials for industrial development in the country during the war. It is believed that Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar of Lahore would be its Chairman.

Radio Research

Studies of reception conditions, particularly with reference to the internal short wave service, are being made by the All-India Radio.

Pulse measurements are taken and the results so far obtained show that the transmissions on the 31 metre band in the morning give somewhat unsatisfactory reception within 300 miles of the transmitting station during July and August, due to the intervention of "skip distance" effects. Research in this matter is being made with an exhaustive study of ionospheric conditions.

Frequencies of the stations of All-India Radio are checked regularly by the research workers at the Todapur Receiving Centre of Delhi. Any appreciable deviation is rectified. Reception conditions of the British Broadcasting Corporation Stations are also kept under continual observation.

Aeronautical Training

Efforts are being made in Bangalore to establish a Mysore Airways Company and to start an Aeronautical Training School and Flying Club. The organisers are in correspondence with the Mysore Government and the Air Commander-in-Chief, Air Forces, India, in this matter.

Manipuri Language as Vernacular

Recognition of the Manipuri language as a vernacular up to the B.A. standard of the University of Calcutta was urged at a conference of the

Manipuri Sahitya Parishad held recently. The conference was presided over by Mr. L. Ibungahal, Member of the Manipur State Durbar.

The resolution which was passed to the above effect also pointed out that there was no dearth of books in Manipuri literature which could well form texts up to the B.A. standard for the students willing to adopt this language as vernacular.

Free Midday Meals

Free midday meals are to be provided this year to pupils in schools throughout Ceylon.

The cost of feeding is estimated to amount to 3½ cents per child. Up to December 31, 1939, a sum of nearly five lakhs of rupees had been spent on this service, and supplementary estimate for Rs. 2,60,000 is to be brought up before the State Council.

The Executive Committee of Education considers this an important service rendered all the more necessary in view of the temporary conditions caused by the drought and the prevalence of malaria.

Educational Tours

The benefits of travel as part of a good education have long been recognised and it is realised that the travel habit cannot be inculcated too early among the school-going youth of any country.

In India, investigations have revealed that while educational institutions are aware of the benefits of travel, various difficulties have presented themselves, among these being the lack of interest displayed by parents and guardians, the poverty of the average student and the absence of information in educational institutions regarding the concessions and facilities which most railways in the country offer to students on excursions of this nature.

The South Indian Railway has lately given a considerable amount of attention to this matter and has taken special steps to overcome these difficulties. The support of the Madras Provincial Teachers' Organisation was obtained and specially deputed staff attended all educational conferences in the province.

Manipur to have a College

An Intermediate Arts College will be started at Imphal with effect from July next. The college is proposed to be named after the name of Her Highness the Maharani of Manipur, Sreejukta Dhanamanjari, whose donation of Rs. 10,000 towards the college fund has made its establishment possible.

Paintings of Chinese Artist

"A feast of rare loveliness." That is how Dr. Tagore described the paintings of the Chinese artist Prof. Ju Peon, Head of the Department of

Fine Arts of China's National Central University. Dr. Tagore further says, "I have enjoyed them profoundly and am sure that our art-lovers will derive rich inspiration from them."

An exhibition of Prof. Peon's paintings and other works numbering over 200 was held on February 21 in the hall of Oriental Academy under the joint auspices of the Oriental Art Society and Sino-Indian Cultural Society. The Exhibition was opened by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore and remained open for about a week. A special interest attached to the Exhibition was a number of sketches done by the Poet himself.

Exhibitions of Prof. Peon's works were also held in Paris, Brussels, Berlin, Milan, Frankfurt, Moscow and Leningrad.

Miscellany

TAI HSU ON INDIA AND BUDDHISM

Lecturing at Tagore's *Viswa-Bharati* His Holiness Tai Hsu, Founder-President of the International Institute of Buddhist Studies in China, said on one occasion as follows (January, 1940) :

" I feel that the material life which has a concrete form comes into existence out of a spiritual life which is formless. Every real manifestation of life originates out of this ultimate spirituality and this concept forms the soul of the true culture of India.

" During the pre-Vedic and early Vedic period human life was in the closest relationship with nature. But in the decadent Brahminic period materialism as well as formalism had a greater sway over life. Buddha appeared at that crucial time and shifted the emphasis once again from material to the spiritual aspect of life. Since then the material life and spiritual life have been melted together into one and that became the message of the Buddhist period of Indian history. After this there was impact with two other very important religious ideals, I mean, the ideals of Mahomedanism and Christianity, which gradually made their way into India's cultural life and the civilization of India felt their influence at its core.

" The present century is the century of spiritual re-awakening of India when the whole nation is reviving its ancient glory. Modern Indian culture is India's original culture infused with the culture of the West and in my opinion Gurudeva is the best representative of the culture and civilisation of the India of to-day."

In a lecture on Buddhism Rev. Tai Hsu said: " I am a Buddhist and Buddhism would be the proper subject on which I could speak with ease and authority." Then he proceeded to explain in brief the fundamental ideas of Mahayana Buddhism and its attitude towards the universe. Four fundamental ideas he took up and discussed one by one.

" The first is the concept of the universe as a constantly changing phenomenon. It is eternally in a state of flux. In the world, for instance, in a man, we notice his change or development from infancy to the old age, in a tree from the seed to the fruit. Along with this change there also exists a decay in this world. For example, in the silk-worm we see that as soon as it weaves silk threads around its body it ceases to live. The butterfly too as soon as it comes out of the cocoon lays its eggs and dies. Thus we find that decay sets in as soon as the biological purpose is fulfilled. This constant change ending in new production is the progressive factor in the universe and has its value. Man being the only animal possessed of highest mental faculties and reason can remove the ignorance in him and can grasp the significance of this changing phenomenon that we call the Universe.

" The second fundamental idea deals with the problem of the form of things in the universe. Nothing in the creation exists by itself when detached from the cosmos as a whole. A tree depends for its existence on the seed. The seed requires the earth, sun, water and the air. The whole is a system of interdependent elements, every one of equal importance. A

perfectly detached individuality is hardly to be found in this universe. Every individual object is in the ultimate analysis the effect of some definite law of causation.

“ This leads to the third fundamental of Buddhism, the formlessness of reality or rather the reality of the formless. The first two principles clearly show that the form of the reality cannot be perceived. Concepts of time as well as space are ultimately relative, having very little of definition about them.”

The speaker concluded by giving the audience an idea of the spiritual idealism that underlies the Buddhist concept of creation. “ It interprets that ‘ mind ’ is the central dynamic urge that is at the root of every created form in the universe. No Supreme Being need stand high above and create this world by his will. Mind is the creator that brings into existence this eternal flux that we call universe.”

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE ITALIAN CONSORTIUM FOR LAND IMPROVEMENTS

A particularly interesting case of the organisation of credit for land improvement is offered by the *Consorzio Nazionale per il Credito Agrario di Miglioramento* in Italy, a public body specialising in this type of operation. Founded in 1927, its special function is to supply the funds necessary for the most important land reclamation and irrigation works and for the great agrarian reforms. The State, the Bank of Naples, the Bank of Sicily, the more important people's banks and other financial houses take part in the *Consortium*. Its capital consists of an unlimited number of registered shares of 500,000 lire each, the capital now amounting 269,500,000 lire. Its function is mainly that of serving as guarantee for the interest-bearing bonds and for the mortgage bonds which the *Consortium* is allowed to issue, the former to twice and the latter to eight times the amount of the capital; in this way it becomes possible to finance agricultural operations to the extent of about 3 milliard lire. For each loan there is a technical enquiry and a legal inquiry. The *Consortium* does not work for private interests or in order to find lucrative investments but to aid the execution of works which will raise agricultural production in quantity or in quality. Hence it limits itself to financing works which are of undoubted value from the technical as from the economic standpoint and where private and public interests coincide.

The contract determining the legal relations between the *Consortium* and the borrowers is defined by law as a “ contract of loan for the making of agricultural improvements ” and has certain special features. First of all, the aim of the operation must be exactly stated. Secondly, the payment of the loan is effected gradually as the works for which the loan was granted are carried out, and is conditional on the exact and useful employment of the sum already paid for the purposes stated, although the sum actually paid out may be less than the amount of the loan originally promised. Repayment takes place over a period which must not exceed 30 years, by means of the gradual amortization in equal shares of the sum actually received in loan. The security required by the *Consortium* is normally a mortgage, although it need not be a first mortgage provided that the value of the property mortgaged is sufficient.

During the period 1933-1937 the *Consortium* has granted loans to the amount of 1,328,676,624 lire divided as follows: building, 307,139,143 lire; improvement of land, 116,051,126 lire; roads, 48,432,838 lire; irrigation, 202,926,847 lire; planting, 90,790,079 lire; land reclamation works, 190,311,410 lire; land purchase for the setting up of small holdings, 10,332,000 lire; miscellaneous 362,703,082 lire.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE COTTON WORLD

The statistics of the International Cotton Spinners' Federation, at present bring us no further than January 31, 1939, but Mr. Garside of the New Cotton Exchange has recently published provisional estimates which go as far as July 31, 1939, that is, up to the end of the cotton year. On the basis of these estimates and other information received by the International Institute of Agriculture, the aggregate cotton consumption in 1938-39 may be put at 6,340,000 tons, a figure exceeded only by the record of 1936-37. It is about 200,000 tons larger than the consumption of 1937-38 but about four-fifths of the increase is accounted for by "sundry" cottons.

The estimated world cotton lint consumption (in thousands of metric tons) is given below:

Year.	American.	Indian.	Egyptian.	Sundry.	Total.
1926-27	3,465	937	327	914	5,643
1927-28	3,427	843	318	1,000	5,588
1928-29	3,350	981	330	1,003	5,664
1929-30	2,878	1,167	315	1,118	5,478
1930-31	2,432	1,082	286	1,127	4,927
1931-32	2,794	864	334	1,072	5,064
1932-33	3,194	769	304	1,173	5,440
1933-34	3,087	893	381	1,313	5,674
1934-35	2,477	1,123	387	1,616	5,603
1935-36	2,776	1,112	388	1,826	6,102
1936-37	2,993	1,205	428	2,250	6,870
1937-38	2,455	1,165	394	2,135	6,149
1938-39	2,510	1,150	390	2,290	6,340

(provisional estimate)

This is the fourth year in which world consumption has exceeded 6 million tons thanks to the advance of "Sundry" cottons which compete with American cotton and supply mainly the spinning mills of the countries where they are grown. The industry in these countries, which is comparatively recent or newly established, is in full development and shows considerable progress from year to year.

An analysis of the causes which would explain why consumption of Indian and Egyptian cotton is stationary while that of "sundry" cottons is increasing and that of American cotton tends to decline would take us very far afield. Profound changes are taking place in the hierarchy of cotton-producing countries; there are shifts in the relative importance of consuming countries; international trade in the raw material and in the manufactured products has become almost chaotic and the world distribution of the cotton industry has itself been upset. Competition between the various cottons has become so keen that Governments have in some cases been driven to almost desperate measures to defend acquired positions.

We appear to be approaching a complete dislocation of what was once termed the *world market* and which is now being replaced by a number of more or less closed markets.*

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

AGRICULTURAL CREDIT WARRANTS IN FRANCE

Advances made on the security of produce raise problems of a technical, financial and legal nature. To make such advances possible it is above all necessary to construct store-places, barns, silos, refrigerating plant, and in general whatever is necessary for the storing and conservation of produce. The resources necessary for the financing of crops may reach a very high figure, especially if, as is frequently the case, the basic products in question are considerable not only in quantity but also in value. In such cases the advances have serious repercussions on the public finances. In the protection of the markets for the main agricultural products credits aiming at regularising supply and demand are of the first importance.

In France, where dealings for the financing of crops are highly developed, especially as regards measures for the defence of the wheat and wine markets, the organisation of this type of credit is of quite special interest.

Not only the funds deposited are employed, for these operations, but also those placed by the State at the disposal of the mutual agricultural credit institutions.

The agriculturalist who desires an advance on his crop generally signs a hand-note (*hundi*) or a warrant of a local agricultural credit society which discounts it at the regional bank. The regional bank in its turn has the warrant or hand-note discounted by the *Caisse Nationale de Credit Agricole* or the Bank of France.

The warrant is a document of a special type; it states the amount of the loan, the date of repayment and the nature of the security. The law of April 30, 1906, tried to make of it a true credit instrument, assuring it circulation and its payment on the date stated. Hence the warrant is transferable by endorsement, and those who have signed or endorsed a warrant are jointly and separately liable. On the other hand the holder may sell the security under easy and quick conditions failing payment of the warrant by the borrower on the stipulated date; and article 12 of the above-mentioned law allows the holder of the warrant precedence as against almost all the privileged creditors; and if the price does not suffice to satisfy his claims, article 13 gives him subsidiary rights against the endorsers and the borrower.

* *Monthly Crop Report and Agricultural Statistics* (Rome), November, 1939.

A decree-law of September 28, 1935, has enlarged the area within which agricultural warrants may be used, and has thus helped to increase the credit facilities at the disposal of the agriculturists.

From 1906 to 1937, 283,400 agricultural warrants were issued on securities valued at 7,966 million francs to cover loans totalling 3,527 million francs.*

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

INDO-AMERICAN TRADE

A dinner was given by the India Chamber of Commerce of America on 5th December, 1939, at the Hotel Commodore in New York City in honour of Sirdar Hardit Singh Malik, India Government Trade Commissioner to America.

In the course of his speech, Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the Chamber said :—"The aim and object of our Chamber is to promote bigger and better trade relations between India and the United States of America. To that end, ever since its inception—a little less than two years ago—our Chamber has been engaged in offering facilities and help and co-operation whenever possible to both Americans and Indians through correspondence and personal contact, in India as well as in America. However, our Chamber has been interested in even more vital issues and has devoted its energies and efforts to one particular issue, and that is, to help in bringing to a satisfactory and early conclusion the proposed Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between India and the United States of America.

"The present trade between these two countries is governed by an antiquated and obsolete Convention of Commerce which was concluded between Great Britain and America as far back as 1815. The businessmen, industrialists and merchants, both in America and in India, have for some time past realized that it was high time that a more up-to-date and bi-lateral and comprehensive instrument was brought into existence to govern the trade between these two countries."

In the course of his speech Sirdar Hardit Singh Malik dwelt on the effect of the war on India's trade with the United States and said in part as follows: "Roughly speaking, the value of the trade between the two countries amounts over a year to about \$100,000,000 and although this has not always been the case, in recent years the balance of trade has been somewhat in India's favour.

"The tariff position in the two countries is, on the whole, favourable to an expansion of our mutual trade—and I say this after making due reservations with regard to the comparatively high duties prevailing in the United States on certain articles such as embroidered goods, brocades, etc., which India is in a very good position to supply and which do not, I think, compete in any sense with American goods. In the United States the position is that in spite of the fact that there is at present no commercial treaty regulating the trade between our two countries an omission which we all hope will be rectified before long—Indian goods under the existing laws and regulations of the United States get the benefit of any reduction of the U.S.A. import duties effected as a result of an agreement between the U.S.A. and any other country.

* L Tardy : *Le financement des récoltes* (International Conference on Agricultural Credit, Vienna, 1936) ; The French Ministry of Agriculture's *Rapport sur le warrantage des produits agricoles pendant l'année 1937* (Paris, 1939).

"The export trade of India was, on the outbreak of war, affected by two important factors: (a) governmental restrictions on exports and (b) shipping. The export of certain articles essential for war purposes, *e.g.*, arms and ammunition, certain kinds of chemicals and chemical preparations, camphor, quicksilver and its compounds, etc., was prohibited altogether, while the export of most other articles from India was restricted, exports being permitted only after securing an export permit from the competent authority in India.

"There has naturally been some difficulty in the position with regard to shipping as a certain portion of it normally engaged in the carriage of commercial goods is required for the actual transport of troops and war material or for purposes of being held in reserve for that service.

"There are the large increases in freight and insurance rates which cannot but have a depressing effect in the long run on the international exchange of goods. There is the rise in prices in some commodities which may have serious long range effects. Take as an example the case of burlap.

"India is a relatively poor country and the market there is primarily a price market. If you wish to expand your sales there you will have to ensure that prices do not rise unduly. It is true that the factor of competition from Europe may not be as important for you as in normal times, but I suggest that the price factor will still be predominant since the level of price which places an article out of the reach of the average Indian buyer is not a very high one.

"Many competent observers ascribe the success attained both by the Germans and the Japanese in the Indian market to a very large extent to the close study through Indian associates and representatives of the Indian market and to the actual associating of Indian elements with their marketing organizations. I suggest that this is an important consideration for American manufacturers to bear in mind.

"One of the very important results in India of this war is going to be an acceleration in the pace of industrialization in India. It has already been fully realized that India, in order to play a part in this war commensurate with her resources and also to be fully equipped for her defence for which she must in an increasing measure rely on her own resources, must take all possible steps for the manufacture in India not only of war material of all kinds but also of the hundred and one things that play an indirect part in the prosecution of a war.

"Let not the more advanced industrial countries fear that an industrialized India will mean the loss of India to them as a market. There are no real grounds for such apprehensions.

"We have a large population in India at present, but the individual purchasing power of the population is very small. As that power increases with our industrialization and the greater productivity of our agriculture with its consequent rise in our standard of living we shall buy more from you, not less. It may be that we shall not buy the things that we buy at present. But our needs will expand and a country like America which realizes the necessity of going ahead and will no doubt adapt its manufacturing industries to the ever changing needs of countries that are not as industrially advanced as herself, will be in the best position to supply those needs."

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Heat—By R. G. Milton. Published by J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London. Pp. 338.

The book under review belongs to *Dent's Modern Science* series and is meant to meet the needs of those preparing for a Pass degree.

The book opens with a chapter on Thermometry and then passes on to 'Nature of heat', 'Calorimetry'; 'Dilatation of solids, liquids and gases.' In these chapters the author has selected the various up-to-date methods of thermal measurements with the exclusion of the antedated ones which are merely of historical interest. He has then explained the elements of Kinetic theory of gases which is followed by chapters on 'the Specific heats of gases and solids,' 'Change of state,' 'the liquid and the gaseous state.' Within a short compass he has managed to bring home to the readers, in a very clear and easy manner, the important subjects like Van der Waal's Equation, Porous plug effect, Elements of thermodynamics and Entropy, 'Conduction of heat' and 'Radiation.' The concluding chapter is devoted to a few applications of the Kinetic theory of gases where he has calculated the mean free path, the viscosity and the thermal conductivity of a gas and has also introduced to the reader the Widemann-Franz Law, Brownian motion, etc.

The book, on the whole, possesses a broad outlook, and notwithstanding its small compass, has been made up-to-date by eliminating the older theories and less important experiments. A new feature of the book, which will be of great interest to the readers, is the chronological table, given in the Appendix, of all the important discoveries in Heat. Another important feature of the book is the numerical examples given at the end of each chapter with a few typical ones worked out. The book is remarkable for the simplicity of style and lucidity of exposition and, as it appears to the reviewer, will be adequately suited for the Pass standard of our University.

J. C. M.

Songs from the Soul.—By Anilbaran Roy. Published by John M. Watkins, London.

The book under review does not, though the title of it suggests that it does, open with a verse. Mr. Roy gives his songs in the proper place, and prefaces them by full one hundred and sixty-two pages of lucid prose. This work can well be compared with the kind of literature, which goes by the name of "confessions," especially with the type St. Augustine's "Confessions" represents. Though we miss in this book the force, passion and inspiration which mark Augustine's outpourings, yet it can be said without the shred of a doubt that the work provides an opening through which we can get a glimpse into a spirit ardent and sincere. The book, in short, seems to be a record of a soul's journey to the divine destiny, and as such, contains much that will be helpful to spiritual aspirants.

But I am sorry to say that the spontaneity of the feelings and yearnings expressed therein is marred by occasional effusions which embody theorizings of the Pondicherry school. So, as on the one hand the book will

quicken devotion and kindle aspiration in many hearts, so on the other it will cause confusion in many minds which have not yet attained that unique kind of intuition which the Pondicherry group is credited with.

As regards the songs themselves, some of them are really songs which will doubtless enliven devout souls by sending a thrill through them. Many of the songs are, however, much too burdened with philosophy and mysticism to have the quality of a song.

A. C. DAS

Sree Ramkrishna and World-Culture.—By Tomosbranjana Roy. Price Re. 1.

In this book an attempt is made to bring out the salient points in the teachings of Ramkrishna. The author says what he has to say in simple language. So it can be commended to those who have not yet known much of the message of Ramkrishna. It is doubtless true that the advent of Ramkrishna marked the beginning of a new era of Hindu culture. But it is exaggeration to say that India's achievements in all the different spheres in this century have been due to Ramkrishna's and Vivekananda's influence.

The author goes out of his way to say a good deal about the influence of Indian thought upon Western countries. That India's philosophico-spiritual thought penetrated European culture, especially from the second century (A.D.) downwards, has been admitted even by eminent scholars of the West. But this claim cannot be substantiated on the mere ground of similarity between some systems of the West and some of the East. Characterization of Hegel's Absolute as "an imperfect world-ego perfecting itself in and through the world of his creation, is unfortunate. The author will do well to recast and rewrite his book.

A. C. DAS

Marxism is Dead.—By Brij Narain. Published by Ram Krishna & Sons, Lahore. 1939. Pp. 265. Price Rs. 3-8.

Supplement to Marxism is Dead.—By the same. Price Eight annas.

Professor Brij Narain contends that Marxism is not original and that the idea of class-war and the exploitation of labour was envisaged by Bazard many years before Marx began to write on the subject. He has endeavoured to show that the principles of Dialectical Materialism taught by Marx have no application in the sphere of practical economics. Great Britain where "the war between the two classes that constitute modern society has assumed such colossal dimensions" ought to have afforded an illustration of the principle of negation of negation yet the proletariat there seem least inclined for a revolution. Mr. Narain also repudiates the idea of class-struggle in the interpretation of history on the basis of the Darwinian hypothesis of survival of the fittest as well as from a survey of history, in which he cannot find any data in its support. He has also attacked the principle of the change of quantity into quality. Mr. Narain quotes Engels to the effect that the employer does not become a capitalist if he spends the whole of the surplus value produced on himself but if he pockets any part thereof, money is turned into capital. "If he prefers to

live like a prince, spending on himself all the surplus value of a hundred labourers or more, there is no passage of quantity into quality" (p. 37).

Mr. Narain cannot persuade himself to believe in the withering away of the State which Marx laid down as a principal feature in his Communism. The State has not shown any sign of withering away in Russia and force and coercion are even more ruthlessly applied there than in many parts of the civilised world. Russia has not yet evolved a classless society. Experts get 100 or 200 times more than the wages of workmen although Marx fixed the outside limit at four or five times more. Inheritance has not been abolished and men like Bukharin who upheld the Marxist doctrine have been executed. All these facts warrant Mr. Narain in concluding that Marxism is dead. He has taken pains to show that real wages in Russia have not risen although the rise in nominal wages has been appreciable since the Revolution.

Mr. Narain in a somewhat uncalled-for manner proceeds to prove the fallacy of the doctrine of *Ahimsa* which constitutes one of the most important elements in Gandhism. It is, however, no discovery made by the Mahatma, as Mr. Narain is careful enough to point out. Mr. Narain can quote a certain Dutch factor who wrote an account of the western coast of India in 1625 describing the *Ahimsa* of the *Banias* who permitted themselves to be robbed rather than take any steps to bring the miscreants to book. Mr. Narain then writes to convince the world of the ridiculous position taken by the Mahatma: "According to Mahatma Gandhi, if *goondas* will kill us, we should allow ourselves to be killed" (p. 105). Mr. Narain proceeds to tell us that although non-violence is impeccable ethically, there has never been nor will there ever be a society where it can be practised. He draws our attention to a passage in the Dutch factor's account where he says: "Moors or Mughals (as also Christians) would rather die fighting than be robbed of their goods" (p. 105). Mr. Narain thinks it a striking passage and tells us that were he the President of the Congress, he would ask every Congressman to con it over day and night. It is good that even in India to-day there are millions who would not share Mr. Narain's enthusiasm for such heroism as part of their political philosophy.

Mr. Narain has written a supplement to his book, being provoked by a review in a certain Indian journal. The supplement is more or less a skit on Stalinism and shows to advantage the author's gift of satire. It contains a repetition of the arguments in "Marxism is Dead," and Stalin's speech at the 18th Party Congress of the Soviet Union provides the opportunity for this.

Mr. Narain as a writer is both lucid and scholarly but in reading his book one has the impression that he is speaking from a prejudiced mind. His statistics and quotations show his wide range of studies and his knowledge of various European languages but the authorities on whom he relies seem like him in many cases to give a somewhat prejudiced account of the real situation. What he says about India seems, however, to have proceeded from a fair-minded and impartial consideration of the facts. It is possible to agree with him there although we must point out that he is wrong in his estimate of the possibilities of non-violence. The Mahatma has shown himself to be no dreamer and visionary and our author cannot in fairness refuse to acknowledge the importance of passive resistance in the struggle for India's freedom.

The Quest for Empire.—By Mahmud Husain, Ph.D., Reader in Modern History, University of Dacca. Pp. 240. Price 4s. 6d. 1937.

In common parlance as also in special discourses Imperialism is frequently understood in terms of one particular formula. It could be either considered as the revenge of a starving people, or the ambition of a heroic race, either as the greed of an avaricious nation or the desire of an aspiring dictator. Dr. Mahmud Husain has shown that such a complex phenomenon as Imperialism cannot be so easily explained. Modern war, he says, is brought about by a process of convergence of various forces, political, economic and ethic. The author has taken up Japan, Italy and Germany and has very ably analysed the forces which operate behind their militant Imperialism. The statements of the author are always substantiated by references to state-papers and statistics. The book is indeed a brilliant exposition of the anatomy of Imperialism.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Ourselves

[*Bipradas Palchaudhuri Fellowship for Foreign Scholars.*—II. *Krishnakumar Dutt Silver Medal.*—III. *Donation by the Assam Oil Company, Digboi.*—IV. *Sir Nripendranath Sircar Endowment Fund.*—V. *Appointment of Special Reader.*—VI. *Election of Ordinary Fellows.*—VII. *Nomination of an Ordinary Fellow.*—VIII. *A New Ph.D.*—IX. *Annual Convocation of the University.*]

I. BIPRADAS PALCHAUDHURI FELLOWSHIP FOR FOREIGN SCHOLARS

Mr. Ranajit Palchaudhuri of Mahesganj Estate, Nadia, has offered to place at the disposal of our University Government Securities of the face value of Rs. 50,000 for the establishment of a Fellowship to be called the Bipradas Palchaudhuri Fellowship. The income from the Endowment is to be utilised in inviting foreign scholars to visit India and study Hindu Civilisation and Culture under the auspices of the Calcutta University. The appointment of the Fellow will ordinarily be made for a term of two years only. At the end of the period, he will be required to submit a Report embodying the results of his investigation, which will be published by the University on approval by the Board appointed to implement the donor's wishes.

The offer has been accepted with thanks.

* * *

II. KRISHNAKUMAR DUTT SILVER MEDAL

Mr. Nabakumar Dutt, Muktear, Jalpaiguri, has conveyed to the University an offer of Bank Notes worth Rs. 500 for creating an endowment in memory of his father, the late Babu Krishnakumar Dutt, for the annual award of a silver medal, with effect from the year 1941, to the successful candidate at the B.A. examination who secures the highest number of marks in Bengali.

The offer has been received with thanks.

* * *

III. DONATION BY THE ASSAM OIL COMPANY, DIGBOI

The Assam Oil Company, Digboi, which granted a scholarship of Rs. 100 a month for research work to be conducted under the

guidance of our Science College, has offered to increase the scholarship to Rs. 150 a month and to grant two additional scholarships of the value of Rs. 100 a month each, for investigating thixotropy and the properties of clay suspensions. Besides this money, a further offer of a sum Rs. 1,000 has been made to meet expenses for chemicals, apparatus, etc., in connection with the work.

The thanks of the University have been conveyed to the Assam Oil Company for the pecuniary assistance it has rendered in the furtherance of scientific research at the University Laboratories.

* * *

IV. SIR NRIPENDRANATH SIRCAR ENDOWMENT FUND

A donor who wishes to remain anonymous has offered to place at the disposal of the University the sum of Rs. 500 in G.P. Notes through Mr. Ratanmohan Chatterjee, Solicitor and Member of the Senate, with a view to creating an endowment to be named after Sir Nripendranath Sircar, to which contributions will be invited from the public to enable the University to proceed in future to make use of the Fund in a manner worthy of the name with which it is to be associated. The donor has expressed the desire that the Fund is to be operated without any communal bias.

The Fund has been enhanced by a contribution of Rs. 100.

The University has accepted the offer with thanks and has opened a fund under the name of Sir "N. N. Sircar Endowment Fund."

* * *

V. APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL READER

Mr. S. C. Majumdar, Chief Engineer, Irrigation Department, Government of Bengal, has been appointed University Reader to deliver a course of not less than six lectures on "Rivers of Bengal Delta."

* * *

VI. ELECTION OF ORDINARY FELLOWS

Lt.-Col. R. N. Chopra, C.I.E., K.H.P., M.A., M.D. (Cantab.), M.R.C.P. (Lond.), I.M.S., whose tenure of office as Ordinary Fellow would expire

on the 31st March, 1940, has been re-elected for a further term of five years by the Faculty of Medicine. His election was uncontested.

Mr. S. N. Banerjee, Barrister-at-Law, has been elected an Ordinary Fellow of the University by the Faculty of Law, to fill up the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Birajmohan Majumdar, M.A., B.L., in April last year. Mr. Banerjee has been returned unopposed.

* * *

VII. NOMINATION OF AN ORDINARY FELLOW

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate Dr. Ananta Hiralal Pandya, SO.D. (Eng.), A.M.I.STRUCT.E., A.M.AM.SOC.C.E., A.M.I.E. (Ind.), A.M.INST.W., M.A.R.P.I., Principal, Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur, to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University *vice* Mr. C. V. Miller, A.C.G.I., B.SC., A.M.I.STRUCT.E., M.I.E. (Ind.), resigned.

* * *

VIII. A NEW PH.D.

We offer our congratulations to Mr. Adharchandra Das, M.A., a Post-Graduate Lecturer in the Department of Philosophy, on his being admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Dr. Das submitted a thesis entitled "Negative Fact, Negation and Truth," which was examined by a Board consisting of the following scholars : Prof. J. H. Muirhead, Prof. H. H. Price and Prof. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan.

* * *

IX. ANNUAL CONVOCATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

The Annual Convocation of the University for the conferring of Degrees was held on Saturday, March 2, 1940, at the University College of Science, Upper Circular Road. His Excellency Sir John Herbert, Chancellor of the University, presided. Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, delivered the Convocation Address, which was remarkable for its sympathetic, broad-minded and business-like approach to many a difficult problem of University education. A dignified inaugural Address was also delivered by the Vice-Chancellor, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Huque.

The total number of graduates who received Degrees this year was 5,308.

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Ordinarily an article should not exceed 4,000 words. Copies should preferably be *typewritten* on one side of paper with *good margin* on the left so as to enable the Editor to give directions to the press without disturbing the text. Diacritical marks should as far as possible be avoided, and while references may, where necessary, be cited in footnotes, quotations from Sanskrit or Indian vernaculars are generally discouraged. If absolutely necessary, they should be given in Roman characters, but, preferably, in translations. Names of books should always be given in *italics*, while titles of articles, papers, chapters of books, etc., should be given within double inverted commas ("—").

All copies for the press must bear on it the full name, title, designation and address of the author. The Editor does not hold himself responsible for loss of any article ; contributors are, therefore, requested to keep with them copies of their writings before posting. Nor is he responsible for sending back to the authors articles that are not accepted by the Editorial Board, unless they attach sufficient stamp for the purpose.

For all opinions and statements appearing in the articles of the *Review* their authors alone are responsible. They have, however, nothing to do with the opinion or policy of the University in general or the Editorial Board in particular.

Board of Editors

The *Review* is under the direct supervision of a strong Board of Editors consisting of scholars of international reputation.

All articles, communications, etc., may conveniently be addressed to the MANAGER, *The Calcutta Review*, SENATE HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

H. C. Mookerjee,

Sallendra Nath Mitra,

Jt. Hony. Secretaries, Board of Editors.

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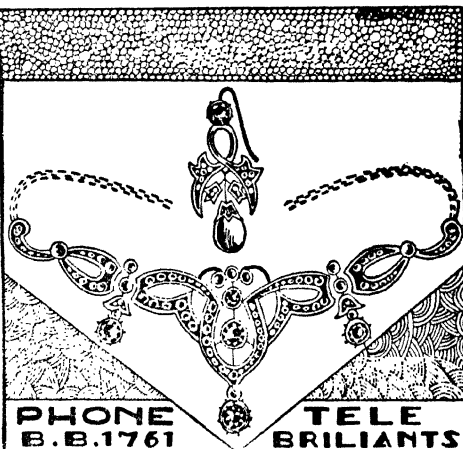
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1940

THE SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RÂÏ, Kt.

VI

REFERENCES TO CONTEMPORARY EVENTS AND PERSONS BY SHAKESPEARE

REFERENCES to contemporary events and persons surely disclose the trend of the poet's mind since those indicate unmistakably which way the wind blows, in whose words the poet's heart dances. These references, therefore, have positive intrinsic value so far as the biography of the poet is concerned. When we have no sure biographical data of our poet we have naturally to speculate upon his writings in search of a clue, however small it may be, to build up a so-called biography of our poet. The net result of the attempt will be that we shall have to draw up a *model* life of Shakespeare, no point in which will ever meet the sanction of two critics, and this has actually been the case. The pedigree of Shakespeare had not been traditional nor had the relics of his boyhood been in any way inspiring and it can be rightly stated that the greatest poet of the English tongue sprang up from a very obscure origin, and hence, an authentic biography of Shakespeare cannot legitimately be claimed from his contemporaries.

It is, therefore, worth-while to search after Shakespeare's mention of contemporary events and persons or of affairs which were the current topics of his time. Unfortunately we find Shakespeare too shy to refer to them and there are hardly thirty-seven references in all, in his thirty-seven plays. But if we look closely to his creations we can easily realise that there are, in his plays, 'unmistakable signs of his reference to an identifiable event.'

The first direct reference to a contemporary event which has never been called in question by critics is the expedition of the Earl of Essex to Ireland in March, 1599. It is, however, necessary to bear in mind that Essex was a friend to the Earl of Southampton, the patron of our poet. Thus we find the following lines in the chorus of *Henry V* :

"The Mayor and all his brethren in best sort,
Like to the senators of th'antique Rome,
With the plebeians swarming at their heels,
Go forth and fetch their conquering Cæsar in :
As, by a lower but by loving likelihood,
Were now the general of our gracious empress,
As in good time he may—from Ireland coming,
Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,
How many would the peaceful city quit
To welcome him!"¹

'The general of our gracious empress' whom Southampton also accompanied in the Irish expedition proved a hopeless failure and the spectacular demonstration anticipated by the friendly poet never materialised. Whatever the actual result of the expedition might have been, we have to scrutinise here the above lines to explain his attitude towards contemporary allusions which he is so shy to mention directly. Two alternative questions naturally rise, namely, do these lines sufficiently disclose Shakespeare's political bias or were these lines written purely to pay homage to a friend whose name had been a household topic as a result of his triumphant seizure of Cadiz? The present writer would like to support the latter view for obvious reasons. This cannot represent Shakespeare's political attitude because he was not the man, as we find him from his writings, to be easily drifted by political crests and troughs. Is it not significant that Shakespeare, who experienced the thrill of the invasion of Spanish Armada at the

¹ Chorus before Act V, Sc. 1.

most romantic age of 24 never refers to it in any of his plays ? How can we assert then that the Irish expedition of Essex was a rather stronger stimulus to our poet than the fighting of the Armada unless it be for the fact that the leaders of the expedition were but his friends ?

Another notable instance is furnished by *Hamlet* which very clearly refers, in passages, to the ' war of the theatres ' in 1600-01. It originated with the publication of Jonson's *Poetaster* where some passages of Shakespeare's *Henry V* were bitterly ridiculed. A contemporary writer records that Shakespeare gave Jonson a purge but there has been found no corroborative evidence of this. Dekker and Marston, in their *Satirionastix*, gave a reply to Ben Jonson. It is difficult, at this far distant age, to determine what result, good or bad, came out of this famous controversy, except the fascinating phrase, namely, ' war of the theatres.' In course of the war Ben Jonson records thus :

" Only, amongst them, I am sorry for
Some better natures by the rest drawn in
To turn in that vile line."

It has been claimed that this ' better nature ' of Jonson is none other than Shakespeare, but there is absolutely no record to show Shakespeare's active participation in the war. In *Hamlet* we have :

Hamlet: What players are they ?

Rosencrantz: Even those you were wont to take delight in, the tragedians of the city.

Hamlet: How chances it they travel ? Their residence both in reputation and profit was better both ways.

Rosencrantz: I think their inhibition comes by the means of the late innovation.

Hamlet: Do they hold the same estimation they did when I was in the city ? Are they so followed ?

Rosencrantz: No indeed, they are not.

Hamlet: How comes it ? Do they grow rusty ?

Rosencrantz: Nay, their endeavour keeps in the wonted pace ; but there is sir an aery of children, little eyases, that cry out on the top of question ; and are most tyrannically clapp'd for't: these are now the fashion, and so berattle the common Stages (so they call them) that many wearing rapiers are afraid of goose-quills, and dare scarce come thither.

Hamlet: What, are they children? Who maintains 'em? How are they escoted? Will they pursue the quality no longer than they can sing? Will they not say afterwards if they should grow themselves to common Players (as it is most like if their means are no better) their writers do them wrong, to make them exclaim against their own succession?

Rosencrantz: Faith there has been much to do on both sides: and the nation holds it no sin, to tarre them on to controversy. There was for a while no money bid for argument, unless the Poet and the Player went to cuffs in the question.

Hamlet: Is't possible?

Rosencrantz: O there has been much throwing about of brains.

Hamlet: Do the boys carry it away?

Rosencrantz: Ay that they do my Lord, Hercules and his load too.

In the *Twelfth Night* Shakespeare speaks of 'the new map with the augmentation of the Indies.'¹ It has been claimed that this directly refers to a map actually produced some time between 1598 and 1600, and it has been tentatively suggested that the map referred to is one in the complete edition of *Hakluyt's Voyages* (1599-1600).² Similarly in *Romeo and Juliet* we find reference to the great earthquake, perhaps of 1580, in the words of the old nurse, e.g. 'Tis since the earthquake now eleven years.'

One more striking example of Shakespeare's reference to a contemporary event is supplied by the *Tempest* (written some time about 1610-11) which opens with the scene of a shipwreck. It has been claimed that Shakespeare was rather much occupied with the actual shipwreck that befell the fleet under the command of Sir George Sommers in 1609. The admiral-vessel "Sea-Venture" was separated from the rest of the fleet and was driven to the Bermuda Coast otherwise called the Isle of Devil. "Still vexed Bermoothes" or "Have we devils here" and other such phrases bespeak of the connection.

We now propose to read *Macbeth* in the light of Shakespeare's attitude towards contemporary events. In a previous issue³ we have

¹ Act III, Sc. 2.

² Sir E. K. Chambers says that the new map was probably the 'Hydrographical Description' prepared about 1598-99 by Feric Molyneux. Examples are sometimes bound up with Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* (1598-1600).—*Life of William Shakespeare*, Vol. I, p. 406.

³ *The Calcutta Review*, February, 1940, p. 105.

quoted a contemporary poet to show that Shakespeare shed no sable tear to mourn the loss of the queen whom he eulogised 'as the fair Vestal throned by the West' and spoke of her 'maiden meditation fancy free' at least on a particular occasion when *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was played at some noble man's house where the queen was expected to be present. When James I ascended the throne the whole of the literary world burst forth with panegyrics to accord him a very hearty welcome, only Shakespeare observing rigid silence for he preferred not to offer hymns to the rising sun as shamelessly as his brother poets did. In fact the rival poets vied with each other. It must be realised here that Shakespeare was very particular in this respect and never indulged in fulsome eulogy to anybody save on two occasions, namely, the dedications of *Venus and Adonis* and the *Rape of Lucrece*. In fact it was just the opening of his career when Shakespeare composed these few lines of adulatory verse and as soon as he realised his ends of attaining patronage and fame he quite guarded himself against further repetition of these. By his frugal habits and thrifty ways of living he was assured of a competence at a very early period of his life and he disdained to invoke the favours of a noble patron. Nevertheless, there is exception so to say. There are, indeed, some topical hints to James I in *Macbeth* in the shape of assigning the King a direct descent from Banquo. The king's evil cured by the Royal touch¹ is significantly introduced in the play evidently to please the king who as the author of treatise of demonology would further appreciate Shakespeare's introduction of witches with their strange prophecies regarding the end of the usurper Macbeth and Banquo's descent on the English throne. Again the words of the Porter²:

"Knock, Knock! who's there, in the other devil's name? Faith, here's an equivocator, that could swear in both the scales against

¹ Malone says that "this tragedy contains an allusion to the union of the three kingdoms England, Scotland, and Ireland under one Sovereign and also the cure of the king's evil by the royal touch. A ritual for the healing of that distemper was established early in this reign; but in what year that pretended power was assumed by King James I is uncertain.—*Life of Shakespeare*, Vol. II, pp 418-19.

² There is evident divergence of opinion regarding the authenticity of the Porter scene in *Macbeth*. A host of critics headed by Coleridge doubted the whole of the Porter scene as not coming from the pen of Shakespeare. Chambers refuses to accept the interpolation view. Speaking of the Porter's speech, Chambers says: "The introduction of this speech cannot be said to be unlike Shakespeare, or alien to his usual methods."—*Macbeth* (Warwick edition), p. 167

either scale ; who committed treason enough for God's sake, yet could not equivocate to heaven : O, come in equivocator."

It has been claimed that by the word 'equivocator' Shakespeare referred to the Jesuit doctrine of equivocation which had been quite familiar since the trial of Southwell towards the closing years of the Queen's reign, and may refer directly to the trial of Henry Garnet for the famous Gunpowder Plot in 1606.

The tradition runs that all these references, direct and indirect, so much pleased the king that he wrote an autographed letter to Shakespeare—one of his men. The following quotation is taken from Oldys : 'I have observed in my Fuller and repeat it here that K. James I honoured Shakespeare with an Epistolary correspondence and I think Sir W. Davenant had either seen or was possessed of his Maties Letter to him. I have read it in Print and yet all our late Pretenders to the Exaltation of Shakespeare's Memory are quite silent of this particular. 'Tis very much if Sr William had them y^t he did not publish them.' Sir E. K. Chambers¹ from whom we reproduce the above puts this into *The Shakespeare Mythos*. Even after strenuous efforts this letter could not be found out. Malone, however, finds no reason to disbelieve it and adduces the following argument for his so doing. "We have been told, upon authority of which there is no reason to doubt, that he (James) wrote a letter to Shakespeare with his own hand ; the story is told in the advertisement to Lintot's edition of Shakespeare's poems, no date, but printed in 1710. The letter is there said to have been lost, but formerly to have been in the possession of Sir William Davenant, 'as a credible person now living can testify.' The person thus described, we learn from Mr. Oldy's MS. Addition to Fullers Worthies, was Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, who was told it by Davenant himself."² Let the readers judge, then, for what it is worth!

In *Measure for Measure* Shakespeare went a step further to refer to a particular idiosyncrasy of James as to his dislike of the mobs.³

The trial scene in *Merchant of Venice* has been claimed by several critics, notably by Sir Sidney Lee, to represent the trial of Lopez, a Jew, practising medicine in the city of London. Lopez was tried for treason before a special commission in the Guildhall,

¹ *Life of William Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 281.

² Boswell's edition of Malone's *The Life of Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 481.

³ Act I, Sc. 1 and Act II, Sc. 4.

and the public took keen interest in it. For some time the talk of trial was in every lip and there is no wonder that Shakespeare would adopt a parallel scene to captivate the imagination of the English audience. George Symonds has ridiculed this theory in his humorous way, but if we ever accept this theory, it will show another instance of Shakespeare's reference to contemporary events.

King Lear also gives us some indication as to Shakespeare's way of referring to a contemporary event. James I, King of Scotland, succeeded Queen Elizabeth in 1603 and in October of the following year he was proclaimed King of Great Britain resulting in the formal union of England and Scotland. In his characteristic way Shakespeare changed the following lines of Thomas Nashe (1596)

“—Fy, fa fum,
I smell the blood of an *English man*.”

into

“His words was still.—fye, foh, fum,
I smell the blood of a *British man*.”

When it is impossible for us to pick up a sufficient number of direct references to contemporary events let us make a simpler and honest attempt to see his plays against a proper background. At the very outset the present writer would utter a word of caution that the principle should not be carried too far lest some puzzling hypotheses spring up and the most objective picture would ultimately appear as the most subjective canvass.

The years between the publication of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (c. 1587) and *Hamlet* (1603) were remarkable in English life for the unusual thrill they offered. The Spanish Armada which invaded England was defeated in 1588. This discomfiture of the Spanish monarch—the then ruling power of practically the whole of Europe—served as a stimulus to the nation and patriotic feeling ran high through everyman's breast. For the next few years the Spanish encounters continued and English people sent several expeditions to the continent to help their allies such as Don Antonio in Portugal and Henry of Navarre.

In 1591 Earl of Essex reached Normandy and rendered valuable aid to Henry in the siege of Rowen which was finally abandoned in the spring of 1592. In this period Essex was indeed a very popular

figure in England and we must not forget that it is at this period the English stage was presenting on its boards the 'famous talbot scene.'

The year 1596 was full of panic and excitement and saw the capture of Cadiz. At any rate these years were very much trying in the history of the nation and Shakespeare certainly realised his due share of contribution and set down a number of sublime patriotic speeches in his writings :

" This England never did nor never shall
Lie at the proud foot of a Conqueror."

In the days of Queen Elizabeth there was no newspaper or periodical and the general custom was to collect news from mouth. Elizabethan people had, therefore, to depend much on sermons, stages, taverns and the like where there were comparatively large assemblages. Gossips and rumours were as a rule magnified into big proportions and passed from mouth to mouth resulting in some cases in public disturbances. The exact nature of the state of things can be well understood from a number of private correspondences by John Chamberlain who gives the following lines in a letter dated August 9, 1599 :

" Upon Monday, toward evening, came news (yet false) that the Spaniards were landed in the Isle of Wight, which bred such a fear and consternation in this town as I would little have looked for, with such a cry of women chaining of streets, and shutting of the gates, as though the enemy had been at Black wall."

In the disguise of Rumour, painted full of tongues, Shakespeare aptly declares

" Rumour is a pipe
Blown by surmises, jealousies, conjectures,
And of so easy and so plain a stop
That the blunt monster with uncounted heads,
The still discordant wavering multitude,
Can play upon it."

What a faithful picture of the spread of rumours is given by Shakespeare in *King John*¹ where Hubert graphically describes thus :

" I saw a smith stand with his hammer, thus,
The whilst his iron did on the anvil cool,

¹ *King John*, IV, 2.

With open mouth swallowing a tailor's news ;
 Who, with his shears and measures in his hand,
 Standing on slippers,—which his nimble haste
 Had falsely thrust upon contrary feet,—
 Told of a many thousand warlike French,
 That were embattailed and rank'd in Kent.
 Another lean unwashed artificer
 Cuts off his tale and talks of Arthur's death."

It was not against the custom of the day to bring forth the characters of living personalities on board the stage. We find a clear reference to this custom in the following lines of Chamberlain:

"The tragedy of *Gowry*, with all the action and actors, hath been twice represented by the king's players, with exceeding concourse of all sorts of people. But whether the matter or manner be not well handled, or that it be thought unfit that Princes should be played on the stage in their life-time, I hear that some great councillors are much displeased with it, and so 'tis thought shall be forbidden."

Nevertheless the authors of such plays had often to face catastrophies and we have got a number of evidences ready at hand. Jonson, Chapman and Marston in their joint production *Eastward Hoe* openly caricatured King James for his creating the prodigious number of knighthoods and as a result of this offence amounting to treason they were thrown into the prison and very luckily escaped mutilation. *The Conspiracy of Biron*, of which Chapman was the sole author, furnishes one more example. In it Chapman did not hesitate to bring Henry of Navarre, the then reigning monarch of France, with his queen and mistress over the board. Another very notable example, though at a comparatively later date, viz., 1624, is Middleton's *Game of Chess*, 'the play which brought Middleton into prison and earned for the actors a sum far beyond parallel as to have seemed incredible.' This play directly referred to the Spanish officials and was popularly known as the play of Gondomar, who was the Spanish ambassador at England and took a very prominent part in the proposed Spanish marriage of Charles. From the very opening this play drew a packed house and on the ninth day a vehement

¹ Perhaps due to this James (c. 1604) issued a commandment and restraint against the representation of any modern Christian kings in those stage-plays.—Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage* Vol. I, p. 327.

protest came from Gondomar. Its representation was prohibited, and the actors as also the author were all punished.

Shakespeare also followed the fashion at least so far as the King of Navarre was concerned. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, one of Shakespeare's earliest dramas, we find a theme drawn from French chronicle, the names of the characters being drawn from contemporary and popular personages like Henry of Navarre and his famous lieutenants Biron, Longueville and Dumaine.

Perhaps "Shakespeare still had Henry of Navarre in his mind for the allusion in Act III, Scene 2 to France 'armed and reverted making war against her heir,' refers to the struggle between the Huguenot King, heir to Henry III, and the Roman Catholic League, which continued from 1589-1594." ¹

Before concluding this chapter we should take up for consideration Shakespeare's *Richard II* which deserves special mention for reasons more than one. Queen Elizabeth compared herself with Richard II and it is stated that on one occasion when the queen came across the records of Richard II in the course of her inspecting those at the Tower, she could not help exclaiming, 'I am Richard II.' Indeed, very deep was the impression of the queen regarding the striking parallelism between herself and the unfortunate Richard II, so far as state policies were concerned, and she really dreaded that an unhappy termination of Her Majesty's career may also befall her as it befell Richard II. This view of queen's apprehension will gain much support from the following evidence: An Elizabethan historian, Sir John Hayward who wrote *The First Part of the Life and Raigne of Henrie IIII, extending to the end of the first yeare of his raigne* and dedicated it to the Earl of Essex, one of the most popular figures of the then London, criticised the queens policy in the said book, at least the queen thought so, and was imprisoned for his so venturing. Shakespeare in *Richard II* wrote the deposition scene of the unfortunate monarch which in all probability could not be published in the earlier quartos but was certainly represented on the stage. In no case could the Queen's agents allow this for publication! ²

¹ Boas, *Shakespeare and his Predecessors*, p. 168.

²it seems more probable that it (deposition scene) was written with the rest (whole text of *Richard II*), and suppressed in the printed copy of 1597, from the fear of offending Elizabeth, against whom the Pope had published a bull in the preceding year, exhorting her subjects to take up arms against her.—Malone (1821 Edition), *Life of Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 326.

The supporters of the famous Essex rising of 1601 calculated to secure the person of the queen, realised to the full this acute parallelism and with a view to shaping mass opinion in the city caused it to be played before the London citizens on the day previous to the outbreak of the insurrection. The Lord Chamberlain's men played, so to say, in the hands of the followers of the Earl of Essex although the former tried to avoid the performance of so old and obscure a piece from pecuniary points of view. Sir Gilly Meyrick, a stalwart of Essex's party paid an earnest money of \$40 to the actors to compensate any loss that the company might incur by the performance and *Richard II* was actually played. There exists a school of critics which hold that the book played was not Shakespeare's but the present writer is rather slow to accept this view. Shakespeare's *Richard II* was published in quarto edition as early as 1597, and was certainly enacted before that day. It was played by the Lord Chamberlain's of which Shakespeare was a prominent shareholder. Why then should these men fall upon a piece in preference to that Shakespeare? Any way, following the performance of *Richard II* there was the rising next day but it failed ultimately, resulting in the arrest of the Earls of Essex and Southampton. There was formal trial of Essex on the charge of high treason and both Essex and Southampton were thrown into the Tower where Essex ultimately gave his head.¹ Southampton, however, escaped with his head and was subsequently set free by the next succeeding monarch King James I.

It is very difficult to explain why it is so that the author of *Richard II*, a friend to Essex and Southampton and actor-cosharer of the company was never summoned before the court of justice either as an accused or as a witness. Augustine Phillips, the manager of the Company, was produced before the Star Chamber as witness but Shakespeare was not touched in any way. This is, indeed, a very important problem in the life of our poet and the present writer likes to scrutinise, in brief, the existing views in this respect. The first alternative view was that the piece played on the day before the insurrection was not from Shakespeare's pen, but from the pen of some now-forgotten author! This would apparently satisfy our

¹ Essex's defence was that he had no evil motive of securing the person of the queen and whatever he did, he did in self-defence or else he 'would not have gone forth with so small a force and so slightly armed.' To this Bacon replied, "This was cunningly done of you, who placed all your hope in the citizen's arms expecting them to arm both yourself and your party and to take arms in your behalf imitating herein the Duke of Guise."—Speeding and Heath, *Lord Bacon's Works*, Vol. VI, p. 363.

difficulties but not clearly enough. By accepting this view we simply pretend to solve the difficulty by pushing, so to say, the issue into a sea of conjectures. How can we guarantee that there was a deposition scene in the said play? It is amply clear that without a deposition scene the play could not serve the purpose of Essex. In fact the majority of critics, *e.g.*, Malone, Boas, Lee and Chambers, are of opinion that the play was Shakespeare's. The opposite school argues that Shakespeare rather discouraged deposition as is given in the deposition scene of *Richard II*. How then can we assert that the performance of this piece was best suited to Essex's design? This query at once puts us into a fire, but we must not forget that to the mind of an illiterate and uncritical audience the ulterior intention of a piece seldom reflects and the plot-hunting audience would rest satisfied to see what actually happened. Richard was deposed, and deposed in such and such a manner—under such and such circumstances—that's all that interested the Elizabethan audience; no matter whether Shakespeare encouraged or discouraged the deposition.

Now as soon as we accepted the view that it was Shakespeare's *Richard II*, the question arises as to how Shakespeare escaped handling of the Star Chamber. It would be extremely childish to attempt any convincing answer to this question with the scanty materials we have at our disposal. The myth that Shakespeare was much favoured by 'Eliza' and thus escaped handling of the Star Chamber cannot be given any consideration, for history tells us that the queen was proverbially whimsical in respect of her favours. The young gallant, the Earl of Essex who was once one of the greatest favourites of the queen, had to lay his head on the scaffold and why should we expect constancy of the queen's favours in case of Shakespeare. We have no diary of Shakespeare nor any convincing record and we cannot say whether Shakespeare had any direct responsibility in the performance save as the author of the piece. It may quite well be that Shakespeare was not present at the actual performance of the play on March 6, 1601, and was hence taken no notice of by the court of justice. This, the present writer well understands, is a conjecture but with materials at the hands of the modern critics we cannot proceed any further without ever indulging in conjectures guarding, of course, oneself that those do not appear far-fetched.

(To be continued)

PROGRESS OF PROHIBITION IN “ CONGRESS INDIA* ”

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THE people of India have been known for centuries for their abstemious habits. Indulgence in alcoholic beverages and narcotics has always been confined to comparatively small numbers. Unlike western countries, the conditions in India are favourable for the imposition of prohibition through legislation because religion, social sentiments and traditions are in its favour.

As an Indian Christian, I feel proud when I remember that the question of compulsory prohibition was first taken up by the Indian Christian community of Bengal at the instance of our revered leader the late Mr. Kali Churn Banurji in 1902. Gokhale suggested it in 1912. The same year the Indian National Congress started its campaign in favour of prohibition for the first time. In 1925, 30,000 women, majority of whom were Indians, submitted a memorial to the then Viceroy demanding the introduction of prohibition for safeguarding the interests of women and children. The same year, a solid non-official *bloc* carried in the Legislative Assembly in the face of strong official opposition a resolution for introducing total prohibition. The memorial submitted by the women as well as the resolution which had behind it the weight of Indian public opinion as voiced by its representatives were ignored by the British Government. In 1928, when the All Parties' Convention drafted a constitution for India, it made prohibition one of its fundamental articles.

India waited patiently for the attainment of political power to deal in her own way with this important problem which affects the well-being of her nationals. As soon as provincial autonomy was secured and Congress took up the work of administration in a majority of the provinces, Mahatma Gandhi gave a much-needed lead in his epoch-making article entitled “ The Great Act.” This appeared in his small

* Address delivered at the Calcutta Temperance Association, Thoburn Methodist Church, Calcutta with Miss K. M. Kinzly in the chair.

but very influential periodical "The Harijan" on the 28th August, 1937. In this, he asked the Congress governments "to bring about total prohibition within three years." It may be that the Congress governments, if they had continued to be in power, would have been compelled to lengthen the period to five years but there is not the slightest doubt that every Congress government made honest and strenuous efforts to implement this programme within the time allotted for the purpose by Mahatma Gandhi.

When I was in Madras early in January, 1939, I had an interview with Sj. Rajagopalachariar. In the course of my conversation with him, I was informed that all the Congress governments including his Government were determined to introduce prohibition in the provinces controlled by them before they laid down the reins of office. The impression I gathered from my talk with him was that if the Congress ministry could carry through this part of the Congress programme, they would be content to be judged by their achievement in this one direction.

I contend that the adoption of the programme of prohibition conferred a dignity and a prestige on the Indian National Congress which the carrying through of no other single measure could have done. I admit there are many other directions in which the Congress could have improved the lot of the masses and further that these would have been introduced sooner or later. These, however, would have taken time, whereas the immediate introduction of prohibition carried along with it the implication that the Congress had identified itself with the interests of the masses and also that it is really concerned about their welfare.

REASONS FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF PROHIBITION

Statistics available from official sources will prove that, in 1920, the total revenue from stimulants and narcotics was 60 million rupees, that eight years later, in 1928, it rose to 235 million rupees and six years after that, that is in 1934 to 1,000 million rupees. In other words, in 15 years, the revenue from excise increased nearly 17 times. The same year that India paid 1,000 million rupees as revenue for drink and drugs, she paid Government 370 million as land revenue and 170 million as income-tax while she spent 130 million on education. Can any responsible man deny that if India is prevented from spending this

enormous sum which most certainly was higher in 1939 than in 1934, her nationals will be in a position to liberally finance not only education but also agriculture, industry, public health, irrigation, and what not ?

And who are the people who have been contributing to the excise revenues ? We know that there are sects, castes and groups who are total abstainers. We know also that the habit of drinking and using narcotics is regarded with disfavour if not with positive dislike by educated people of every social stratum. India is a land where the number of teetotallers is very large. It therefore follows that this sum is spent by only a fraction of the 353 million population of India. It is also equally true that the addicts consist almost wholly of the extremely poor, that is to say, people who can least afford any kind of extravagance. Expenditure of this type in their case leads to semi-starvation or nakedness or both. These are some of the reasons which impelled the Congress governments to introduce prohibition.

PROHIBITION IN THE " CONGRESS " PROVINCES

Realising the supreme importance of making a strenuous effort to root out the drink and drug evil from our motherland and impelled by a truly noble spirit of idealism, Congress governments introduced prohibition in the different provinces. The Congress campaign for the eradication of this evil proceeded with an ever-increasing tempo. The " dry " area was steadily extended. I propose to review, province by province, the way in which this programme was implemented. But before doing so, let me state that, according to the communiqués issued by the different governments, their efforts were being crowned with supreme success.

Orissa.—Prohibition was started in Balasore district and the first step was taken, by placing the sale of opium under state control with effect from October, 1938. Those who cannot do without opium had to undergo medical examination by doctors appointed for the purpose by the Orissa Government. No one was supplied with opium unless his name had been registered as *an opium addict*. All opium shops situated in the interior of the district were abolished with effect from the 1st April, 1939. At present, there are only 14 shops at the borders of the district. Other reforms consisted of prohibition of sale of intoxicants after sunset, prevention of all sale of toddy in booths and sale of

toddy or country liquor on days of festivities when huge amounts used to be consumed. According to the Orissa Congress Government, the loss of excise revenue due to these measures was likely to be about Rs. 9½ lakhs.

Central Provinces.—In 1934-35, about 13½ per cent. of the total revenue of this province was contributed by the excise department. This is a poor province and the introduction of prohibition in the absence of alternative sources of revenue unmistakably demonstrated the courage of the Congress Ministry as well as their ardent desire to benefit the masses. Prohibition was introduced in the whole of the three districts of Saugor, Akola and Wardha. One sub-division of Hoshangabad district and three industrial towns were also made "dry." At present the "dry" area comprises about $\frac{1}{6}$ of the total area of the province or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the non-aboriginal territory. The estimate of the Central Provinces Congress Government was that the introduction of prohibition in these areas would entail a loss of Rs. 8½ lakhs.

Assam.—In Assam the revenue from excise consists of about 15 per cent. of the total provincial revenues. A scheme for the total prohibition of opium in two years was adopted by the Congress Coalition Government and was being gradually given effect to. The first start was made in the Sibsagar sub-division. It is understood that this would entail a loss of about Rs. 14 lakhs.

Bihar.—The district of Saran which is about 2,709 square miles in area with a population of about 2½ million went "dry" with effect from the 1st April, 1938. Government also made strenuous efforts to discourage the consumption of liquor by a reduction in the number of shops, curtailing the hours of sale, and other restrictive measures. In 1939, prohibition was extended to parts of the districts of Ranchi and Hazaribagh and also to the Hajipur sub-division. It is understood that the total reduction in revenue will amount to 10 lakhs. There is an unofficial report that the Congress Government of Bihar was considering the question of the extension of prohibition to the Dhanbad subdivision just before its resignation.

United Provinces.—As soon as the U. P. Congress Government came into power, prohibition was introduced in two districts, *viz.*, Etah and Mainpuri, the approximate area of which is 3,300 square miles. In 1939, prohibition was extended to four more districts—Budaun, Farrukhabad, Bijnor and Jaunpur. In the remaining districts, it was proposed to reduce the number of shops by 20 per cent. Prohibi-

tion and the adoption of various other measures for diminishing the consumption of stimulants and narcotics entailed a loss of 37 lakhs.

North-West Frontier Province.—The Congress Government of the North-West Frontier Province decided to introduce total prohibition in the district of Dera Ismail Khan with effect from 1939. No official information is available as to what extent the revenues would have been sacrificed by this step.

Bombay.—In 1934-35, when Sind was still a part of the Bombay Presidency, 24 per cent. of the total revenue was derived from excise. According to one estimate, the cost of introducing complete prohibition in what is now the Bombay Presidency would be approximately 6 crores. Including the area where prohibition was in operation previously, the following places went "dry" with effect from the August 1st, 1939: Ahmedabad city, North and South Daskroi Taluks, the Broach subdivision of the district of the same name, Panchmahal, some taluks of Ahmednagar and North Kanara district. Prohibition was also extended to the whole of the Bombay city and suburbs. It is understood that the loss in excise revenue would amount to not less than 25 lakhs. Mr. M. K. Munshi, Home Minister, Congress Government of Bombay, speaking at Ahmedabad on the 6th April, 1939, stated that after the introduction of prohibition in his province, his Government had lost directly and indirectly 120 lakhs but the merchants had gained 320 lakhs by the increased purchasing power of those addicted to drink.

Madras.—This province was the first to introduce prohibition in India. Salem went "dry" from October, 1937, and Cuddapah and Chittor from October, 1938. The district of North Arcot would have gone "dry" with effect from the 1st October, 1939, if the Congress had stayed in office. Under these circumstances, prohibition would have been in operation in an area measuring about 24,000 square miles. This is about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total area of the province. It has been estimated that the loss due to the introduction of prohibition in these four districts would amount to 66 lakhs.

IDEALISM IN PROHIBITION

An outstanding feature of prohibition in "Congress" provinces was that there the addicts were not treated as sinners and social outcasts. The members of the different cabinets, who launched the campaign

against drink and drugs were aware that a sinner is more to be pitied than to be annoyed with. They had imbibed the great lesson of Christ who reformed the sinner by loving him and of Chaitanya who embraced *Jagai* and *Madhai* thus converting them into two most sincere devotees. "Hate sin but not the sinner"—these reformers appreciated the full implication of this saying. Madras, it is well-known, is notorious for its rampant untouchability and one of the causes of the outstanding success of prohibition in Madras is that the prohibitionists there did not treat the addicts who are mostly Harijans as untouchables. This perhaps is the one single thing which has appealed to the addicts. I do not think the addicts would have responded to mere platform lectures. No lasting social reform can be effected by speeches and newspaper articles for they would be slighted as the luxurious benevolence of rich and leisurely people. The men and women whom we seek to reform must be shown how much we are ready to feel and act for them and what sacrifices we are prepared to make for their sake.

Secondly, the Congress prohibitionists were fully aware of the limitations of human nature. They appreciated the difficulty of suddenly giving up the habit of drinking and drug taking. They were also aware that an abrupt renunciation of their pet vice might adversely affect the health of the addicts. These wise social reformers did not make the quixotic attempt of driving the addicts from the wine shop direct to the monastery. They did not make the idea of prohibition repulsive to the addicts by demanding from them a fugitive and cloistered virtue. They did not try to impose on the addicts an ineffectual and absurd morality. So they made provision for various games, amusements and other innocent recreations which might be considered by addicts as suitable substitutes for the harmful pleasures they had forsaken. If this principle of prohibition had not been thus tempered by pity and a wise dose of concession to the weakness of their moral fibre, prohibition would not have been made so welcome an idea to the addicts as it actually had been. The Madras ministers took the trouble of mixing with the people and of discussing the problems of prohibition with the addicts themselves.

Another important reason for the success of prohibition in the Congress provinces was that the cabinets set more value on man as such than on money. They had an unshaken faith in the essential goodness and nobility of man and they were reluctant to increase

their revenue at the cost of the human soul. They were not ready to give up the addicts as lost for all time to come. They believed that within the addict there sleeps a noble humanity which has to be rescued from the clutches of evil. And they were quite willing to sacrifice any amount of revenue so that the complete man might emerge unscathed out of the accidents of temptation. Like the good shepherd of the Bible, the Congress cabinets would not rejoice until the lost sheep had been found.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE INTRODUCTION OF PROHIBITION

Official reports on the working of prohibition in different Congress provinces have been published from time to time and are available to the public. I have referred to their contents elsewhere and do not intend to waste space here by repeating what has been already placed before the public. In order that there might not be any suspicion of bias, the Madras Government deputed scholars from the Annamalai and the Madras universities for making an economic survey of the district of Salem. These surveys were conducted in urban and rural areas. Different centres were chosen and the conditions prevailing there carefully studied. The results arrived at in these surveys are also available to the public. I have taken the trouble of studying carefully the working of prohibition in Congress provinces other than Madras and the conclusions at which I have arrived after a careful survey of the whole situation is as follows.

There has been marked improvement in the condition of women and children everywhere. Formerly the selfish bread-winner not only wasted a material part of his earnings on drink or drugs, but he always got more and better food than the rest of his family. This consideration was shown to him because he never entirely lost their affection and also in order that he might continue to preserve as far as possible his physical efficiency. After the introduction of prohibition, the children and the women always got a fairer share of the food available. Everywhere the poor are better dressed than before ; debts are being repaid here and there. Household utensils of a humble type are being gradually bought. Ill-treatment of women and children has ceased in a majority of cases. And lastly, a larger amount than before is being spent for greater quantities and better quality of food.

The number of quarrels outside homes has diminished while in those districts where famine conditions prevail, there is not, in general, any noticeable increase in the number of petty crimes as was invariably the case before the introduction of prohibition.

NEW TAXATION

The introduction of prohibition is a costly affair. All the Congress governments were faced with considerable difficulties in finding additional sources of revenue not only to make good the loss entailed by the introduction of prohibition but also to finance the activities of the different nation-building departments which had been neglected by the British Indian Government in the past. The Congress ministries faced boldly the unpopularity due to the taxes they had either imposed or intended to impose on the well-to-do for the benefit of the poor. As revenue from salt, customs, posts and telegraphs, railways, etc., cannot be touched by the provinces, the provincial governments were compelled to levy taxes on petrol, electricity, tobacco, entertainments, cross-word competitions, sales, etc.

Some of these measures secured legislative sanction while others had not been passed into law when the Congress ministries resigned. One and all were exposed to vigorous criticism from interested parties which occasionally was positively uncharitable in its tone. It is not uncommon to find that measures which are calculated to tax the rich for the benefit of the poor have been opposed by capitalists of every race, caste and creed in every province. In the U.P., for instance, the European industrial magnate joined hands with the Hindu and Musalman landlord and businessman for condemning the taxation measures of the Congress government. In Bombay, the Parsi capitalist who had acquired immense wealth by trade in alcoholic beverages followed suit. In South India, the same game was played by the wealthy people. These wealthy people should have appreciated the fact that there is only one way to combat communism which has grown into a world menace and that is to make every effort possible to raise the standard of living of the poverty-stricken masses, to educate them, to remove all legitimate causes of discontent before they emerge into their consciousness and thus to take away all incentive to mass action. To-day the capitalist is protesting because Government is asking a fraction of the wealth he is enjoying for

ameliorating the lot of the masses. If he is wise, he will sacrifice that fraction cheerfully in order to forestall the possible expropriation of the whole of the wealth of which he is the master. The writing has appeared on the wall already. It behoves the wise man to be careful before it is too late.

OUR DUTY AS INDIANS

With the introduction of prohibition have occurred, here and there, cases of illicit manufacture and sale of these injurious articles. This, however, cannot be regarded as any reason for not introducing prohibition. Cheating, thieving and robbery have not been stopped in spite of deterrent and punitive legislation. No one dreams of either cancelling or suspending the operation of these laws because, occasionally, they are evaded successfully. Once we are convinced that prohibition is to the benefit of the country, it is our duty as patriotic Indians to introduce it and to take such steps as to make it an absolute success. I contend that the failure of prohibition in the United States should not discourage us. Probably many do not know that even after the repeal of prohibition, there are 5 states which have kept themselves "dry", that about 17 states control the retail sale of alcoholic beverages so strictly that there is not much chance for excessive indulgence and lastly, that very strict rules have to be observed for the insertion of advertisements of liquor in periodicals. We should remember that conditions in India are radically different from those prevalent in the United States and as such more favourable to the introduction of prohibition and also that no one can say that a particular measure will be a failure till he gives it a fair trial. It is for us to take courage in both hands and to do all that lies in our power to make it a success. Thus and thus only shall we be in a position to find out for ourselves whether what was an impossibility in the west is an impossibility with us. "Faint heart," they say, "never won fair lady." No one who claims the possession of the proverbial grain of faith should entertain the slightest doubt that, given a fair chance, prohibition will be a success in our motherland. It has already proved a success in certain parts of India and it only remains to be extended to the rest of India.

Let it not be forgotten that the different Congress provinces cheerfully sacrificed over 300 lakhs of excise revenue and that if

prohibition had been introduced throughout all the Congress provinces, 550,000 square miles of India would have been "dry" and more than 170 million of her children would have been saved from the temptation of indulging in drink and drugs. Success is within our grasp if only all of us offer our loyal co-operation to this move. The non-Congress provinces which either on account of timidity or interested motives have not yet adopted this ameliorative measure will then be forced by the pressure of public opinion to introduce it within their own areas. If prohibition proves a failure in non-Congress provinces, the only reason for it would be the ineptitude of their cabinets. Once the autonomous provinces go "dry," our next forward step will be to use every legitimate means in our power to encourage its introduction in the Indian States. Once we have achieved complete success in India, is there any doubt that once more we shall occupy the envious position of leaders pointing to the rest of the world the way to abolish the use of drink and drugs thus making it a better place to live in ?

It is our duty therefore not only as citizens of India but also as citizens of the world to put our hand to the plough and not look back. I know that there are many who are constantly criticising the Indian National Congress for its many sins of omission and commission. Let them remember that if history does not lie, up to the present, man has not yet been able to evolve any perfect organisation. Let them remember that what the British administration with all its power and prestige and the efficient machinery which it had brought into existence did not dare to attempt, our leader Mahatma Gandhi alone and unaided by man and relying on the blessing of God has set his hand to do, that he had secured such a hold on men like Sjs. Rajagopalachariar, Pant, Kher, Sukla, Srikrishna Sinha, Biswanath Das, Gopinath Bardoloi and Khan Abdul Gafar that they were ready to make any sacrifice in order to implement this programme. Does this not prove that he has the blessing of God in this his noble task and also that small and insignificant as he is to look at, he has that very rare gift of commanding the loyal allegiance of talented men ? How foolish it would be for us if we do not fully utilise the ungrudging services of such a great God-gifted leader and how petty our nature if we are unable to appreciate the largeness of his heart and the real greatness of the man ! If we are men, we should all bow down our heads in reverence to God who has at last taken pity on our unhappy

condition and has given us such a leader under whom we can, if we are wise, banish poverty, disease and dirt from our motherland. When we condemn the Indian National Congress, let us remember that it is the instrument chosen by Mahatma Gandhi for carrying through this programme of prohibition. Let us not forget that though there are other All-India organisations, they have not as yet realised their responsibility to the masses in this particular direction. Let us not forget that this one fact alone proves how closely the Congress has identified itself with the interests of the masses and, above all, whatever our other differences, let us all offer our most loyal co-operation to the Congress in implementing at least this part of its programme.

THE BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ AND THE ST. LOUIS MOVEMENT IN PHILOSOPHY

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THE works and journals of Emerson and Thoreau, give us the main points on which to base an estimate of the influence the *Bhagavat Gītā* has had on American literature. Suffice it to say that, as far as transcendentalism is concerned, this influence was deep and had its reverberations elsewhere. The immediate influence upon the Concord Brahmins, with Emerson as central figure, has been dealt with at some length recently by Frederic Ives Carpenter (1930) and Arthur Christy (1932), and before them by many writers who rarely attained definition. William Torrey Harris, writing as early as 1885 on "Emerson's Orientalism," forms a laudable exception. Harris was implicated in the aftermaths of transcendentalism and, therefore, deserves separate mention. Outstanding among other names of writers whose interest is focussed on the Concord group and their Oriental leanings are Protap Chunder Mozoomdar (1885) and Herambachandra Maitra (1911), as well as Emerson's biographers—George Willis Cooke, Moncure Daniel Conway and James Elliot Cabot.

These authors rightly regard Emerson and Thoreau, and to some extent Amos Bronson Alcott and William Ellery Channing, as the pivotal figures in American Orientalism. Yet, no specific study has been made of the extent to which the *Bhagavad Gītā* as such is implicated. Moreover, all writers have been merely satisfied with noting the passages containing the parallels, perhaps their immediate patterns, and appending a literary criticism. None has shown the historic necessity of the spread of Hindu ideas and their fate in American literature. Before this can be done with any degree of thoroughness it will be necessary to ferret out Orientalism in many more poets, literati and philosophers. I refer to my own work on Edgar Allan Poe (*Modern Review*, 1936), Wm. Torrey Harris (*The Monist*, 1936) and Josiah Royce (New York, 1931).

The figure of Wm. Torrey Harris holds the clue to what was really taking place at Concord, where transcendentalism waned and died at the first breath of scientific philosophy. It is almost incomprehensible how this most prominent American thinker and educator could have been so slighted in the cultural history of the United States. At the time, everyone agreed—whether he ridiculed the venture or saw it full of promise—that it was Harris who towered as an intellectual giant behind the Concord School of Philosophy (1880-89).

True, Harris lacked the poetic genius and hence could not accomplish the twist of the transcendent to the transcendental that so captivated the imagination of minds trained less in the rigors of logic than in literary appreciation. Though the Concord School of Philosophy kept itself alive for 10 years with a total profit of 31 cents, it really was a still birth. The quality of the mystic was little in evidence which in luring does not spend its energy. The way of logic shown by Harris was steep, very steep, and hence incomprehensible to most, but it was straight. The immense respect which Harris owed Emerson really stood in the way of an intellectual rapture between the two which anyone might presuppose who experiences the tonus of the thought-world of either. Harris was the American philosopher of his time, there was no other thinker in his day who could match his philosophic acumen or assail successfully his convictions. Chivalrous to perfection though Harris was even in the fiercest discussion, his staunch Hegelianism revelled at the sight of the antithesis so that he might annul the difference and negate the negation.

When Harris came to Concord in 1880 the warp and woof of his philosophy was tightly knit. Its texture had undergone the test of many seasons in a frontier civilization by one of America's saddest periods, the Civil War, and her busiest time, the reconstruction. Concord invited Oriental drowsiness, the noon-tide philosophy of Henry David Thoreau—St. Louis would have none of this. Down there one fought not against the onslaught of sleep or the dream of "eternal Buddh" (Emerson), but against malaria, against the coarseness of human nature pitched into sharp competition with the promise of large gain. Emerson would cross the Western rivers on the ice to give some lectures and vanished again into his Olympus after the performance. Harris went West even before graduating from Yale to make a start in life and develop a zest equalled by very few.

Back in New England, a youth in his early twenties, Harris shared to the full the Oriental conviction that ultimate reality is One, that phenomenon alone exhibits diversity. The poem "*Brahma*" by Emerson, published first in 1857, is the perfect epitome of this grand Hindu attitude of unconcern with details, the affairs of pigmy humanity. All-devouring unity seemed the thing that is most worthwhile.

Missionaries had often written about these "mystic" conceptions of the East, they had found their way into the *Massachusetts Quarterly*. But no sympathy was ever divulged for the Oriental "unity." The fact that Emerson was a Unitarian had but slight bearing upon this problem. Christian unity and the unity in Brahman are poles apart. Why Emerson was stimulated by Oriental ideas had its roots mainly in his own psychic pattern. A genius he had built his own holy of holies after his first disappointments in life, in his own mind, personality and home. Loss of his first love, a sojourn lean of purse over glistening Europe, an innocently vigorous commencement speech before his gnarled Alma Mater, poetic inhibitions at delivering a traditional sermon, drove him into the arms of Indian metaphysics to spend his life on the fringe of practicalities.

Harris too started out in an atmosphere of oblivious scholarship, with a superb aptitude for philosophy. The period of *Aufklärung* was early followed in him by a dive into those border sciences that invite speculation. Soon he happened through Theodore Parker's essay on German literature on the right track. When arrived at St. Louis, 22 years of age, he had studied Kant, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel and knew his *Wilhelm Meister* well. Back East he yet had worshipped Pure Being. Under New England skies the One loomed large, the many jaded. But when the train pushed Westward to the Mississippi, the urge to work, to build, to become grew on Harris never to leave him again. If the soul is in activity—how can one ever find God in anything else? The ultimate being mirrors itself forever in whatever happiness the mortal being delights in.

Thus, Harris's God emerged from the *devaloka* and hid among the manifoldness of experience and existence. After all, the Kantian thing-in-itself never could be laid hold of, or if laid hold of, resolved itself into the phenomenal. Still, the logical existence of, Brahman as a unity, a counterpart to the miscellany of our world, could not so easily be parted with, especially not in a keen thinker such as Harris

was. There, Hegel came as a god-send and showed him how both to have the unity without difference and not have it, how to preserve or conserve it.

This discovery and thorough mastery of Hegelian dialectics by Harris was one of the major influences upon American civilization, in the latter part of the last century. There is no danger of over-stating the case. All criticism and consequent clarification of ideas owed their origin to this idea. All the pragmatic vagaries, feelings and "seems-to-me's" could not match the precision and sweep of Hegelian logic.

Everything could be and was interpreted by Harris who now drew men about him who formed the St. Louis Movement, as Hegelian dialectics. The greatest of all these fateful dialectics was the Civil War. The idealism, patriotism and spontaneous response of especially the German element in St. Louis had saved the State for the North and spared it the devastation and demoralization of the States to the East. It was a fratricide such as the *Bhagavad Gītā* pictures it. Had Harris then known the *Gītā* he might have been led to make the comparison. But he read it for the first time not until 1872. Probably no one outside the purely philosophical field studied it as thoroughly as did Harris. Had the reading come earlier, the St. Louis Movement might have taken another turn. As it was, Hegelian philosophy of history had gotten the better of Emersonian largeness.

It was in July, 1865, that Harris met Emerson at Alcott's house. Immediately they found themselves at friendly odds over Goethe, Emerson siding with Margaret Fuller and Eckermann, Harris contending they had done injury to Goethe in presenting only a finite side. The following afternoon saw Harris at Emerson's house who had put off another engagement. Young Harris writes as follows on this interview:

"He made me think that I should not establish a sympathetic relation with him. So I blazed away right and left thinking that I would hit something anyhow. We soon got on to East Indian literature and I asked him whether he had ever seen any place in that literature where self-determination was recognized as the absolute. I said the poem *Brahma* [sic] is capable of two significations—pure being and Spirit. The former is the one meant by the Hindoos. The latter is the development of Socrates and Plato. He took down the *Bhagavat Gītā* [sic] and read some of the pantheistic passages.

(quoted by Cousin and others), 'I am the doubter and the doubt' and the like. I listened. His voice is particularly sweet and manly. A bewitching manner has made him idolized by his friends. I told him I had read the *Vishnu Puraṇa* and the *Hito Padessa* [sic] and the *Sacoontala*, etc., and had studied Sanscrit a little. 'Brave man! Brave man!' said he to the last—I laughed and added, not enough to hurt, it had only been of philological use." (From an unpublished diary.)

This meeting is significant in many respects. At this point in time Harris had already thoroughly mastered and made his own the distinction of "Pure Being" and "Spirit." Why would he have chosen spirit instead of pure being? Harris was despite his idealism a man who had his eyes open to the realities about him. Plato, Goethe, Emerson—they are forgiven if they dwell with the eternal verities. But down below there is work to be done. The genial unconcern of *Brahman* asserting "one to me are fame and shame" simply carried no meaning in St. Louis atmosphere; it lacked the antithesis which Harris needed to carry out his crusading for better education, more culture and a vital religion in a frontier civilization that could absorb without being gorged.

Most significantly, Emerson guided Harris, as so many others, to the *Bhagavad Gītā* which the youth up to that time had overlooked in his omnivorous reading. But, as mentioned, it was not until 7 years later that he applied himself with utter attention and sympathetic absorption to this Song. He read it in Charles Wilkins's translation. "The mastery of this small volume alone," he writes in *The Western* for 1875 (p. 635), "will set one fairly afloat with sail, rudder and compass upon the boundless ocean of East Indian literature." Impatiently he put in big letters over two of the pages of Thompson's Introduction: "unmitigated Twaddle." All annotations show understanding and a profound desire to interpret correctly. The adolescent enthusiasm for "Pure Being" crops out unmistakably. He puts a grand finale to his article on "Oriental Philosophy and the *Bhagavad Gītā*" by citing Dante's portrayal of the path from *Inferno* through *Purgatorio* to *Paradiso*, the vision of the *Erdgeist* in Goethe's *Faust* and Emerson's "*Brahma*." The *Bhagavad Gītā* had successfully invaded the Mississippi valley at last.

Wider and wider became the circle of Harris's influence. By 1875 already his first copy of the *Gītā* was loaned out and he acquired Thompson's translation in exchange. In contrast with his general

description of Indian philosophy, the *Gītā* always received his sympathetic treatment. To what extent Emerson is to be credited with that is not certain, but both the person and genius of this bard were highly respected by Harris. When he came to Concord and established with Alcott the School of Philosophy, Emerson came and listened to his lectures. But as the Poet's mind had already taken refuge in his Elysium, so had Harris domesticated himself in logic. Whatever meaning transcendentalism had carried, it became depreciated by the practical idealism of the newcomer. The *Bhagavad Gītā* was read much, to be sure, in Concord even between 1880 and 1890, but not with the abandonment to pure being. It was to Spirit, Hegel's *Weltgeist*, a quasi-theological concept that one bowed to, while *Brahman* had to be satisfied to become the negative side of the universal, philosophical, cultural and historical dialectic.

Somewhere in this interpretation there was a concession to temporal expediencies, however honestly and stolidly Harris was convinced of the absolute correctness of his views. The St. Louis Movement ebbed away, as even the strongest tidal wave must. The *Bhagavad Gītā* also had its place in it, a larger one than some of us perhaps are willing to concede. For Harris was seen and heard at all the major educational conventions and many of the minor ones throughout the country ; he wrote for hundreds of publications and talked to thousands most intimately. And in all this the pivot of his world-view could unmistakably be discerned in Hegelian dialectic, the most convenient and picturesque illustration of which, for Harris, was ever the negative unity of Brahmanical philosophy at war with positive Christianity. Who knows how many times his emphatic statements may have driven the sceptic into the arms of that philosophy which he thought reason would vanquish?

IS PSYCHO-ANALYTIC PROCEDURE SCIENTIFIC ?*

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AMONG those cultured persons and fashionable men and women who prefer to discuss the subject of psycho-analysis in their drawing room conversations, three distinctly different attitudes are noticeable. There are some who are dogmatic about the truths discovered by it, and would not hear anything against it. Some others are patronisingly indulgent. They convey the impression that they are fully aware of its terrible shortcomings but are prepared notwithstanding to pat it on the back. The third attitude is one of uncompromising hostility. Needless to mention that many incorrect ideas about the topic are cherished by these well-meaning members of society. I shall refer here to one such misconception which unfortunately seems to be cherished also by those who are expected to know better. It concerns itself with the question of the scientific nature of psycho-analysis.

It is said that psycho-analysis fails to fulfil the demands of an exact science, and need not therefore be taken with any seriousness. The objection follows from two tacitly assumed contentions. It is held, in the first place, that a science must necessarily have a whole laboratory full of apparatus, *e.g.*, elaborate electrical devices, fine measuring scales, jars, bottles, acids and cells, burners, coloured rays of light, wires, rods, switches, signals and what-nots, in order to maintain the uniqueness of its character. In the second place, it is maintained that the chief method of science is the experimental method, and therefore scientific truths are always demonstrable. As none of these prerequisites are found in psycho-analysis, the latter cannot claim to have a scientific status. My thesis, however, is that both the above-mentioned assumptions are unjustified, and based on an exaggerated conception of scientific procedure. When science first emancipated itself from theology and ceased to be designated as natural philosophy, the glamour of technique and mechanical appliances at

* Summary of a paper read at the Freud Commemoration meeting held at the Laboratory of Psychology, Science College, Calcutta, December 18, 1939.

once dazzled all its followers. Ever since that time, scientists have loved to gibe and scoff at the philosophers who have only one invisible and crude apparatus of their own, namely, Thought, and who know only one method of approach to all problems and mysteries of nature, namely, the elaboration of that thought in the processes of reasoning. At an age when the temper of the scientists ran on lines described above, it was but natural to expect that the evaluation of the scientific character of a particular study would be based on the nature, number and complexity of appliances employed in it. It is no wonder therefore that an adverse judgment should be pronounced in the question of the scientific nature of psycho-analysis. But the first stage of glamour seems to be passing away now, and well-renowned scientists are beginning to realise that all the glittering appliances themselves are not the gold in science. What are to be considered as essential requisites in any scientific investigation are a systematic observation of facts, and second, starting from these observed facts, reasoning forward with absolute disinterestedness to wherever such reasoning may lead to. The conclusions arrived at should be subjected to the utmost rigours of critical procedure, and put to severe tests of crucial facts. If the factual tests confirm the conclusions, no one who is honest about the scientific bent of his mind is at liberty to reject them, however discordant they might be with his cherished notions, and however unpalatable to his ethical temperament. Learning to accept disinterestedly facts just as they are—a dispassionate realism as one may perhaps call it—is one of the essential ingredients that go to make up the mind of a scientist.

As regards apparatus and appliances, they are only helpful accessories, not indispensable requisites, of a scientific investigation. Observation of facts consisting of hypothesis and conclusions may certainly be facilitated by the use of instruments. And what is an experiment? It is, as any first year student of science knows, only observation under controllable conditions. It has its obvious limitations, which, I think, need not be elaborated in such an assembly as this. One cannot observe the solar eclipse at his will, but has got to wait till the phenomenon actually happens. That the truths of science are demonstrable is very true, but one must remember that the word 'demonstrable' might mean 'perceptible to the senses' or might be shown to follow necessarily from the premises like the propositions in Euclidian geometry with Q. E. D. at the end.

If all these statements be true, the objection that psycho-analytic procedure is not scientific, utterly defeats itself. In one sense it may be said, however paradoxical it may sound, that only philosophy and mathematics which deal with abstract conceptions can strictly be called sciences. So long as one concerns oneself in one's imagination with points which have positions but no magnitude, with lines which have length but no breadth, with the Absolute and the *Nirguna*, the arguments, constructions and deductions are all realised to be true statements following necessarily from the premises. They are absolute scientific truths. But as soon as one plots a point on paper and draws a line, or seeks to express in words the absolute, limitations at once set in which are bound to affect adversely the purity of the conclusions. You cannot draw a line which has length but no breadth, however diligently you may try, and thus with concrete materials you can never satisfy the ideal demands of science. The nature of the material inevitably imposes restrictions which have got to be abided by. We accept these limitations in the case of physical sciences but tend to lose our patience whenever mental sciences attempt to draw our attention to certain inevitable limitations of their science. Such impatience, however, only disturbs the equanimity of the observer's mind and does not take away the scientific character of the studies in the domain of the mind. Let it be remembered that these studies have something for their object, which can never be directly touched, tasted, seen or heard, and therefore differs in essence from the object studied by the physical sciences. Nevertheless all of us, the objecting scientists included, take the phenomenal existence of this object for granted. From the epistemological point of view it may perhaps be stated that the attributes which the scientists confer on things which they study and which according to them give a distinctive character to concrete physical things, may not really lie in the things themselves, but may just as much be the products of their own imagination as the phantasies of the poets certainly are. Therefore there seems to exist as much ground for rejecting the scientific character of the physical sciences too as for refusing to accord a scientific status to the mental sciences.

We need not, however, go so far. It may easily be shown that psycho-analysis manifests all the essential characteristics of scientific investigation. Freud has not urged any fact to be recognised which he has not observed a large number of times in his patients, and

any truth to be accepted, which has not been constantly verified by logic as well as by facts. Whenever there has been any conflict between logic and fact, he has unhesitatingly recognised the fact and has sought for further evidences which would help remove the discrepancies. The discoveries that he made, were so startling even to himself that he never ventured to lay down any conclusion unless by repeated observations and verification he was sure of their underlying truth. Experimental verification is not possible in all cases. But the truths of psycho-analysis may in time to come stand that test too if the experiments conducted in our laboratory here and by others abroad be further continued.

If the result anticipated on the basis of an hypothesis is actually seen to happen in a large number of cases, surely that amounts to a verification of the hypothesis. I may here refer to the statistics recently collected of the cures effected by the psycho-analytical procedure. It tells in its own way how amply the psycho-analytical doctrines are verified.

It seems Freud's critics often lose sight of the fact that Freud himself was a scientist of no mean order and had already made notable contributions in the domain of Comparative Anatomy, Physiology, etc., before he happened to pass on to the sphere of the mind and pursue his researches there. What reason is there to assume, because a scientist no longer limits his investigation in the region of the tangible, he must necessarily rid himself of all the training that he had so far received and the tradition in which he had so long been brought up? "Would it be possible for him to do so even if he had wished? The fact that Freud was a scientist may not be a *priori* proof of the scientific nature of psycho-analysis, but it is a point certainly worth remembering when evaluating his contributions to psychology.

Judged therefore by all standards, psycho-analysis stands vindicated as a scientific doctrine. While some admittedly speculative ideas of Freud may or may not be incorporated in future in the body of the psycho-analytic theory, the foundations of the theory have been firmly laid and the ground floor securely built on that solid foundation. That is what Freud achieved in his lifetime. It remains for future analysis to complete the structure.

I cannot close this short account without referring to one eminently distinctive characteristic of Freud.—I mean his absolute disinterested-

ness. He seems to me to have risen like our *Rishis* of the ancient times—above himself—and to have pursued his investigations in the interest of truth and truth only. Anyone who has read his work cannot fail to be struck by the absolutely impartial outlook that he maintained throughout on the questions that he dealt with. Needless to mention that the questions treated by him were all of them of the most intimate and personal nature, relating to our sexual life, religious corrections, hatred, jealousy, etc. But the singular disinterestedness that he displayed and the extremely objective attitude that he manifested can hardly, I think, be paralleled in the history of science. If only his opponents could train themselves to cultivate and maintain such attitude—that is the one idea which constantly recurs to me whenever I peruse the volumes of Freud and then pass on to the writings of his critics. If anyone suffering from Freudophobia ever happens to consult me regarding his malady, the one and only prescription that I would make for him in all seriousness would be “repeated doses of Freud’s writings.” Nothing else would help to remove effectively the many misgivings in his mind as frequent references to the writings of the master himself.

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING IN BENGAL*

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“SIR, which market in Calcutta you are in charge of ?” was a question put me by one who happened to overhear that I had some thing to do with marketing. On another occasion when I went to a Hostel to fix up a room for a visiting friend, the Secretary, on hearing that I was a Marketing Officer, and before learning the object of my visit, enquired what had I to sell, or perhaps I had gone there to book orders for supplies of provision.

Both of them were only partially correct and touched just the fringe of the subject. With every new innovation, a certain amount of curiosity is naturally aroused and until it is satisfied, guesses and conjectures of all kinds float about with an amount of assurance depending upon the status of their author. Similarly, the subject of Marketing is a new one and people are asking each other as to *what it is*.

Before I take a dip into the Marketing Ocean with you, it seems necessary to narrate briefly the events that led to its genesis.

On the 23rd day of April, 1926, the Royal Command appointing a Royal Commission on Agriculture was signed “to examine and report on the present conditions of agriculture and rural economy in British India and to make recommendations for the improvement of agriculture and the promotion of the welfare and prosperity of the rural population ; in particular to investigate, among other things, the existing methods of transport and marketing of agricultural produce and stock.”

The Commission assembled at Simla six months later, on the 11th October, 1926, and after touring India during two cold weathers, signed their Report on the 14th April, 1928, *i.e.*, 2 years after the signing of the Royal Command.

The Report extends over 755 pages split up into 21 chapters, and in Chapter IX, they discuss Communications and Marketing, in paragraph 320 of which they state :—

* A lecture at the Rotary Club, Calcutta.

“ The Agricultural Departments in India have done much to improve the quality and to increase the quantity of the cultivator's outturn ; but it cannot be said that they have been able to give him substantial help in securing the best possible financial return for his improved quality and his increased outturn. Except to a limited extent, where improved quality is concerned, they have regarded the problems connected with the marketing of his produce as outside their purview. His interests have, therefore, in the main, been left to the free play of economic forces and they have suffered in the process. For he is an infinitely small unit as compared with distributors and with the consumers of his produce who, in their respective fields, become more highly organised and more strongly consolidated. It is in their interest to secure from the producer the raw material they handle or acquire at the lowest possible price. Marketing is the sole business of the distributor whereas, from the point of view of the cultivator, it is apt to be regarded as subsidiary to production.”

“ That abuses exist is, however, beyond dispute. For instance, when the primary collector, who acts also as a moneylender, succeeds in getting the cultivator into his grip, he is apt to use his advantage ruthlessly. Some of the marketing practices that obtain in the markets proper amount to nothing less than theft. Bad communications and chaotic conditions of marketing encourage a superfluity of middlemen. Apart from the organisation of producers for the sale of produce, the most effective means of removing unnecessary middlemen are the provision of good roads and the establishment of a sufficient number of well regulated markets, easy of access to the cultivator. For the framing of a sound and comprehensive policy for improvement in marketing, exact knowledge of the methods of distribution applicable to any class of produce, including collection, storage, transport, and, where it exists, manipulation, together with a detailed analysis of the price structure at every stage in the operation is essential.”

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, a body constituted under the recommendations of the Royal Commission, took up the question of organising a Marketing Department to go through the whole question. Accordingly, an officer, later designated as the Agricultural Marketing Advisor to the Government of India, was appointed in April, 1934. He prepared a programme of work to be undertaken by the Government of India in collaboration with the Provincial Governments. This work, undertaken from the beginning of 1935, and

financed mostly by the Government of India for five years, was divided into three main divisions, namely,

- (1) Investigation, or Survey work ;
- (2) Work on Grading and Standardisation ; and
- (3) Development work.

Survey work consists of making thorough investigations into Production, Import, Export, Handling and Transport, Storage, Wholesale and Retail Prices and the spread of the Consumer's Rupee among the producer and other agencies, Marketing Practices and Charges, and Weights and Measures. Investigations have so far been completed in Bengal in respect of 26 crops and commodities, including Paddy and Rice, Wheat, Barley, Maize, Mustard, Linseed, Coconuts, Groundnuts, Gram, Cattle, Milk, Hides and Skins, Sheep and Goats, Ghee and Butter, Mangoes, Plantains and Pineapples, Oranges, Tobacco, Coffee and Eggs, besides the study of Co-operative Marketing and Markets and Fairs in Bengal.

It was arranged that all Provincial Reports would be consolidated and then published on an All-India basis. Accordingly, All-India Reports on the marketing of Wheat, Linseed and Cold Storage have so far been published. Other reports are in the course of issue or under preparation.

Coming to the work on *Grading and Standardisation*, it has been realised that where several grades are recognised by the trade for export purposes, the producer does not get the benefit for the quality of his produce. He is made to sell in bulk. Hides are sold while on the animal's back. Eggs are purchased by the middlemen by the hundred, irrespective of the quality or size. The assortment or standards of jute are not known to the producer. Rice and Oilseeds are graded after they reach the Shipper. It is believed that if the grades were to be simplified and the producer advised as to the demands of the trade and the marketing done on those grades right from the producer's end, he would get better return. Realising this, an Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act, 1937, was passed by the Central Assembly. It may be noted that this is only a permissive and not a compulsory Act. It lays down simple grades for Hides and Skins, Tobacco, Grapes, Oranges, and Eggs, to which Atta and Ghee were later added.

Accordingly, grading of Hides, Oranges and Eggs has been taken up in Bengal. Graded Ghee is also now available in this province. The stamp of "Agmark" over each graded article stands for freshness and purity. Rigid tests are laid down to enforce these, and unauthorised grading or wrong grading have been provided for and penalised.

Grading and Standardisation work, however, is not restricted to the laying down and working out of the standard grades for certain crops and commodities. It also comprises of the standardising of the Contract terms under which trade in heavy staple crops, such as Rice, Wheat, Linseed, etc., is done. This is a most important work as all buying, particularly for export purposes, must be done according to definite terms to be agreed upon by both parties. Moreover, in order that profits and losses over a period in the future be controlled, trading in Futures has to be resorted to. It is asserted in certain quarters that trading in Futures is one form of gambling and, perhaps, this is true to some extent if it assumes a condition of paper transaction only without the provision of actual deliveries. It is also true that in order to assure a certain amount of steady profit, or to avoid the risk of heavy losses owing to abrupt market fluctuations or failure of crops, trading in Futures has become an essential and complicated form of trading. The standardisation of Contract terms also makes price quotations at different markets at the same time, or in the same market over a long period of time, comparable. It facilitates inter-trading and makes the machinery of distribution more efficient generally.

I may mention here that as a result of deliberations between the Marketing Department and the trade, complete harmony and uniformity has been achieved in the standardisation of Contract terms in the Wheat and Linseed trade and these have been accepted as the bases for all Future trading in respect of transactions for May, 1939 deliveries.

We now come to the third and the last function of the Marketing Section, namely *Development*, which follows as a natural sequence to Investigation and Grading work. Development work may be taken as the ultimate goal, for unless this is undertaken, the Investigation and Grading in themselves do not go very far in helping the producer, which is the sole object of this work.

I may briefly describe the branches of Development work which are aimed at and would be attempted in course of time :—

Firstly, *Publicity*. The Marketing Section would serve as a Clearing House for information relating to the Marketing of agricultural crops and commodities. In fact, enquiries have already started pouring in, and are being attended to, in respect of prices, possible markets, names and addresses of wholesale merchants handling particular commodities, etc.

Secondly, helping the cultivator in marketing his produce in the best market, by providing him all information and facilities.

Thirdly, Organisation of corporate bodies of producers in co-ordination with the Co-operative Department or otherwise.

Fourthly, Propaganda by means of regular Radio Broadcasts, Periodic Bulletins, Newspapers or special telegraphic communication would be a useful function.

Fifthly, *Weights and Measures*. This is a delicate subject which is receiving the attention it deserves. It is no secret that the interested persons have given currency to an abnormal range of weights with the only object of defrauding the producer of the rightful value of his produce. In any scheme of improvement of marketing, therefore, due attention must be paid to this phase of the problem. Under the Government of India Act, 1935, however, the laying down of the standards, weights and measures is a Central subject and after a Central Legislative Assembly Act specifying the units of weights and measures has been passed, the Provincial legislatures can have their own Acts for applying those standards in their respective provinces. The subject is under the consideration of the Government and I understand a Central Act is in the making.

Sixthly and lastly, perhaps the most important function of the Marketing Section would be the regulation of Markets and Market Charges in Bengal. This was visualised by the Royal Commission. Producers are daily losing lakhs of Rupees in the shape of Market Charges, in one form or another, deducted from their dues, remorselessly and against their will, against which they have absolutely no redress. Those deductions take the form of Sample ; Dhalta or excess weight per maund ; Britti or Iswar-Britti, *i.e.*, charity ; Baisari, *i.e.*, a quantity of the produce kept on the ground to sit upon ; Koyali and Kabari, *i.e.*, weighing and Menials' charge ; Mangon or something begged ; Dudh-Khawa, or something to buy milk for the buyers' children ; Hath-tola, or something which the buyer may lift with his own hands as a favour brokerage besides a percentage deducted as

refraction in lieu of dust, dirt, water or other impurities which may or may not exist. Most of these charges or deductions are illegal; but the position is that they cannot be prohibited except through an Act. Acts for the establishment of regulated Markets, the licensing of brokers, buyers and other operatives in the market, the regulation of weights to be used in these markets, the prohibition of all deductions except those in respect of certain services rendered, have been passed and are in force in the Central Provinces, Bombay, Madras and Hyderabad State for some time. An Act on similar lines has recently been passed in the Punjab and a Bill is under the consideration of the Government of Bengal also.

In conclusion, I may say that as the economic depression, through which the world has just emerged, amply demonstrated, the prosperity and well-being of all trades and professions depends on the prosperity and well-being of the cultivator. It should, therefore, be the sincere effort of every one to see that the cultivator gets a fair value for his produce. The direct effect of a rise or fall in prices of agricultural produce is more vividly marked in the country rather than in urban areas. The doctors, the lawyers, minor tradesmen, the Post-Office, the Railway and every one starves if the cultivator does not get a reasonable price for what he has produced. Naturally, if he does not earn, he cannot pay. Rightly did the Royal Agricultural Commission point out, therefore, that the time was ripe that the Government studied the problems connected with the marketing of agricultural produce and laid down a line of action whereby the producer was saved from the wiles of clever middlemen and got a due share of the consumer's buying price. This then is the aim and object of the Marketing Section of the Agricultural Department in Bengal.

THE BASIS OF ULTIMATE VALUES

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THE conception of value is receiving such wide attention in contemporary philosophy that no world-view can be credited with constructive thoroughness which fails to offer some definite theory of values in accordance with its general philosophic principles. The philosophy of values is frequently equated with the whole of philosophy, so much so, that the metaphysical basis of values is either ignored or arbitrarily assumed. The present paper aims at an explication of the metaphysical presuppositions of values. It does not deal with the problems and laws of valuation in general, as that aspect of the matter has received more than sufficient discussion by great thinkers of the present generation, like Perry, Urban, and Hartmann. It arbitrarily assumes that the traditional trinity of ultimate values, Truth, Beauty and Goodness, constitutes the values, whose philosophic foundations it proposes to discover and formulate. Consequently three questions are left unanswered from the beginning to the end: (1) Are values objective or subjective or both or neither? (2) Do all the three values, Truth, Beauty and Goodness constitute 'the ultimate values'? And if so, do they exhaust or form a part of them? (3) Finally, what is their inter-relation and relative importance?

We may define value as that for which human beings 'ought' to have concern. They are factors in our life which render it significant. Life at its best is a progressive realisation of these 'ultimate values.' Now, what is the objective basis or metaphysical implication of the possibility of Truth, Beauty and Goodness? Does the acceptance of the supremacy of these spiritual values involves any definite view as to the nature of ultimate Reality? This is the essential issue which we hope to face in this essay. Let us begin with Truth.

TRUTH

Truth is the ideal of the mind in its efforts to understand the universe. It is the attribute neither of the objective universe nor of the subject conceived as an inactive spectator.

It characterizes the acts of mind in which it is engaged in comprehending Reality. Those acts which issue from the mind's 'nisus' to apprehend the nature of existence, are known as judgments. Truth is the quality of ideal judgments, judgments through which the mind records for itself faithfully the nature of the objective world.

Every judgment consists of two factors, a subject and a predicate, a 'That' and a 'What,' an existence and a content. This analysis becomes intelligible as we invariably find in every judgment some presentation to which some character is ascribed by the judgment. Now the existential status of these two elements of judgment admits of two contradictory statements: (1) Both the subject and the predicate are purely ideal in nature, images presented in the mind. (2) Both of them are absolutely real, 'out there' in the world of facts. Both these positions are faulty. We shall examine them in some detail

(1) If all the judgments that we frame are absolutely mental in nature, to determine that they are so, lies beyond our powers. The definite assertion that they are merely ideal, implies the knowledge of the contrast between the real and the ideal. But such knowledge is impossible, as all knowledge is confined to the ideal. As the distinction cannot be grasped, the proposition that the 'That' and the 'What' of judgment are both ideal, has no valid foundation.

(2) The statement that both the subject and the predicate are real, does not recognise the problem of error. Error is an ideal misconstruction of Reality. It is positing as real what is not real. Some thinkers who are eager to preserve the realistic account of judgments, explain error as the cognition of an unreal relation between real entities. But in so far as the erroneous judgment posits an unreal relation, it involves an ideal element.

Hence, we come to the conclusion that in every judgment there must be contact between Reality and an ideal element.

Now the question is to decide as to which, between the subject and the predicate, is real and which is ideal.

The principle, whose application should solve the riddle, is that 'that factor in judgment is ideal which stands for interference in error and gets sublated or supplemented in the correcting judgment.'

In the typical instance of erroneous cognition 'it is a snake,' when the correcting judgment 'no, it is only a rope' arises, we see that the subject 'it' remains unchanged. It means that the subject is not misconstructed in error and is not altered, supplemented or cancelled in

the correcting judgment. It is the aspect of 'What' that stands contradicted and in which the correcting assertion makes a substitution. In principle, the ideal element in judgment is posited just to account for error. Therefore the factor that is affected in error is ideal in nature. Hence the ideal content in judgment must be the predicate.

Thus we come to idealist definition of judgment as 'the reference of an ideal content to a subject in Reality.' It is to the judgment so defined that the attribute of Truth should belong.

Next we have to analyse the meaning and discover the criterion of Truth. The plain and ultimately sound interpretation of the concept of Truth is that it is the perfect apprehension of Reality, the vision of things as they are, and the revelation of being as such. The problem of Truth comes down upon us with all its weight only when we take up the question of its criterion. The naïve common-sense idea is that correspondence with facts is the test of Truth. But the fundamental difficulty as to how minds confined to their thoughts can have access to facts independent of thoughts and compare thoughts and facts, stares us in the face. As pure reality uncontaminated by thought is beyond centres of thought, such centres can never observe the correspondence or its absence between their thoughts and the nature of Reality. Hence the correspondence criterion is starkly indefensible in theory and unworkable in practice. The pragmatic test of practical utility and insistence on the instrumental value of Truth, freed from the exuberant irrelevance of some of its advocates, boils down to the criterion of Truth as consistency in experience. It is also vindication of a judgment on the strength of non-contradiction and harmony in experience. The theory of Truth as a distinct quality of objective entities ignores the basic nature of Truth as pertaining to a mind engaged in understanding Reality. We cannot also regard as the mark of Truth any specific quality possessed by all judgments as that position cannot resolve conflicts of thought. Nor can we resort to the contention that the criterion of Truth is a quality possessed by true judgments as the whole position would be a cowardly retreat before the demand for a criterion. On the whole the realistic definition of truth is more mystical than what the idealist view has ever been.

Then the doctrine that the criterion of Truth is consistent predication, remains to be considered. Its strength lies in the fact that

it can be contradicted only on the assumption of its validity. If we deny the criterion on the ground that there are incoherent truths and coherent errors, we are denying it because of its failure to stand the test of consistency. Consistency is not mere non-contradiction as that can be due to the absence of the possibilities of contradiction. A judgment with that kind of non-contradiction can at best have only doubtful validity and never genuine Truth. Truth must include and triumph over the possible grounds of contradiction. Then coherence, considered as the test of Truth, means the confirmation of the predication of a judgment, whose truth is in question, by a system or order of experience. It is positive intellectual harmony that a thought exhibits with a system of thoughts that invests it with the value of Truth. Harmony is not mere absence of collision but it is the vital bond of pervading unity.

Now, in the light of the view of judgment we have propounded and the view of Truth as harmonious predication, we have to enquire into the ontological implications of the possibility of Truth.

Reality is the subject of all judgments. So, Truth, as coherent judgment is a predication of Reality. It is no phenomenal arrangement with no roots in the factual world. Hence in examining the metaphysical basis of Truth we are not making a transcendental use of empirical categories. The notion of Truth as harmonious predication involves certain principles with regard to the character of the 'That' of which it is affirmed.

1. The 'That' of a true proposition cannot be a bare particular. If it is a bare particular, it cannot enter, as it should, into a diversity of concurrent cognitive situations. An entire system of judgments or a whole order of experiences, which confirms the claim to truth of a particular proposition, must be about the subject of that proposition itself. It must make entry into all such occasions of experience, if they should cohere in their affirmations about it. For a bare particular, or an absolutely unique entity, such an entry is a complete impossibility.

2. The subject of a true judgment cannot be a finite existent. If it is a finite real, the area of relevant experience in which harmony is to be elicited, is limited. The harmony of affirmations, in a limited area of experience cannot be judged unequivocally to be the proof of the truth of any judgment. There always remains, in that case, the ultimate possibility that the harmony might have disappeared

if the relevant system of experience was not so limited. The harmony in experience may indicate the restriction by which it is conditioned without revealing any truth. It is not impossible to believe that if the category in question was not finite and therefore experience about it was not a finite system, the harmony now accomplished in it would have disappeared. Hence no finite intellectual harmony can reveal genuine truth, as it is infested by an inherent scepticism. Therefore the subject of a true judgment cannot be a finite order of existence. We see that Reality, of which Truth is a consistent predication of ideal contents, cannot be a unique atom of being, a bare point, a perishing particular. It is also inconceivable that it can be a finite principle, leading to the final philosophic theory that Reality is an aggregate of finite existents. We can neither be metaphysical atomists nor pluralists. The basic conditions of Truth itself repudiate such possibilities. Reality as the subject of Truth is infinite, all-inclusive and absolute.

5. Such infinite Reality cannot be non-spiritual in its nature. If it is not a centre of experience, Truth cannot have it as its subject. Truth implies that certain ideal contents have objectivity. Otherwise there is no true judgment. Objectivity means that the ideal contents which the mind posits as characterizing reality do characterize it exactly as the mind posits. Truth means an undistorted reproduction of Reality for a mind. Now the all-important issue is: How can a non-mental Reality possess a character exactly identical with that which is cognized by a mind? How can the ideal content woven into the texture of a spiritual life, into a living consciousness, maintain absolute self-identity in Reality outside? How can the predicate, which is an organic member of an integral intelligence, be there in existence divorced from its membership in that totality? Does a part participating in the vital unity of a whole, determining it and determined by it, retain its identity absolutely when deprived of its living participation in the life of the whole? The only logical answer is that Reality itself is a spirit and in true thinking our minds only re-think the thoughts of that spirit positing ideal contents exactly as posited by it. The alternatives to this position are that (1) judgment does not involve an ideal content, or (2) such contents do not objectively qualify Reality. The first alternative makes error unaccountable and the second lands us in absolute agnosticism. As both are ultimately self-contradictory standpoints, we are constrained,

by the nature of the situation, to look upon Absolute Reality, of which Truth is consistent predication, as a spirit. If there is no fatal flaw in the course of our reasoning this conclusion is inevitable. If our theories of judgment and truth are not fundamentally defective, the view of ultimate Reality as Infinite Consciousness cannot be escaped without self-contradiction.

So far, then, we have laboured to get glimpses of the metaphysical grounds of the value of Truth. We may try a similar analysis with regard to the value of Goodness.

GOODNESS

Goodness is an attribute of volition. An act of volition possesses this quality if it aims at the realisation of ends that are worth realising, according to the determination of reason. Virtue is rational willing. When our volition pursues a rationally conceived system of ideals, we are realising the value of Goodness.

The essence of the moral value is that it involves an assertion of human personality against irrational tendencies and automatic subsistence. The power of will and reason to take the reins over human life is definitely implied by morality. In so far as moral life implies the supremacy of reason over our course life it subscribes to the metaphysical commitments of intellectual life that we have so far analysed. In addition to that implication, can we draw out any presupposition as to the character of Reality, on which we can demonstrate morality to be ultimately based?

1. Morality primarily postulates that human nature can be moralized. This is a tremendous assumption in view of the immense complexities of human psychology. That we can rationally control our lives, should be the cardinal faith of a moralist. Such possibility of self-determination in subordination to our vision of values is what is meant by the principle of freedom.

2. It further postulates that the organic instruments of our lives which condition our self-realization, modify the principle of freedom, if they are not conceived as the results of some previous exercise of freedom on our part. In other words, some form of the doctrine of *karma* is a necessity for an ethical view of life to supplement the postulate of freedom.

3. Morality, in the social situation, means the self-realization of individuals as the integral members of a social organism in such a

way that in the progress of each is implicated the necessity for the progress of all. It is the growing actualization of the general will, the progressive translation of the abiding self or the common self of society into the world of social facts. Such a notion of social morality implies that human nature is such that social harmony and common good are realizable by it. This again is a significant postulate of morality.

These are some of the major principles on which morality is based. If the cosmic process is diametrically at enmity with the moral process, these essential grounds of morality would be extrinsic to the nature of Reality and consequently morality becomes an illusion. Even then the world cannot be wholly a-moral, for, the relation between morality and these conditions can be expressed in the form of a hypothetical proposition and even the hypothetical judgment is ultimately predicated by Reality.

If, on the contrary, the roots of moral life, freedom, *karma* and the social capability of man, are not annulled but contained in Reality as facts of existence, then the world can no longer be alien to morality. Goodness will then have an 'internal relation' and intimate relevance to the universe. How can these conditions of moral life, which are integrally related to a consciousness of moral values and which are the *ratio essendi* of goodness, while goodness is the *ratio cognoscendi* of these, be there in Reality, disconnected from the ethical process? When it is in their nature to be related to a moral consciousness and an ethical struggle, it is definitely irrational to affirm their existence in Reality without conceding the implication that Reality is also a moral consciousness. Either the world is the expression of a universal ethical spirit, or the roots of morality do not exist in Reality as they are implied by morality and therefore the moral process is an absolute illusion.

The grounds of the moral development of an individual, which can enter as necessary elements into that course of a spirit's self-evolution, cannot have a cosmic status and objective being without the sublation of their fundamental nature itself, unless there be a 'cosmic envisagement' of the ideal of such perfection. The self-realization of a moral being is impossible if it is not based on the teleology of the universe itself. This then is the conclusion of our argument; morality to be possible, requires that the world should be a 'moral order,' an order which is the expression and manifestation

of a universal ethical consciousness. If it were not so, it cannot possess factors which can function as necessary elements in the moral process. The central principle of the argument is that the elements of a system of existence cannot exist in any other system except on the basis of an ultimate identity of structure. Such a conception of Reality as a 'moral order' is the metaphysical pre-supposition of the moral value.

BEAUTY

The nature of Aesthetic value eludes clear definition and distinct analysis. It is certainly not due to the failure of philosophers to tackle the issue. The intrinsic difficulty of translating a rich and vivid experience into clear and distinct conceptual forms prevents the success of rational investigation. If we bear in mind the inability of mystics to give intelligible expression to the concrete experiences they live through, the situation in the analysis of beauty can be easily grasped. The distance in these cases between the empirical and the philosophical point of view is not easily covered. The seer of beauty has no keen urge to dissect and define his living visions and the analytic intellect of the student of aesthetics moves often in the void as he lacks fresh and concrete data in his own personal experience. Conception without perception is empty, though, in this case, perception without conception is not blind.

But a philosophy of values blunders into a grave error of omission, if it does not pursue its enquiry into the realm of beauty. We can consider the metaphysical basis of beauty after a preliminary statement of the general conditions of aesthetic experience.

1. We must recognise the first characteristic of beauty that Hegel emphasized. It must have a *sensuous* form. We might have religious revelation without appeal to the sensory basis. We might dispense with the perceptible basis in any other type of experience. But as far as beauty is concerned the sensory form is a fundamental condition.

2. The second essential feature of beauty is that it is not universal in its visitations. It does not become an object of contemplation to all observers irrespective of their spiritual powers. The sensuous form should be acted upon by the 'shaping spirit of imagination' to reveal its treasures of delight. An experience of aesthetic

significance without an active exercise of creative imagination by the observer is never a possibility. The mind must read the significance of things with constructive effort. It is the fairy touch of the artist's mind that moulds three sounds into not a fourth sound but a star. What a cloud can mean to a creative soul is what the Indian poet so richly portrayed. For a mind devoid of such aesthetic fecundity, there is no beauty on earth or in heaven. Only he 'who hath shall receive.'

(3) There is another abiding characteristic of all experience of beauty in nature, that is pregnant with implication for the present discussion. All the observers of beauty in nature feel the objective existence of beauty even apart from their experience of it. They believe that they do not create it but only re-create it to themselves. All their imagination is employed even in such re-creation as in the case of the contemplation of artistic beauty. The depth of such affirmation of the objectivity of beauty is in direct proportion to the intensity of aesthetic experience. The more one is within such experience, the more he posits its contents outside its subjective circle.

Such an affirmation found its first magnificent expression in the *Symposium* of Plato. For him there is an absolute cosmic beauty, of which our experiences reveal only parts. A similar conception is elaborated in the *Taittiriya Upanishad*, for which the central fact of the universe is *Ananda*, and we experience parts of it in our best and most blessed moments. For Aristotle, poetic truth is higher than historic truth. Beauty is more real than the reality of the sub-aesthetic level. For Hegel beauty heightens the reality of appearances and thus possesses indubitable objectivity. Wordsworth thinks of a 'wise passiveness' as the right mood to receive beauty. He thus implies its factual character. Coleridge speaks of beauty as the 'Eternal Language' in which 'God teaches Himself in all and all things in Himself.' Shelley speaks of the poet as creating 'forms more living than living men.' Browning in his *Fra Lippo Lippi* works out a sustained vindication of the cosmic significance of beauty: 'And God made it all.' Keats raises this ultimate question in the last line of his *Ode to Nightingale*: 'Fled is that music—do I wake or sleep?' Is the day-to-day world of solid facts the reality?—or is the glorious vision of beauty the road to reality? Moved as he was by the logic of his all-absorbing love of the principle of beauty,

he set forth his basic conviction: 'Beauty is truth, truth beauty.' Such then has been the universal affirmation of the aesthetic consciousness.

Led as we are by these facts of the situation, we are obliged to recognize two determining principles: (1) Beauty is immanent in a creative imagination. (2) In human experience the objectivity of beauty, its existence beyond the creative contemplation of finite subjects, is asserted.

Neither of these guiding ideas can be rejected without violence to the demands of the aesthetic spirit. Beauty ought to be beyond the subjective experience of finite observers and, by its very constitution, it is immanent in a creative mind. The inevitable inference should be that there is a creative imagination at the very heart of the universe which sustains all the glory and radiates all the sunshine that the beauty of our experience partially communicates to us in our brief moments of rare insight. We can avoid this conclusion either by rejecting the objectivity of beauty or by denying the fact of the immanence of beauty in a creative consciousness. But both of them are consequences that conflict with the dictates of experience. Hence we have the affirmation of a cosmic spirit, in whose experience all the grandeur, all the beauty and all the sublimity that enrapture us, find an eternal habitation. The universe is to be conceived as a work of art, into which the creative soul of the cosmic artist is poured in incessant streams.

' An endless fountain of immortal drink,
Pouring unto us from the heaven's brink.'

This is a brief and rough indication of the view of reality that the realization of Truth, Beauty and Goodness logically presupposes. All the three values involve the concept of the universe as a *spiritual system*. The main method of the argument employed throughout has been to show that certain essential elements involved in the process of the realization of these values, must exist in Reality independent of finite experiences. But these factors are by hypothesis ingredients of an order of spiritual existence. To separate them from such an order is to annihilate their nature. Therefore, to maintain them in the universe, independent of the individual subjects without violating the principal law of their being, we are obliged to think of Reality as a spiritual principle. This is the basis of ultimate values.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE METHODS OF TEACHING SCIENCE IN SCHOOLS*

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FOR various reasons Science should be considered as one of the most important subjects of the school curriculum. It is generally pleaded that the teaching of Science in schools should be prized for its cultural, disciplinary and utilitarian values. But the strongest reason why it should get a respectable position in the school curriculum is that the subject is highly interesting to the young mind. Interest, in fact, should be the guiding principle which would determine the subjects that are to be taught in schools. And interest, again, should be considered as the most important factor that would determine the nature of the organisation of instructional materials in schools.

We live in an age of Science. There is, to-day, hardly any field which has not been influenced by it. Science has become, so to say, a force in the modern world for its utilitarian values. But it will be a mistake if we think that its contributions have been only in the field of our material prosperity. Even Philosophy which once fought so shy of Science has now been definitely influenced by it. Works of William James, Henri Bergson and Bertrand Russell amply justify this statement. Science is not a new thing ; its history goes back to the very primitive stage of human existence. Throughout the ages, Science has in some form or other helped us in our march of progress. We now confidently believe that human progress that has been made during the last 500 years is much greater than the progress achieved during the previous 50,000 years. And it is no exaggeration to say that the rapid progress of Science during the last few centuries has been mainly responsible for the bold strides in the progress of our civilization.

Though Science is now taught in our schools we find from experience that it has utterly failed to develop the scientific outlook of

* Paper read at the All-India Educational Conference held in Lucknow in December, 1939.

our children. This can easily be seen from their general lack of initiative to utilize scientific knowledge. Our children feel helpless when they are expected to apply their knowledge of Science to any everyday, useful purpose. To be able to understand scientific truths and to be able to apply knowledge from those truths are two quite different things. Knowledge can never be a power unless it is made a part of our lives. If our children cannot utilize their knowledge it is because they cannot properly assimilate the instructional materials. This serious defect is due more to the faulty methods of approach and procedure in the teaching of Science in our schools than to anything else. Our conventional way of fixing a syllabus for a class is simply to include a portion of the subject. This is a bad beginning; an approach should always be through something in which the children themselves are interested. In teaching HEAT it is far better to begin with the Thermoflask than to come directly to such items as conduction, convection, etc. And it is always possible to come over to actual items of teaching through some everyday object in which children are naturally interested. We are to consider the mental capacity of children at the time of approaching an item.

Children, as a rule, take more interest in things around than they are actually supposed to, and as such there is another important thing in connection with this method of approach. A teacher of science should always select his topic from the actual environment of his children. Through such a topic he can naïvely guide them to the subject matter, so that he may be really effective in his teaching process. Now, environments are different in different localities. A teacher in a big city like Calcutta or Lucknow will do well to teach HEAT through such a topic as the Steam-engine or like machinery but a teacher in a rural school has got to leave such things alone. Here the teacher may take up the case of an ordinary cooking vessel in action in connection with his teaching. In this case the cooking vessel will be found to be more real than items with which children have no real contact. This is a particular concrete case; but the principle can always be applied with advantage in teaching children.

There are various well-known methods of teaching Science in schools. Some of these are evidently sound from the point of view of child Psychology. The general Herbartian steps are eminently suitable for teaching children. But as actual experimentations

are indispensable in the process of learning scientific subjects, other supplementary methods become necessary. The ingenious "heuristic" method can be said to have contributed much to the requirements of the methodology of teaching Science. But this method has its demerits as well ; it is slow and as such we cannot expect to cover a full syllabus mainly through this method. The "concentric" method has got an advantage in allowing the teacher to treat the syllabus by covering the same ground, generally thrice, with a gradual increase of scope and instructional materials every time. At first only the general ideas covering the subject are dealt with, then more facts in addition to those already given are brought in, and, finally, the whole topic due to be taught is treated in the last stage. The "topic" method is also very interesting. In this method a particular topic, and not a portion of the syllabus, is selected, and through this selected topic the required syllabus is covered in an indirect way. For example, if we select the topic SOIL we can bring in and can actually teach such widely different things as Compounds, Mixtures, Absorption, Saturation, Food for plants, Disintegration of rocks, and so on and so forth. Naturally everything will depend upon the power of imagination, and the ability of the teacher to fit in different items of the syllabus to the selected topic.

As already mentioned these are all well-known methods of teaching Science in schools. Most of these methods are sound. But the actual difficulty creeps in, not due to any defect of the methods but due to the unhappy selection of a particular method at a particular stage. Children develop through stages. There are several "milestones" in their life-history. A child of three is virtually different in mentality and disposition from an adolescent of 14 or 15. The scope of this article does not permit a full description of all the different stages of development ; it will be sufficient, however, if we are careful about them in our class-room methods. Obviously, none of the above methods, taken singly, can be successful with children of all ages. What is wanted is a combination of all or a few of the above methods, according to the need of the situation.

It is not the knowledge of Science that is so important ; it is the spirit that comes from such knowledge that counts most. True scientific spirit develops only when the knowledge of science is made a part of life itself. The teacher of Science should see, therefore, that a strong motivation is created in the class and that his students

find interest in what they are set to learn. It is for this reason that the teacher should take care of many other things which may seem to have little or no connection with the actual methods of teaching. Under this category comes the question of fitting the Laboratory neatly, not necessarily with costly appliances, and of decorating the class-room artistically with suitable charts, diagrams and pictures. An arrangement for running water for the Laboratory can be made by fixing a bucket full of water to a hook high on the wall and joining a rubber tubing to the bucket. If now a suitable adjustable hook is connected to the other end of the tube, good running water can be had whenever necessary. A little common sense may create many other useful appliances for our schools. Nor is that all. If proper freedom is allowed, children too will be found able to suggest and even actually arrange new contrivances necessary in the class for teaching Science.

Our present-day teaching of Science in schools is introducing nothing but disconnected scraps of knowledge of Science into the minds of our children. The chief remedy lies in the correlation of subjects. Not only should there be a correlation of different science subjects but there should be a correlation of other widely different subjects such as English, History, Geography, etc., with Science. There is another point which is also interesting in this connection. Studies of History of Science and biographies of eminent scientists will surely bring in a closer touch between the two groups of minds—the minds of the children and the minds of the scientists. Inclusion of History of Science and biographies of scientists in the subject of Science will obviously help our children in partly sharing the impersonal joys of inventors.

The chief aim of education is to develop the individuality of the child. The child learns and develops through active experience. Science affords ample opportunities for this development. But the teacher should be ever mindful of the psychological aspects of the methods of teaching Science. It is high time that the fact that the actual methods of teaching in schools are more important than instructional materials, should be brought home more surely to the minds of our teachers in schools than before.

We hear of various new methods of teaching Science in Europe and America. But we cannot profitably accept them *in toto*, for our schools in India. We are now beginning to feel that traditions

and social conditions have a strong influence upon all educational systems for children. It is, in fact, impossible to evolve new systems without taking into account the nature of the social structure of a country. Indian conditions are different from those of Europe and America and as such we are to orient even the best and tried methods of other countries if we really mean to get full benefit from the teaching of Science in our schools.

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS IN INDIA *

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EDUCATION was growing in the west and was growing on quite well. But educationists there wanted it to grow more quickly, and grow into greater health. Hence they were intent on finding out something that would ensure to education a more vigorous growth—some food that would be to it a perennial source of nourishment and strength. And they found the *training of teachers* to be such a food. Education in the western countries had helped itself to plenty of this food, and had fattened on it, when early in the present century the rulers of India were awakened to the fact that it was time that India also should begin to have a little of this food.

But India was given the food very sparingly at the outset, and certainly it was a wise step. For, who will doubt the injudiciousness of stuffing a child or even a man with an article of food which is quite new to him? So when, at the start, the David Hare Training College and the Dacca Training College were established in Bengal, and the rest of India got just a few Training Colleges, people only admired the wisdom and reasonableness of Government. Because, India should be given time to get used to the new kind of food before she can be made to take it in plenty.

We stand now removed, by thirty years or more, from the day when the first very definite step was taken to provide each province of India with one or two Teachers' Training Colleges. Education in India has in the mean time got used to the training of teachers, and its appetite for the food has grown. But does it get such quantity of the food as its appetite demands? No, it does not. In fact, India now gets scarcely more of the food than when it was first introduced here. So far as Bengal is concerned, her portion of the food practically stands just where it was when she had the first taste of it.

The effect of this may very easily be imagined. The proportion of trained teachers in most of the provinces is still hopelessly inadequate. And, of these, Bengal has the miserable percentage of 15 to 20, and

* Paper read at the Fifteenth All-India Educational Conference held in Lucknow in December, 1939.

her most neglected sisters are Bombay and Madras, with a percentage of about 25.

So India has up to this time gained but little from the appearance of the food. We see here and there one or two satisfied consumers of it, but we find all around us numberless hungry aspirants to it. The hand which was once blessed by the people for its kindness in holding out to India the food that had given to education in Europe its health and vigour, is now being cursed for its extreme niggardliness with which it metes out the doles.

These niggardly measures, besides irritating the hunger of the members of the teaching profession, are tending to bring the food itself into disrepute among the public. We know that the average number of trained teachers per H. E. School is 1·9 in Bengal and 3·4 in Bombay, while most of the other provinces fare only a little better. What a course of training equips a teacher with, can therefore scarcely be employed by him in any scheme of his own for the advancement of his institution. For, it is absurd to expect that the institution will adopt *his* line of thinking, and partake of *his* character and tendencies, and not of his *untrained brethren* who constitute more than 95 per cent. of its teaching staff. Moreover, the failure of one or two attempts at innovations in his school is enough to rob the teacher of his optimism, and what is worse, to force him into a state of cynic lethargy, in which it is quite possible for him to prove of less service than when he was an untrained man. The belief that trained teachers are sometimes worse than untrained ones, though a paradox on the face of it, is not without its significance in our country. Circumstances have rather made it here an unfortunate truth, though it is *not* the trained but the *inadequate provision* for training that is responsible for this state of things. The good food, though impeccable in itself, is helplessly insufficient to leaven the diet on which education in India lives. Its dietary still consists overwhelmingly of unsubstantial elements: it is yet pathetically deficient in its vitamin content; and hence its unremedied sickness.

The extreme apathy of the Government to the pay and prospects of teachers is indeed a factor, which, together with their parsimonious doling out of the commodity of training, has been responsible for the scanty good that the training of teachers has done to education in India. Teachers, after they have had their Degree or Diploma in Teaching, find themselves scarcely better off than when they were

without it. And the disappointment cannot but prove too strong for their zeal in their profession. All the good that their training has done to them, is, they soon find, to have fortified them, to some extent, against the whims and caprices of the Managing Committee, and to have given them a better chance of success than untrained men in the race for jobs. Training has therefore come to be sought rather as a stamp which would save the bearer of it at the time of the reduction of the staff, and make him unlikely to be overlooked when there is some increment of pay. What then is there to surprise us if the training of teachers in India has failed to achieve its object ?

One more cause has contributed appreciably to this failure. It is the excessive stress on the *technique of teaching* that is demanded of the teacher while under training to the utter disregard of the *artist* in him. To think that teachers are mere automatons—that a course of training is intended only to wind them up into mere machines of methods—has been one of the greatest injustices done to education in India. And the pity of it is that even men of education and authority are sometimes guilty of this injustice. They care not to give any thought to the main principle of education, and are duped by the belief that the only requisite of a good teacher is the rigid observance of the particular modes and methods stressed in Training Colleges. They forget that education to be effective must respect principles more than methods, and must give to the teacher a wider scope with regard to the latter. *Individuality* must be regarded as “the supreme educational ideal.” To disregard it in the teacher, as in other factors in education, is the greatest disservice to education itself. “We must stress individuality in education, individuality of the pupil, of the teacher, of the school . . . for, indeed, it is the key position of all. If this position is lost, all is lost.” But teachers in India are scarcely encouraged to be individual; indeed they invite personal dangers as soon as they show the slightest deviation from an established generality. Can then the poor teacher be blamed if, rather than lose his job, he surrenders his individuality, and rather than “value himself as the inheritor of the gifts and surroundings that are focussed in him, and which it is his business to raise to their highest possible power,” he regards himself as the blind imitator of an outworn practice, and a dumb member of an organisation the ways and manners of which are fixed and set for ever, and which, in truth, is “heavy as frost, and deep almost as life” ?

In dealing with the subject of the training of teachers in India one cannot fail to be struck by the lamentable fact that pitifully small as the number of trained men is, the actual *use* made of their training is more pitiable still. Their training fails miserably to make itself felt in the practice of education in the country, and to raise its standard. What then is the good of maintaining the few training institutions that the country has? Better have no training at all than having a useless and unprofitable training! For, besides entailing loss of resources and energy, such training does something worse—it creates a disrespect for the prospective consumer than his failure to procure the food. But are we then to do away with the training of teachers altogether? No, we should not. And, indeed, we cannot; for, we have tasted the food, and come to know how good it is. We must not forego it, but do all we can to get the good out of it. And, for this, the first thing necessary is to increase its production. We have to provide for greater and more extensive facilities for training. It has already been shown how the extreme dearth of trained teachers is defeating the purpose of training in India. Trained men must be the *majority*, and not the hopeless minority, of the teaching staff of an institution, if they are to employ the fruits of their training in the service of the country. Otherwise, these fruits, as already hinted, will be blasted by the cold breath of conservatism, and will never please the public palate.

To get an adequate number of trained teachers for the secondary schools in India, we would require *several times* the existing number of Training Colleges. The opening of fresh Training Colleges has long been overdue, but Government are still sleeping over the matter. Their lukewarm attitude is really to be regretted, since it has been frustrating the very object for which the training institutions are maintained by them. It is time, therefore, that they should rise equal to the occasion, and add appreciably to the number of Training Colleges without any further delay.

A very noteworthy step towards the supply of trained teachers has been taken by the University of Calcutta in opening *Short Training courses*. Though these courses usually extend over a period of three months only, they are immeasurably efficacious in providing our secondary schools with really trained men. The other Universities of India will do a great deal in solving the problem of the training of teachers if they follow the example of the Calcutta University with

necessary adaptations according to their own particular needs and resources.

A teacher's training, however long and elaborate, can never be *completed* within a given time. The nine-month course in Training Colleges cannot complete his training, nor would it do so even if this nine-month course were extended to one of two years. A teacher is to train himself all his life ; the Training College does only initiate him into the task of *self-training*, and it is his duty to pursue this task all through his life. The Short Training courses of the University can initiate their students into the task of self-training just as well as the full-fledged Training Colleges would do ; and the shortness of the period proves rather a more effective prelude to further study and research than longer courses which rather tend to create in the minds of students a *false sense of completeness*. Hence the opening of Short Training courses on the lines of those started by the Calcutta University should be increasingly resorted to for securing an increased supply of trained teachers. Of course, this will not obviate the necessity, nor should discourage the establishment, of fresh Training Colleges by Government, for most of the Universities suffer from lack of funds, and can scarcely afford to add to their establishment. Moreover, if Training Colleges exist side by side with Training Departments attached to Universities, each may learn something from the other, and thereby accelerate the growth of educational knowledge in the country.

But the increasing demand for training calls for other devices than the above two. Time has come when it should engage the serious attention of Government and the Universities as to whether Training Departments can be appended to the first-grade colleges under the University and specially to those situated in mofussil towns. It is quite probable that many such colleges will be found competent and suitable for the experiment—of course, with necessary help from Government and with co-operation from the Universities.

The organisation of practice-teaching for a month or so for students of training departments in these colleges may present some difficulty. But it should be remembered that what counts for most in training is the *principles of education* and not methods. Methods can never be imbibed to any real advantage from others ; they are to be developed and perfected by the individuals themselves. A teacher may profit from demonstrations by others, but it is difficult to say whether he always profits from being made to conform to certain

standard methods in the practice of teaching for a given period of time. It must not, however, be understood that his examiners insist on his conforming to these methods, but the thought of the examination is there, and the student can scarcely get rid of the notion that the best way to please the examiners is to show rigid adherence to those methods. They, therefore, surrender something which their examiners would rather insist on their retaining, *i.e.*, *individuality*. Whether the institution of practice-teaching for students in training courses is an unmixed good for all is, therefore, a question deserving the serious consideration of educationists.

Be that as it may. Let us, for the present, provide for practice-teaching wherever possible. Where circumstances will not permit such provision, let the students go without it, and be allowed to sit for the theoretical portion of the University examination. Those who will attain a certain *distinction* in that examination may quite reasonably be allowed to pass after an oral and practical test. Their distinctions will be a guarantee that they have in them a useful type of individuality for the teaching profession—an individuality, which, with the knowledge of the principles of education gained by them, will develop for their use—a method which is just the one that can make them give their best to society. Those that fail to attain this distinction may be subjected to a course of practice-teaching in order to make sure that they also will prove useful members of the teaching profession. The elimination of practice-teaching, wherever permissible, will render the opening of training departments in colleges for general instruction a much easier thing, and will thus swell the number of the trained.

It is an admitted fact that trained teachers are a greater necessity for *primary schools* than for secondary schools. The training departments attached to colleges for general instruction may provide training courses for primary school teachers, provided, of course, none is admitted for such training who has not passed the *Matriculation examination*. The condition of instruction in primary schools is really deplorable, and most of the defects of secondary and higher education in India are traceable to it. So the time has come when those that have not passed the Matriculation examination should not ordinarily be allowed to teach in primary schools.

The satisfactory increase of the number of trained teachers, though the most important requisite for making the training of

teachers a profitable national institution, is not, however, the only requisite. As has already been hinted, the extreme apathy of Government to the teachers' lot has to be shaken off. Otherwise, it is a sheer wastage to spend money and energy for the training of teachers here. For, a teacher whose training has brought him little or no material gain, loses much more in zeal and energy than he gains in knowledge ; and, therefore, he can never prove a better member of this profession after his training than before that.

The putting of undue fetters on the teacher by encouraging and even prescribing *particular methods* of teaching is, as we have seen, another potent factor in undoing the good to be derived from the training of teachers. It is time that we should be awakened to the truth that " nothing good enters into the human world except in and through the free activities of individual men and women." Let us train the teacher, but let us not train him to be merely a faithful demonstrator of certain methods. Let him be encouraged in his school to develop his own individuality as a teacher, and it is then that he will give his best to the world. He has been equipped with a knowledge of the vital parts of education ; let him utilize that knowledge in nursing education, but let him nurse it in his own way. Who knows that he will not then be able to discover for his nursing a food which will take the fancy of nurses of education all over the world ?

This takes us to the consideration of one vital defect of the existing system of training in India. It is the virtual absence of facilities for *research* in education. We have, as it were, reared a child, but denied him the opportunities for attaining greatness in life. And the child, therefore, is now of very indifferent help to us.

It is highly necessary that there should be adequate facilities for educational research in the Training Colleges and in Universities, and that such distinctions as the Master's degrees in Education should be instituted. And teachers all over the country should be encouraged to strive for such distinctions. The deserving candidates should be freely given all possible opportunities for research, and the best men should be ungrudgingly picked up for the best jobs. Bright prospects will then smile before all enthusiastic members of the teaching profession ; teachers will then learn to look ahead of them, to think and to dream, and we all know that *dreamers* are sometimes *creators*. One of the most tragic things for present-day India is that her teachers have been rendered totally incapable of dreams.

A NOTE ON RAGHUNATHJI ANGRIA

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WHILE examining the Portuguese records at Goa in 1925 I came across three letters addressed to one Raghunathji Angria whom I could not identify at the time. In my report on the historical records at Goa I made the following observations:

“We cannot conclude this section without making a reference to another Angria who bore the same name as the Lord of Colaba. We come across three letters addressed to him in the 11th volume of the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos*. He is differently called Raghuji and Raghunathji, but he is styled as ‘*Cabo da Armada de Aidar Aly Can*’ or Captain of Haidar Ali’s fleet. It is possible that a scion of the Angria family had entered Haidar’s service after the fall of Gheria. We know nothing however about Haidar Ali’s Captain Raghuji. It will be somewhat rash to identify him with the Lord of Colaba. For while the one is distinctly styled as *Cabo da Armada de Aidar Aly*, the other is always mentioned as Lord of Colaba probably to distinguish him from his less exalted namesake. He might be closely related to Tulaji whose line became extinct according to the *Patre Yadi* account. It is needless to say that Haidar would gladly welcome an Angria in his country and put him in charge of his fleet as the reputation of this family of seamen as intrepid naval leaders had spread all over the Deccan.”

I referred to Raghunath again on pages 230-31 of my ‘*Military System of the Marathas*,’ where I wrote: “The last days of Tulaji were spent as a prisoner of the Peshwa. After his death his sons managed to reach Bombay, but all trace of them from that date is lost. The Portuguese papers mention a Raghunath Angria, who was a Captain in Hyder Ali’s fleet, but there is no evidence forthcoming of his relation to Tulaji.”

Recently my attention has been drawn by my friend and pupil Dr. P. C. Gupta of the Calcutta University to a letter of “Ragoonathji Angria” preserved among the Bombay records which go a long way to prove that Raghunathji Angria of the Portuguese records might

after all be a son and heir of Tulaji Angria. The relevant portion of the letter runs as follows :

“Toolaji Angria my father was in possession of Gheria and the coast and forts in the Concon situated between that place and Bombay which is now in possession of the Mahrattas. I, who am the lineal descendant of Toolajee Angria, am now in the greatest distress. The English have always endeavoured to root out their enemies and have extended their protection to those who chose to live peaceably under their government. The Mahrattas of themselves never would have conquered and taken our forts and stronghold in the Concon, had they not been assisted by the English whose ships of war and ships came to their aid. The country was afterwards given up by the English to the Mahrattas, since which I have been a wandering and in distress and have written this to intimate to you, that it is my wish to place myself under the protection of his Brittanic Masters flag and should any difference take place between the English Company and Poona Government I will then join the former and will procure a large force to assist.....”

The letter was dated 3rd August, 1800 and the identity of name and proximity of time naturally lead us to conclude that the writer was no other than our old friend Raghunath of the Portuguese records. We know that after Tulaji's death his sons managed to reach Bombay. Obviously one of them travelled south and found employment in Haidar Ali's fleet. In 1800 he addressed the letter, quoted above, to the Government of Bombay and tried to revive his claim to his father's fief. Although we know nothing more about him, scraps of information thus collected may throw fresh light on the later history of the house of Angria.

ADDRESS *

MR. PRINCIPAL, MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES, GENTLEMEN AND STUDENTS
OF THE CITY COLLEGE COMMERCE SOCIETY :

IT gives me great pleasure indeed to come this evening to this institution of yours on the occasion of the inaugural function of the City College Commerce Society ; and believe me, I express my feelings in no terms of usual convention, but from the depth of my heart when I say that I cordially welcome this movement, this inauguration and start of a Commerce Society. I do not claim to be an educationist in that sense of the term in which scholars are known, nor do I claim that knowledge which is possessed by the leading men and women of the country ; but being in contact for many years past with the various phases of human life in its diverse aspects, I am often tempted to ponder within myself as to what we are really striving after and what our ultimate goal is in the many lines of progress which we have made within the last few years. It is perfectly well-known to you that there was a time when the University of Calcutta was a mere examining body. In the train of its development and in the wake of progress that it made came multiple forms of post-graduate activities. All round the country there was, in the mean time, pulsation of a new life, and new movements sprung up everywhere giving dynamic energies to all in the country ; and I feel that people then began to realize that it was not merely academic degrees but technical training that would bring a solution of the various problems of our country. Technical, professional, commercial and industrial fields are to be explored within the form and framework of the University. The Commerce Department and Commerce degrees have been inaugurated for many years past. Facilities for Technical degrees and diplomas are also available in the country. It is time that we should take stock of what has been the net gain to the country and consider what modifications are necessary in our methods of approach and in our activities so that these various departments of human life may be attuned to the national requirements of this country.

* Delivered by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque, C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, at the inaugural meeting of the City College Commerce Society, on the 17th February, 1940.

Somehow or other there are many things which bring within me feelings of restraint, and I am not able to say the things which I feel within myself, but this much I would certainly say that it is time for the people to find out that it is not merely by the attainment of degrees that the progress of a country can at all be made ; and that progress can only be secured by training up better types of students who, along with the attainment of academic degrees, will do something more in the matter of gathering knowledge which will enable them to face the realities of their business life. If you look around you, you will find in the city of Calcutta how greatly we are dependent upon other sources for our very existence. If we look around the province, the same feature will strike us. If you look around the country, the same factors would be found to be in operation. Commerce, trade and industry are so interconnected with one another that it is very difficult to find out the influence of the one on the other in a definite and determinate quantity ; but this much is certain that they are so interconnected that the success of the one depends upon the achievements of the other. We cannot have real commerce for a country unless there is development of trade and industry, and it is, therefore, necessary that the education that has been termed " Commercial " should bring along with it a realisation of the varying economic factors that have been in operation in this province.

I am saying this not merely because of the needs of the country, but because of your individual necessity. Most of us are familiar with the fact that after getting the highest academic degrees in Commerce, we do not know what to do with ourselves in after-life. This is so because the absorption of the best academic talents of a province can only be dependent upon a network of commercial, trading and industrial concerns in the province. I have made no secret of the fact that, even though the number of students that take the Commerce degree is much more than are actually absorbed, yet considering the province as a whole the number of passes is not such that we need not be ashamed of or embarrassed in any way. If a few thousands pass in a province like Bengal with a population over 50 millions and if all the economic factors were in operation, it would be quite easy for the Commerce Graduates to be absorbed in the various occupations of the country. You cannot remain content with others coming in with Capital, enterprise and leadership and condemning us to the life of mere clerks, as is often the fate of even the most brilliant graduates.

I have often been puzzled with certain economic problems. Bengal is the province which started the National Movement in India before any other province thought of it. There was a time when Bengal took to Swadeshi goods in such a mass manner that it was very difficult in the mofussil markets to get foreign commodities. Yet has anyone studied the reason why in spite of this upheaval of mass feelings and in spite of these mass movements and awakening of national consciousness—so far as the national feelings, patriotism and sentiment of the Bengalees are concerned with regard to the active development of trade and industry within the last few years—they have been exactly in the same condition as they were a few decades ago.

A very recent fact may have come to your notice. I am not giving the facts and figures in details to you; I believe it is the function of your Commerce Society to find them out. But you remember that within the last few years the policy of restriction of crops came into operation in Bengal. Jute was so much produced in this province that it was found necessary to raise the price of jute by restricting production; but along with it came the problem as to what was to be done with that quantity of land which would be thrown out of jute cultivation. It was found possible to divert it to the cultivation of sugarcane. Propaganda went on all over Bengal for the production of sugarcane. Within the last six or seven years a very large number of sugar factories have come into existence in Bengal. I ask the Commerce Society to find out how many of these concerns have been started by Bengalee Capital and Bengalee Talents. That feature is not merely prevalent in the sugar industry alone. Take the case of the district of Rangpur, from where we export probably crores of rupees worth of tobacco leaves to the various parts of India and abroad. Now, will anybody be able to tell me the name of any cigar or cigarette factory which has been started either at Rangpur or at Calcutta or in the province?

I believe it ought to be the duty of every Society which is connected with the study of Economics and the study of Commerce to find out the nature of the economic needs of the province and the extent to which they are supplied from within the province and the country. Most of you must have had opportunities, at some time or other, of visiting the various markets in Calcutta. I myself have the habit of frequenting the markets for getting the best things at the cheapest price possible. If you have your eyes open, you will find out even

to-day how many of the commodities in the various markets of Calcutta are brought from outside. Will anybody tell me whether there has been any attempt to study this fact either in the Department of Economics or in the Department of Commerce? That cannot be done within the framework of the University curriculum, nor can the University possibly prescribe it; but is not a certain duty cast upon all educational institutions to equip their students with that knowledge which is necessary for making them successful in after-life? If to-day you go out, you will find that in many towns ordinary things like lemon, fruits, eggs, poultry and other commodities, which can easily be reared and produced in this province, are brought from outside. I am not for the time being saying that it will be the concern of the Commerce Society to start these things. But I want you to realise the facts and to find out the nature of the problems that confront us, and then, when you go out into the world, you will find it easier to tackle the specific problems of your business life. Probably there might be barely half a dozen who might think of doing something in that line, but the knowledge of actual market conditions is necessary and that knowledge can only be supplied by a Society like that which you have inaugurated this evening.

Speaking of the province of Bengal, what do you find but the astounding fact that we have to depend for nearly the entire textile industry upon the western presidency? Bengal has to buy for internal consumption a very large amount of sugar. Now we have to get it from outside the province and possibly outside the country; and yet an economist will tell us that the soil of Bengal is quite suitable for the production of sugarcane, and that just about a century ago probably millions and millions of rupees worth of sugar used to be exported from our province. All that you have done so far is to have a complaint against British Imperialism that it has mercilessly exploited this country. I do not for a moment stand in the way of anyone who wants to entertain that idea, but my complaint is that along with it there should have been that real feeling—the urge of developing industries. We have national feeling in ourselves, but with a view to translating that into action we must develop industry and commerce and explore and exploit the other economic resources of the province.

I do not want to say much. I believe that there is nothing in the Bengalee character which stands in the way of a young man's doing his

best. I know hundreds of young men who are able to do their best if opportunities are afforded to them. Unfortunately, these opportunities are not brought before them and these young men waste the best part of their life after getting the highest academic qualifications of the University instead of being most useful citizens, and are oftentimes branded as economic misfits; and with an easy conscience people often like to lay the blame altogether on the University and the educational institutions. I am quite prepared to take the blame on myself on behalf of the University and on behalf of the educational institutions, but I want to point out that it is not the University alone that can solve the problem. The University cannot start factories, the University cannot supply capital. It is the persons who are the natural leaders of the public upon whom falls that responsibility.

That is exactly the situation to-day. But if to-day I am to tell you what your duty is for the time being, it is to study these facts. I wish there was a market survey of Calcutta by the students of the Economics and Commerce Departments, and I believe that the acquisition of that knowledge would be of immense help to them in after-life. Often I am told that the general knowledge of the average student is meagre and poor, and the reason why it is so is because the student has no opportunity to come into contact with the realities of life. All he does is probably to come into contact with some Town-Hall and Sraddhananda Park speeches ; but beyond that the hard realities of life are not studied by him. I believe the time has come for all educational institutions to realise this. It will be of no use to boast of thousands of students being Graduates and Masters of Arts and Science from the different colleges in Bengal. I believe the time has come now for every educational institution and every student to realise that. Along with the University the duty of formulating the future career of the students rests entirely upon the educational institutions and the best way in which that can be done is in a Society like this, to take the problems for discussion, to conduct enquiries, to explore and to investigate and, if necessary, to have from time to time debates. I have not said this in a spirit of complaint, I have not said this in a spirit of any feeling against any institution, I have said this because I genuinely feel that to-day the educational institutions of Bengal that have made Bengal what it is are to reshape their educational policy and activities. That is what I have got to tell, and, if I have come here this evening, it is because I desired to leave this feeling with you that

this is a task which is as much important as the academic work which you are taking up ; only, you have to make it successful in the proper manner without taking it merely as a by-work.

There is another reason why in Calcutta this is a great necessity. Mr. Principal, we are now faced with the problem of Calcutta being filled up with students from different parts of Bengal and a college with 3,000, 4,000 or 5,000 students is not a rare commodity to-day. I do not complain for the time being of that. I have my problems to deal with in other places. But supposing you have got 3,000 students and if you are to deliver lectures and get them passed in the examination, that supreme element in education, *viz.*, the personal contact between the professor and the student and between one student and another is completely lost unless some kind of social contact is introduced. After all, these young men are to go out into the world and if at this stage they do not know how to organize, how to study human character, and how to find out the real feelings of human beings, they will have to find it out later at a bitter cost. And it is for this reason that I have come here this evening and will come again, if necessary.

It is really a matter of great pleasure that City College has started this institution which might be of a very important factor in equipping the student with those facts which are absolutely necessary, even though he may be the best of students from the University point of view. I hope you will kindly realize that I have said this with a full sense of responsibility, because I believe that while the University is to control the general policy in the shaping of the future of the men and the women of this country, it must in the long run depend upon educational institutions for the manner in which the students are to be trained up in an atmosphere which will lead to the best development of the country as a whole.

I thank you for asking me to come this evening to preside over this inaugural meeting, and it is with very great pleasure that I declare this Society open.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Military College in Sind

A scheme for establishing a military college in Sind at a cost of rupees ten lakhs was considered by the sub-committee appointed for raising funds. It is proposed to open physical training classes at Sukkur to be named after P. Kunwar Ram who was shot dead during November last at a railway station. The committee will shortly issue an appeal to raise funds for the above.

The Visvabharati

Mr. Gandhi has replied to the letter which Dr. Rabindranath Tagore handed to him as he (Mr. Gandhi) left Santiniketan last month.

"The touching note put into my hands has gone straight to my heart," says Mr. Gandhi. "Of course the Visvabharati is a national institution. It is undoubtedly also international. You may depend upon my doing all I can in the common endeavour to assure its permanence. Though I have always regarded Santiniketan as my second home, this visit brought me nearer to it than ever before."

A. I. Oriental Conference

The 10th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at Tirupati (Venkatesvara) in Madras during the Easter Holidays. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Dr. Sukumar Sen. Dr. Dineschandra Sarkar, Dr. Narayan-chandra Banerjee and Mr. Krishnapada Mitra joined the Conference from the Calcutta University.

Vidyasagar Smriti Mandir

To perpetuate the memory of the late Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, "Vidyasagar Smriti Mandir" has been founded in the village Birsingha in the district of Midnapur, the birthplace of the great savant. Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee inaugurated the opening ceremony of the 'Mandir' on Sunday, 17th March, at 2-30 P.M.

Mass Literacy Stall in the Congress Exhibition

The Provincial Mass Literacy Committee, Patna, put up in the Congress Exhibition a show of the work in the literacy campaign in the

province. Exhibits and charts, samples of handwriting of adults made literate and photos of literacy centres at work were there. The result of the examination of the adults conducted by Mr. A. A. Kazimi, Inspector of Schools, Chota Nagpur Division, Ranchi, was also among the exhibits.

The exhibition was due to the endeavours of Babu Jaigovind Prasad, Sub-Inspector of Schools at Ramgarh, and the credit goes to him for its success. He was in charge of the stall also.

This stall was unique of its kind. It drove away the doubts of many about the campaign. It proved that such a campaign is feasible, practicable and workable, provided it be properly organised and the man in charge be left free to carry on the movement.

Death of Lagerloeff

The death has occurred of Selma Lagerloeff, the first woman to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature.

Selma Lagerloeff was born on November 20th, 1858, on the Marbaka estate in the parish of Ostra Emtervik, in Varmland. She came of a family of pastors, members of which had for three centuries been working in Varmland for the spiritual welfare of the population. At Stockholm Selma attended first a girls' "lyceum" and later a teachers' seminary, after which, for ten years, she held a teacher's appointment at Landserona. At an early age she first felt the urge to write, and produced some smaller poems, mainly sonnets. Her poetic fancy was most strongly attracted by the "saga" of Gosta Berling, a "forgotten fragment of Swedish country life," intimately connected with her own homelands; fantastic scenes of this tale occupied her imagination. In 1889 and 1890 she worked out individual chapters and later sent them as "Ur Gosta Berlings saga" to the periodical "Idun," which had offered a prize for a short story.

She won the prize, which acted as an incentive to her to follow her literary bent. "Gosta Berling" was completed, appearing in Swedish in 1891 and in Danish in the following year. It was followed in 1894 by a volume of short stories, "Osynliga lankar" ("Invisible Bonds") and the authoress was accorded encouraging support by King Oscar and, in the form of a scholarship, by the Swedish Academy. Relieved of the necessity to teach, she first undertook a journey through Italy, for the purpose of study, in 1895-96.

The novel "Antikrists mirakler," compiled as the fruit of her Italian journey was published in 1897. It revealed that religious mysticism which came forth so pronouncedly in the following "Legends of Christ," dealing at the same time with the problem of the religious sects so prominently active in Sweden. She visited the Swedish farmers in their new Palestinian home in 1900; the following year saw the appearance of the first volume ("In Dalarne") of her great peasant epos "Jerusalem," depicting the events up to the time of emigration (from Dalarne to Palestine). This was followed in 1902 by the second volume "In the Holy Land." The "Kristuslegender" appeared in 1904. She produced her great epic narrative "Liljecronas Hem" in 1911 and after that "Herr Arnes Penningar," "Herrgardssagen" and "The Carter of Death" (all in 1912) and "Homesick Jan" (1914). Her works: "Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige" (1906-07), "The General's Ring," "Charlotte Lofvenskold" (both in 1925).

Selma Lagerloeff's writings appeared in a collected form in twelve volumes as "Samlade Berättelser" as from 1911. They have been translated into all civilised languages, and have carried the fame of the authoress far beyond the Swedish frontiers. Her growing popularity brought her an increasing number of distinctions. The literary societies of Sweden and Finland were the first to elect her their honorary member ; in 1907 the University of Uppsala conferred upon her the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the following year her fiftieth birthday was celebrated throughout Sweden like a national holiday and again one year later she was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature by the Swedish Academy, of which body she finally became a member in 1914, the first woman on whom this honour was conferred."

Miscellany

DEGREES IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION

In Gaston Bouthoul's analysis the varieties of human society are not as different from one another as the animal species. He accepts the position of Comte as established in *Cours de Philosophie Positive* (1830) where it is maintained that the differences between diverse societies are those of *degre* in evolution and not those of *kind*. Comte's thesis was challenged by Durkheim in *Les Règles de la Methode Sociologique* (1895). According to Durkheim social development loses the ideal and simplistic unity attributed to it. It is to be described rather as a multitude of fragments, which, because they differ specifically from one another, should not be brought together in a continuous manner. Bouthoul believes that the most recent experience is in favour of Comte rather than of Durkheim. On the strength of data furnished by Maunier in *Sociologie Coloniale* Bouthoul argues that the tendency to imitation and borrowing has been stronger than that of pursuing an evolution *sui generis*. The sociology of Durkheim is as erroneous in regard to this as to several other items. For, it is incontestable that during the last fifty years the most recent features of occidental civilization have been adopted *en masse* by peoples up till now primitive or far removed from it as much on account of racial as of historical and geographical considerations.

"Le Role du Raisonnement par Analogie dans les Science Sociales" in *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* (Paris), September-December, 1939.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

IDEOLOGY vs. EMPIRICISM IN POLITICS

Writing on "Introduction à la Politique Expérimentale" in the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* (Paris) for September-December, 1939, Professor André Joussain says in part as follows:

The progress of democratic ideas demands on the part of the people no guarantee of knowledge and competence but entrusts them to the blind choice of the masses. It is the law of the majority they follow. The consequence is to assure the preponderance of the less instructed over the more instructed and of the mediocre over the persons of value. The masses are moved by simple sentiments and controlled by short ideas. The regime of ideologies (as contrasted with "experimental politics" or political science) has power over them. It is not for the masses to take interest in the methodical examination of questions, the slow maturation of plans, the weighing of advantages and inconveniences such as may arise out of a measure accepted or a law enacted. Every reflection is an individual function whereas unanimity belongs only to the agreement with an idea broached or a measure proposed.

The predominance of "ideologies," howsoever perilous it be, is but a necessary transition. In the earlier phases of political history the European peoples functioned according to routine or custom and instinct. That was the regime of empiricism. The second phase is that of ideology. Under this system the peoples are alleged to be making their institutions according to an abstract reason and rationalized will. This stage is but a preparation for the third, that of *politique expérimentale*. In this regime the problem consists in determining scientifically the institutions the most adapted to a people or to a given condition of civilization.

The transition to experimental politics is attended with crises. The increasing complexity of social and political questions offers multiplicity of alternatives. Chances are offered as much to the individual initiatives of statesmen as to the blind sentiments of the masses. But since routine, custom and instinct are no longer the directing forces the masses while making their choice and enjoying liberty of action tend to make a false choice. The risks of error multiply and some of these errors take the form of choosing an ideology.

All social life implies at bottom a mystical faith in the benefit rendered by the established order. Every political condition is likewise based on a mystical faith, *e.g.*, in the divine right of kings, the sovereignty of the people, the political science of the leaders, the virtue of the institutions in existence, etc. This position has been verified by the recent revolutions, for instance, the mysticism of the Roman greatness in Fascist Italy, of the race in Nazi Germany, and of the proletariat and five-year plan in Soviet Russia. No mysticism, no society.

As soon as mysticism is replaced by ideology the world witnesses the emergence of *anarchie intellectuelle*. This condition of intellectual anarchy can be removed by a system of national education which teaches a person, using the words of Guizot in *Démocratie en France*, not to *voir ce qu'on désire et non qui est* (see what is desired and not what is) because by getting used to see only what is people learn also to wish what may be (*à ne voir que ce qui est on apprend aussi à ne vouloir que ce qui se peut*).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

"GREATER INDIA" IN INDONESIA

According to Mr. O. C. Gangoly, art-historian and art-critic, lecturing on Indonesian culture at the Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture (Calcutta), the general public has very vague ideas about the problems of the studies and the data, the materials and the significance of the documents available in the Indian "Colonies" relating to the history of Indian culture across the Bay of Bengal. According to the interpretation put by European scholars—in analysing and appraising the quality and character of Indonesian culture, it is the product and expression of the native aboriginal and non-Aryan genius in civilization under the "influences" of culture—which intruded into Malaya, Cambodia, Java and Sumatra about the early centuries of the Christian era. The principal basis of this view is provided by the original and supremely refined character of the architectural and sculptural monuments in Greater India—which far outshine their prototypes in the main continent. They are also characterized by certain local features and motifs—which give to these

oversea monuments and plastic products, sometimes a wholly different and divergent physiognomy. This phenomenon of certain flagrant original and novel features of Indonesian culture—analogueous to, yet different from original Indian prototypes—is explained by a theory of European specialists on these subjects to the effect that they are the product of a native Malaya-Polynesian genius acting under the “influences” of Indian cultural forms and that the great masterpieces of Java and Cambodia in architecture, sculpture and the various forms of applied art are the expressions of a very happy fusion of the Indian and Indonesian mind—which cannot be designated as wholly *Indian*, but can only be characterized as “Indo-Khmer,” “Indo-Javanese,” or “Indo Chinese.”

The opponents of this view, which has excited keen controversy amongst Indian scholars, attack this interpretation by pointing out the utter lack of any material evidence of the quality and character of the local, native, or indigenous expression of the aboriginal art before the introduction of Indian ideas and ideals and the forms and canons of architectural and sculptural arts from India proper, and, the fact that the local and indigenous forms and motifs do not come into view—until after the decadence or the ebbing away of Indian culture—which had thoroughly overrun and superseded the native genius—if it at all existed at the time of the Indian immigration. According to Indian views—the so-called Colonial culture in various tracts in Greater India is a part, and, an *essential* part of the context of Indian culture, and even in ancient times the territories beyond the Indian Ocean were regarded by the inhabitants of the Indian continent as integral parts of Indian culture-area, not mere “Colonies” of provincial, local, Indianized, or Indianesque culture. In fact they were the very limbs of India expanding itself beyond the seas with all the characteristics and essential qualities of Indian life and culture, growing and sustaining itself in new environments. The immigrants from Continental India who flowed into Indonesia and Indo-China in large bodies and units, “*en masse*,” were in vital touch with the original sources of their culture and assiduously kept up the level of Indian culture in these so-called colonies at a high pitch of excellence and in some phases (*e.g.*, in the plastic arts) outshone the achievements at their original birth-place. The “Colonists” did not look upon these distant centres across the seas as mere inferior reflexions of Indian culture—derived second-hand from continental sources, but, in many instances, as independent seats and sources, as they developed the overseas centres into the most important limbs and significant centres of the best phases of Indian civilization. That some of the cities in the colonies were specialized centres of some phases of Indian culture of *greater* importance than the continental centres, may be illustrated from the fact that Atisa (Dipankara Srijnana), the greatest Buddhist Patriarch, had to reside in *Suvarna-dvīpa* (Sumatra), then the headquarters of Mahayana Buddhism, in order to master the teachings of Acharyya Dharmmakirti, the High Priest of *Suvarna-dvīpa*, at that time, the highest authority on the doctrines of the Mahayana.

In corroboration of this view Mr. Gangoly cited several texts from the *Puranas* which proved that the nine overseas tracts of Greater India were regarded in the early Sagas as integral parts of Bharatavarsha and an equal sanctity attached to the component parts of Island-India, as strongholds of national Indian culture—where Indians lived, fought, traded and performed religious duties (*Yajnas*, *Tapas*, etc.) and they were looked upon as suitable areas for their cultural activity (*Karmabhumi*) on an equal

footing with any part of India Proper (*Jambudvīpa*). Mr. Gangoly substantiated this view by a very significant passage in the *Vamana Purana* which asserts that "the nine islands (nine tracts of Greater India) have been sanctified by the performance of sacrifices, by warfares, by trades and diverse other cultural activities (" *Ijya-Yuddha-Vanijyadyaih-karmabhih kritapavanah* "). The point established is that the intervening seas did not prevent the distant territories in Island-India from being actually placed on the map of Indian culture.

Put into modern parlance, the canon of sanctity laid down in the *Vamana Purana* would mean that, wherever the Indians have lived, wherever they have fought their heroic battles, wherever they have rendered their homage to the Divinity through sacrificial rites—there they have built up a New India. That is India, where Indians have lived and developed Indian culture! This is, in short, the principle of Indian colonization.

Mr. Gangoly cited another corroboration of this view from the evidences of Arab geographers of the 10th century and as further proof cited a remarkable passage from the text of a newly discovered drama, the *Kaumudi Mahotsava* (attributed to Vijika, a lady dramatist of the 7th century) which describes a Rake's progress, through the six famous cities of ancient India, in search of a gay life—an itinerary which includes the *Katha-nagara* (in far-off Malaya), the "home of all felicities"—mentioned in the same breath with five other continental cities, famous in contemporary social life and social history.

On the basis of the new evidences brought forth by Mr. Gangoly, he claimed that the theory of a group of scholars of the so-called "Indian Influences" in Greater India demands a serious modification. It is not a question of "influences," he pleaded, it is a question of wholesale transportation of the peculiar features and phases of Indian culture, bag and baggage, in all its characteristic elements, with all its social and religious politics, its trade-guilds and industrial systems, its canons of architecture and sculpture. Indian culture in Indonesia is, in fact, a substantial and integral part of the original context of Indian civilization—developed in new, congenial, and luxurious environments.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE AGRICULTURAL AND MARKETING POLICIES OF HOLLAND

The Netherlands have continued to move away from the principles of free trade which was the basis of their commercial policy for about 80 years. The Act modifying the 1934 law, which gave the Government power to alter the customs tariff, came into force in January, 1939. By this law the Government may impose or alter a duty, with immediate effect and for a period of not more than 6 months, with a view to increasing the State revenues or of giving limited protection to Dutch industries. In the 1934 law this power was confined to the case of a national industry threatened with ruin. An increase in the number of tariff duties was imposed by Royal Decree as from 1st March, 1939. This measure was taken to increase the difference between duties on raw materials and semi-manufactured goods on the one hand, and manufactured goods on the other. Several new commercial agreements were concluded, but generally these only succeeded in mitigating certain restrictions imposed abroad on agricultural exports from the Netherlands, no new markets being opened up.

The trade agreements between the United States and the United Kingdom and the United States and Canada have reduced certain duties, from which the Netherlands will benefit owing to the most-favoured-nation clause.

At the end of last August, when war had become imminent, the Government took preventive measures to assure national supplies, by prohibiting the export of numerous products. The measures were based on the law of 3rd August, 1914, later modified, on exportation in case of war, or danger of war. To avoid restricting trade too much, prohibitions were at first applied only to industrial products. As regards exports of agricultural products, they are regulated by the intermediary of various centrals which apply the measures based on the 1933 agricultural crisis law. These centrals have had to cancel agreements which allowed the exportation of products in which they deal, and replace them, if necessary, by new ones. Further, honey and other products of agriculture, cocoa beans and kernels, hay and straw, tea, coffee, and casein were declared agricultural crisis products. All the agricultural crisis products, which now meant practically all agricultural products, may be imported or exported only by the various centrals or with their special permission. Export of the following products of interest to agriculture has been forbidden in virtue of the above-mentioned law of 3rd August, 1914: wool, flax fibre, natural and artificial nitrate of soda, calcium cyanamide, all other chemical fertilizers, skins, hides and leathers; wood, cellulose and all types of wood; bones, animal droppings; natural rubber, latex and regenerated rubber, balata, guttapercha, cinchona bark. Export permits must be granted in these special cases by the Crisis Export Bureau which was already in existence to regulate the export trade with countries which had applied quotas to imports of Netherlands products.

On 12th September the law on imports in time of danger came into force. By this law imports of goods indicated by the Government are forbidden, unless provided with a special permit from the Minister of Economic Affairs, or his representative. To regulate such imports a new organization has been set up, the General Netherlands Central for Imports.

In view of the international situation the Government at the end September, 1938, put forward eleven bills which became law. Six of them referred to agriculture. Some of them were later replaced by other laws passed after a more thorough study of their consequences. The principal are described below together with the measures taken to put them into effect.

The 1939 law on agricultural production makes it possible to prescribe methods, etc., both general and detailed, for arable farming, horticulture, fruit-growing, forestry, the cultivation of meadows and grazing lands, the raising of live-stock and poultry. Further, orders may be issued as to the use of the land.

The Government did not at once issue precise instructions regarding the development of agriculture. It realises the necessity under present circumstances of some degree of autarchy, but does not wish to alter the agricultural system too radically, hoping that later on the Netherlands will again be called on to supply high quality products to the great industrial centres in neighbouring countries. It has therefore confined itself to making the following proposals: Grazing lands which, owing to their position, nature, etc., give grounds for expecting that they would give good returns as arable will be ploughed up and used for this purpose. Persons making

such a change-over will receive larger quantities of concentrated feeding-stuffs if they cultivate cereals on their new arable fields. Potatoes and other hoed plants harvested on these new fields for daily consumption will not be claimed for general marketing. If the area converted under these conditions is insufficient, conversion will become compulsory. The preparation of new grazing lands, whether artificial or permanent, will only be permitted on condition that an equal area of grazing land is ploughed up. Only the cultivation of products which supply human or animal food will remain free. Crops of other types will be subject to special permits.

Another series of measures relates to excessive prices and the distribution of available supplies. These measures are based on the 1939 law of distribution and the 1939 law on excessive prices and cornering. The first gives the Minister of Economic Affairs the power to regulate the quantities to be distributed, in agreement with the Minister of National Defence as regards the quantities which must be retained for the troops. The use, consumption, preparation, processing and transport of goods dealt with in this law may also be regulated. Further, detailed inventories may be required. The second law refers to all movable goods, the Minister of Economic Affairs having the right to prescribe the limits of sale and hire prices of these goods, and the prices of services. The law also forbids excessive prices even for goods and services for which no decision has been published.

Immediately after mobilization an inventory of all agricultural products, stock and fodders was carried out, independently of where they were situated. Later, another inventory was taken for chemical fertilizers, but this did not include farmers' stocks for their own farms.

A special Bureau for the Purchase of Cereals (*Graan Inkoop Bureau*) was set up under the Netherlands Central for Arable Land. This buys human and animal foods from abroad. If necessary, the supervision of the wholesale trade for all articles for which it takes place will in time of war be in the hands of this supply office. This office will also regulate these wholesale prices of agricultural products. Distribution between the consumers is dealt with by the Central Distributing Bureau, a body which is in close touch with the retailers' organization. Such distribution will take place not only in case of scarcity but whenever there is danger of cornering.

At the beginning of October an order regulating the distribution of chemical fertilizers (except for those with a calcium base) came into force. Their sale and supply are henceforth limited to persons registered with the Chemical Fertilizers Distribution Office. Farmers will only be allowed to buy fertilizers by means of special coupons.

Regulations have been drawn up fixing the quantities of concentrated feeding stuffs for cattle allowed to the farmers. By the law on distribution, the transport of these fodders is prohibited; but this prohibition does not apply to the quantities allowed to the farmers.—*International Review of Agriculture*.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

THE STRENGTH OF ITALIAN INDUSTRY

The Italian industrial forces to-day consist, according to the statistics of the Fascist Confederation of Industrialists, of 150,278 purely industrial

firms, having 3,595,840 employees, to which must be added 758,982 artisan-ship concerns, with 229,702 subordinates.

The total of capital invested in these undertakings may be valued at not less than 110 milliards of lire. Small industry as a whole accounts for nine-tenths of the firms. Out of the 150,000 industrial enterprises, 107,000 (equal to 71 per cent.) have in fact less than 11 employees, and 31,000 (equal to 21 per cent.) from 11 to 50 workers.

Medium industry, represented by the concerns with more than 50 and up to 250 subordinates, consists of 9,920 firms with 1,024,402 workers.

Large-scale industry consists in its turn of 1,153 firms employing 1,532,675 workers.

43 per cent. of the firms is located in the countries of Northern Italy, 27 per cent. in Central Italy and the remainder in the South and the Islands.

The building industry is represented by 35,000 firms, with 623,000 workers; the food industry as a whole by 40,011 firms with 389,000 subordinates; the mechanical and metallurgical industries by 9,317 firms with 709,000 workers; building materials industry by 4,748 firms with 541,000 workers; textile industries by 6,907 firms, with 653,142 employees; the chemical industries by 4,565 firms with 155,192 workers.

BENROY KUMAR SARKAR.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Red Pilot.—By Vladimir Unishevsky. Published by Hurst and Blackett. Pp. 260. 7s. 6d.

The author, son of a skilled worker in Leningrad, nursed an ambition since his early days: his dream was to be an airman in the U.S.S.R. From Leningrad District Glider School, where he first got himself admitted, he passed on to the Leningrad Flying School and finally joined the Sebastopol Flying College from which members of the Russian Air Force are recruited. He was appointed an officer in the Air Force and was taking, further training at Sebastopol when Kirov, the trusted collaborator of Stalin, was assassinated in Leningrad. This bloody deed created the greatest sensation in Russia. One evening Unishevsky with two other friends were sitting in the canteen talking about the murder as usual. Unishevsky said: "I say, you chaps, wouldn't Kaganovitch have been jolly pleased if it had been Stalin instead of Kirov?" The other two laughed heartily, and the subject was dropped. That same evening he was summoned by the authorities and questioned for the indiscreet remark and was finally "demobilised on account of political and moral unsuitability," by the orders of the Air Force Administration of the U.S.S.R. He was, it is alleged in the book, a victim of the Ogpu; and the secret police made his life in Russia intolerable. Ultimately in February, 1938, Unishevsky with another officer of the Red Army named Guryev escaped from Soviet Russia in a barely airworthy machine and landed in Esthonia. The difficulties through which they went in assembling a machine for the purpose of their escape and the adventurous flight are described by the author in a simple but arresting manner.

The book is intended to be an indictment of Soviet Russia. But it is hardly a convincing one. In the first place, even after Unishevsky's demobilisation on moral and political grounds we find him employed in an influential civil position as the Director of a Flying Club, the Luga Children's Aero Club, which became famous throughout Russia and won for the author a country-wide fame. Had the Ogpu been as oppressive and vindictive as he alleges, he would not have been able, in the circumstances, to secure the position or to make himself the success he was as the Head of the Luga Aero Club. His temper and tactlessness brought him into conflict with the agents of the Communist Party. An impartial enquiry vindicated him and later on he resigned of his own free will. Next, he was appointed manager of the Air Port at Krestzy, an important Air Service Station. The air-line was discontinued and Unishevsky was out of employment. Thirdly, he was appointed Deputy Manager of a Motor Department; with this new post he combined two others, management of a Transport Service and the management of the garage of a Mental Hospital. "The fact that one person could occupy three posts at once in the U.S.S.R. was due to the great scarcity of people with technical knowledge." But does it not also prove that the Ogpu and the Communist Party were not so unkind to him, after all, as he alleges. After the Tuchatchevsky affair, resulting in a thorough purge of the Red Army, Unishevsky was restored as "a Flight-Commander in the Reserves." It appears, therefore, that the established order in Russia had passed over his "political and moral unsuitability."

After this came his father's arrest in Leningrad. He had by now elbowed himself into the managership of a Provision Department of a Building Trust and was shortly afterwards appointed to a post in the Luga Aero

Club where his former pupil and friend Guryev was also working. For three months after his father's arrest the OGPU took no notice of Unishévsky. But he was apprehending trouble and had made preparations for his escape with Guryev. He was once asked to see a member of the secret police; he suspected danger and the very day flew across the frontier to Esthonia. Disinterested critics will not hesitate to conclude that the Red Pilot has not been able to prove his case.

The author describes the Russian industrial and agricultural system as a chaos. In his opinion the air force is disorganised, and the army inefficient though pampered. The author concludes: "The Soviet Regime in Russia is rotten through and through. The rottenness has crept into every sphere of life, from the education of the child to the workings of the State. The old has been destroyed, but the new is rotten at the root. The system of the Soviet State, the 'Proletarian Dictatorship,' has resulted in one fiasco after another. The misery and persecution suffered by the Russian, his transformation into a helpless object of exploitation by alien rulers, have provoked a growing discontent. . . . The regime counters this discontent by Terror. Fresh waves of Red Terror are for ever sweeping over the country; . . . the masses of the people replied with a Terror of their own, known in official Soviet language as 'wrecking.' . . . The peasant is not free; he is a hard-labourer all his days. The worker is being tied to his place of employment. The deluded population in town and country writhes in physical and spiritual torment. The OGPU, the unscrupulous executioner of the regime, celebrates orgies of blood and madness; and meanwhile the oppressed and impoverished white slaves abroad are being represented by Jewish members of the Russian 'Intelligentsia'—under the blood-stained red banner of the hammer and sickle."

Such is the sweeping condemnation of the Soviet regime. But one would perhaps better accept the sober estimate of Sidney Webb rather than listen to the effusions of refugees who have a grudge against the Soviet order. One of the worst features of the book is its ill-disguised anti-Semitism; some of the chapters are as follows: 'Only one Jew—the Commissar,' 'Can a Jew fly?' Anti-Jewish sentiments darken many of the pages of the book and takes away a good deal from its effectiveness.

NIRMALCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA.

Science and Politics in the Ancient World.—By Benjamin Farrington. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. Pp. 243. 10s. 6d.

In the very first sentence of the book Professor Farrington introduces the connection between science and politics with reference to a modern illustration: "Haeckel, by stressing the application to man of Darwin's theory of the Origin of Species, finds that he has transformed himself from a pure scientist into a politician."

This is a book about the obstacles to the spread of a scientific outlook in the ancient world. Of these obstacles the chief is generally characterised as popular superstition. The purpose of Professor Farrington's study is to raise the question how far popular superstition means superstition originated by the people or imposed upon the people. The testimony of ancient writers is referred to in order that we may distinguish between the two sources of ancient superstition—popular ignorance and deliberate deceit practised, for narrow social and political purposes, by 'philosophers and grave personages of state and government.'

The political implications of the spread of science are of intense current interest. Science found, as it finds today again, its way barred not only by superstition but by a governmental technique of controlling society through organised superstition. The thought of many of the great writers of antiquity was profoundly affected by their attitude to this question. Philosophers like Plato, Aristotle and Cicero, historians like Polybius and Livy, poets like Pindar and Virgil, are seen in a new light when set against this social struggle.

The author gives a new interpretation of the social and political thoughts of ancient writers. His explanation of the attitude of Epicurus and his Roman disciple Lucretius is of particular interest. Plato taught the religion of the city-state buttressed up by his 'noble lies' mentioned at the end of the third book of the *Republic*. Plato's is an authoritarian state based on organised superstition. Plato's religion had a political function, like Machiavelli's, and was incompatible with Ionian science. He was, from one point of view, a fundamentalist in his beliefs. In the view of Epicurus the freedom of the human will was a matter of fact established by observation. Man does not simply move because he is pushed. He makes up his mind to move, and then puts the intention into effect. Epicurus waged a constant and determined war against determinism and police function of religion and he called on men to "free themselves from the prison of business and politics." A refreshing individuality in Epicurianism thus proved a corrective to authoritarianism in private life, religion and social life. The revolt against Platonism that began with the Cynics and the Stoics culminated in Epicurean challenge to Plato.

Lucretius' famous work *De Rerum Natura*, a masterpiece of polemics, was not directed, as Mommsen has pointed out, exclusively, or even mainly, against popular superstition, but that the object of his attack was the state cult as the mainstay and propagator of superstition. Lucretius, like Epicurus, stood for freedom and thus was bitterly attacking the organisation of superstition for reasons of state.

Professor Farrington's book is a remarkable contribution to histories of philosophy and political science. His massive scholarship and clear presentation are very impressive indeed. In view of the growth of authoritarianism and consequent policy of 'indoctrination' of the people, by state agencies, in political slogans and shibboleths, his work is invested with a special meaning and significance.

NIRMALCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Testament of India.—By Ela Sen. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. Pp. 286. 7s. 6d.

Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., the well-known firm of publishers, deserve the thanks of all Indians for arranging a series of publications designed to acquaint the English-reading public all over the world with Indian thoughts and aspirations. *Testament of India* by Mrs. Ela Sen is one of this series and more than upholds the standard attained by the other books of the group. A facile pen has enabled Mrs. Sen to win for herself a wide reputation. In the present book she appears as an intellectual, subjecting Indian leaders and movements to acute analysis and vivisection. She has never been a believer in abstract speculation; what is not linked up with the current of modern life is of no use to her. The pages of her 'Testament' pulsate with life and vitality and have a

delightful flavour of modernism about them. The purpose of the book is to put before the readers a few of the great problems that have faced India during the past twenty years. "The actual aims and aspirations of the vast masses of Indian people," argues Mrs. Sen, "can be no better realised than by a study of their major problems. and, with this object in view, I lay before my readers a number of impressions from the lives and work of those personalities who are the acknowledged leaders of political thought in India today, and also deal with some of those great handicaps—such as communalism—that stand in the way of achieving a happy and united country." The personalities she chooses are Gandhi, Nehru, Tagore, Subhas Bose, Jinnah Naidu, Abdul Gaffar Khan, Malaviya and Rajendra Prasad—representative persons who breathe forth the spirit of the times. Socialism, terrorism, communalism, women's and peasant movements have been dealt with in separate chapters. In the interesting Introduction Mrs. Sen, in setting out the salient features of Indian politics today, remarks that socialism has definitely crept into the country and has come to stay. It is recognised that the reconstruction of India must be on a socialistic basis. This demand for socialism has, however, already proved to be, as the writer points out, a source of serious difference within Congress ranks. The causes and effects of the terrorist movement are analysed with accuracy and the significance and potentialities of women's and peasant movements are indicated with remarkable clarity.

But above all the pen-pictures of the fighters for Indian freedom are at once arresting and fascinating. Many of these pen pictures bear more than one reading. Psychological treatment of character adds a welcome intellectualistic touch. Let us take up the sketch of Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah: "A cynical bitterness surrounds him, as it must any man dissatisfied with his deserts. But beneath it there is a fervor about the man, who is, however, restricted from rising above himself. His own inferiority complex is his greatest enemy. He cloaks it with cynicism, arguments, pose and posture, but underneath his spirit pulsates, wanting self-expression and liberation. His egotism has barred the recesses of his mind and made him the creature which his brilliant intellect and natural gifts have not deserved. Watching him in his struggles for supremacy, hurling bitter invectives, unworthy of his grey hairs, at people because in his mind he is only too conscious of their superiority, a sad reflection steals over one. Once the pride and hope of the nation, the exponent of national aspirations, is now its bitterest foe, its unsurmountable obstacle: 'How art thou fallen, O Lucifer, son of the Morning.' " Mrs. Sen's book is full of such gems. One is reminded of the vigorous characterisations of prominent personalities in 'Pillars of Society' and 'Prophets, Priests and Kings' that emanated from the powerful pen of A. G. Gardiner. All the chapters converge towards a central goal—Indian independence, meaning thereby, political, economic, social and individual freedom. There is no doubt that *Testament of India* will commend itself to all those that are interested in the proper understanding of the political and social scene in India today.

NIRMALCHANDRA BHATTACHARYA.

The Story of Indian Civilisation.—By C. E. M. Joad. Macmillan & Co. Pp. 152. 1936.

This modest sketch of the civilization of our country is, in the words of Prof. Joad himself, 'not a history, or even a history complete in outline, of

India.' His plan has been to select those aspects of Indian History which seemed to him significant or distinctive, and to try to give some account of them, and "as my interest is mainly attracted by the thought and culture of India, these, rather than the political history of the country, have pride of place . . . it is like an impressionist sketch that seeks to present a picture of some brightly coloured scenes rapidly observed by the artist and rendered from a highly personal standpoint almost at the moment of vision. . . . What follows is therefore less the story of Indian civilization than an account of the reactions produced by that story in a highly interested spectator, a product of the very different civilization of the West, whose primary purpose in writing, has been to clear to himself what it is that India has or has had which marks off her civilization from that of all other peoples." The attitude and objective of the author could not be better expressed, and so far as they go Professor Joad has served them very well. In spite of such misstatements as "in the middle of the 7th century B.C. Bimbisāra founded the Maurya Empire," or the "dynasty of the Scythian kings known as the Kuṣāna dynasty was finally overthrown by the Hindu king Samudragupta," the book is really a good introductory study even for adults and the lucidity of style and fine manner of presentation with which the whole story is told, are indeed attractive features of the book. But what a modern reader misses in a book of this kind—and specially when it comes from the mental workshop of Professor Joad—is the absence of any discussion about the material background of Indian civilization, or, in other words, the social economy of the Indian people. Even a man like Professor Joad seems to have been led by the host of traditional historians who write Indian history but ignore the Indian people. After all, the philosophers of the Upaniṣads or the speculators of Indian thought, the masterpieces of Indian sculpture and architecture, the Bhāṣas and Kālidāsa, the Kautilyas and Sukrāchāryas, do not cover more than a fraction of the enormous expanse that we call the Indian scene.

N. RAY

Directory of Indian Libraries.—By the Indian Library Association. Imperial Library, Calcutta. Pp. 104. 1938.

This directory of Indian libraries is a welcome publication, and it is sure to be useful to librarians, library-workers and publishers. The total number of libraries included in the directory is about 269. Of these, 17 are University libraries, 86 college libraries, 26 school libraries, 9 Government libraries and 131 public libraries. It must be remembered that those libraries alone that have a minimum strength of at least 5 thousand volumes find place in this publication, but even then, the number of libraries satisfying this minimum qualification is certainly much more than what is included in the directory. The sponsors complain that it is due to apathy and lack of interest on the part of librarians that a bigger number of libraries could not be included. The response has not been encouraging and in spite of reminders a comparatively small number of libraries supplied the required information. This is really very deplorable.

It is to be hoped a second edition of the directory will soon be called for when fuller details of the existing entries and new and additional entries will be possible.

N. RAY

Ourselves

[I. A New Fellow of the University.—II. The Nagendranandini and Mokshadasundari Gold Medals for 1939.—III. The Onauthnauth Deb Research Prize for 1939.—IV. Annual Prize by the Association of Surgeons of India.—V. Award of the Mount Medal in Literary Subjects.—VI. Khaira Professor of Physics.—VII. Extension Lectures on Geology.—VIII. Donation by the Standard Pharmaceutical Works, Ltd.—IX. The Congress Library. Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad.—X. Lecture on Indian Music.—XI. MSS. of Persian Translation of Mahabharata.—XII. Dr. John Lie Hydrick's proposed visit to India.—XIII. All-India Oriental Conference.—XIV. University Representatives on the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca.—XV. Provincial Board of Anglo-Indian and European Education Bengal. XVI. University Representative on Indian School Sports Association.—XVII. Extension of Affiliation Recommended.—XVIII. Date for the I.E. and B.E. Examinations.]

I. A NEW FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY

His Excellency the Chancellor is pleased to nominate Rai Bahadur Bhadreswar Barua, B.L., to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University in place of Rai Promodchandra Datta, Bahadur, whose term of office expired on the 14th January, 1940.

Mr. Barua has been attached to the Faculty of Law.

* * *

II. THE NAGENDRANANDINI AND MOKSHADASUNDARI GOLD MEDALS FOR 1939

Srimati Usharani Datta, Kavyatirtha, was awarded the Nagendranandini Gold Medal for the year 1939. She submitted an essay entitled "Grihini Grihamuchyate."

The Mokshadasundari Gold Medal for 1939 for which the subject fixed by the University was an essay on Michael Madhusudan Dutt was awarded to each of the following candidates who competed for it:—

Srimati Nihar Dasgupta, B.A., and Srimati Saradindu Devi, B.A.

* * *

III. THE ONAUTHNAUTH DEB RESEARCH PRIZE FOR 1939

Mr. Praphullachandra Ghosh was awarded the Onauthnauth Deb Research Prize for the year 1939. He submitted an essay entitled 'The Relationship between Landlord and Tenant in a Scheme of Tenancy Legislation in Bengal' for the prize.

IV. ANNUAL PRIZE BY THE ASSOCIATION OF SURGEONS OF INDIA

The Association of Surgeons of India has decided to award an annual Prize of the value of Rs. 100 to the author of the best essay on a subject which will be fixed by the Governing Body of the Association and announced at the beginning of every year.

* * *

V. AWARD OF THE MOUAT MEDAL IN LITERARY SUBJECTS

Mr. Makhanlal Raychaudhuri, M.A., was awarded a Mouat Medal on his completion of the second year's term of his Premchand Roychand Studentship in Literary Subjects for the year 1932.

* * *

VI. KHAIRA PROFESSOR OF PHYSICS

The Syndicate has recommended that Dr. Bidhubhushan Roy, D.Sc., may be re-appointed Khaira Professor of Physics and that he may be permitted to serve in that capacity till he completes his sixtieth year.

* * *

VII. EXTENSION LECTURES ON GEOLOGY

Dr. S. Deb, D.Sc. (Paris), has been invited by the University to deliver a special course of lectures for the benefit of Post-Graduate students of Geology on Ore-microscopy and the modern Physico-chemical methods for the determination of opaque minerals.

* * *

VIII. DONATION BY THE STANDARD PHARMACEUTICAL WORKS, LTD.

The Standard Pharmaceutical Works, Ltd., have promised a donation of Rs. 2,100 to the University to be paid in monthly instalments of Rs. 175 towards the expenses in the first year for working out some chemical and biological problems. The investigation will be carried on under the guidance of Dr. Sushilkumar Mitra by two Research Scholars to be appointed by the University on his recommendation in the laboratories of the University College of Science.

The offer has been accepted with thanks.

IX. THE CONGRESS LIBRARY, SWARAJ BHAWAN, ALLAHABAD

In response to a circular letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad requesting authors, editors and publishers that complimentary copies of all publications may be given to the Congress Library, Allahabad, our University has decided to make a free gift to it of a complete set of all books published by it and has included the Congress Library in the complimentary list of its publications.

* * *

X. LECTURE ON INDIAN MUSIC

Mr. Tej Narayan Singh will deliver a lecture at the University on a Comparative Study of Indian and Western Music which he will illustrate by means of practical demonstration.

* * *

XI. MSS. OF PERSIAN TRANSLATION OF MAHABHARATA

The University has decided to purchase the MSS. of a Persian translation of the Mahabharata about a century and half old. It is not, however, a complete work, parts 8—18 only being found in it. It does not give the date which seems to have been rubbed off but the paper, ink, etc., prove it to belong to the end of the eighteenth century.

* * *

XII. DR. JOHN LIE HYDRICK'S PROPOSED VISIT TO INDIA

Dr. John Lie Hydrick, who is well-known for his work in the field of Public Health Administration and Health Education and is an authority on visual aids in Education, will shortly pay a visit to India. It has been suggested that the Teachers' Training Department and the Students' Welfare Committee should avail themselves of Dr. Hydrick's visit to this country for the benefit of the students.

* * *

XIII. ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Professor Hemchandra Raychaudhuri and Dr. Maryla Falk attended the All-India Oriental Conference held at Tirupati during the Easter holidays as representatives of our University.

XIV. UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVES ON THE BOARD OF INTERMEDIATE
AND SECONDARY EDUCATION, DACCA

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A., Principal, University Law College, and Mr. J. C. Chakravorti, M.A., Registrar, Calcutta University, have been appointed to represent our University on the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca, for the year 1940-41.

• • •

XV. PROVINCIAL BOARD OF ANGLO-INDIAN AND EUROPEAN
EDUCATION, BENGAL

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor has been appointed representative of this University on the Provincial Board of Anglo-Indian and European Education, Bengal.

• • •

XVI. UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVE ON INDIAN SCHOOL SPORTS
ASSOCIATION

Mr. Anathnath Chatterjee, M.B., B.S., Honorary Secretary, Students' Welfare Committee, has been re-appointed as University representative on the General Committee of the Indian School Sports Association.

• • •

XVII. EXTENSION OF AFFILIATION RECOMMENDED

The Syndicate has recommended to the Senate that in extension of the affiliation already granted the following Colleges may be affiliated with effect from the session 1940-41 in the subjects and to the standard mentioned against each of them :—

The Victoria College, Comilla, in Sanskrit to the B.A. Honours Standard.

The Krishnachandra College, Hetampur, in Elements of Civics to the I.A. Standard.

The Gokhale Memorial Girls' College in Logic and the Alternative Paper in English to the I.A. Standard.

XVIII. DATES FOR THE I.E. AND B.E. EXAMINATIONS

The commencing dates for the above examinations have been fixed as follows :—

I.E. Section A	}	Monday, the 19th August, 1940
B.E. non-Professional		
I.E. Section B	}	Wednesday, the 21st August, 1940.
B.E. Professional		

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MAY, 1940

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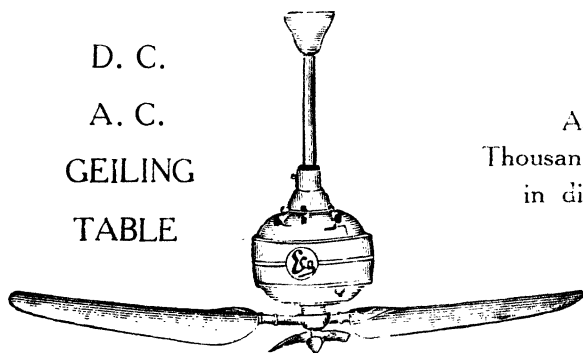
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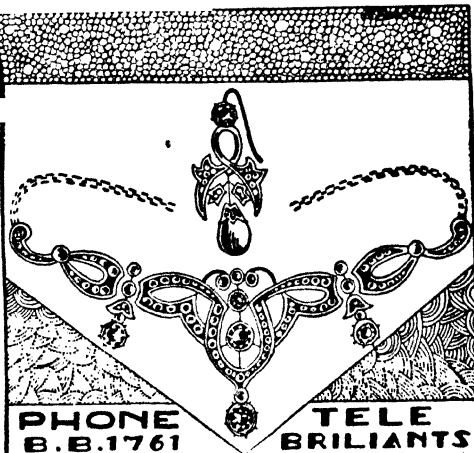
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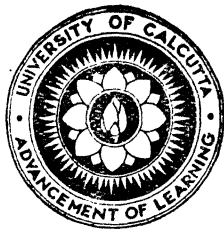
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1940

THE SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RAY, KT.

VII

SHAKESPEARE AS A REVISER OF PLAYS WRITTEN BY OTHERS—

AUTHORSHIP OF *Titus Andronicus* AND THE THREE

PARTS OF *Henry VI*

IN previous issues the present writer has attempted to impress upon his readers the general conditions prevailing in the literary circles of Elizabethan England. The reader must not forget, however, that the players and playwrights were equally condemned for their profession and that the authors were denied, as a general rule, the benefit of their productions. They wrote in most cases according to the suggestions and directions of the theatre-managers and nobody was conscious about the permanency of their writings. Consequently the custom of hack-writing was much in vogue at that time and Henslowe's diary extending over a period of barely half a dozen years from 1591 to 1597 affords us a number of names of dramatists. The names of Jonson, Chapman, Middleton, Dekker, Munday, Heywood, Wilson, Chettle along with a lot of others recur in the said diary in connection

with the production of a number of plays. It has further been pointed out that collaboration and revision were the order of the day. Besides, unacknowledged borrowing was never taken into consideration either by the authors themselves or by the general public. The players produced their dramas and being, as a rule, needy and impecunious sold them to the theatre-managers; they had no lien on their copyright and the laws on the subject were very vague and indefinite. There were many rival theatre companies, *e.g.*, 'The Theatre' (1576), 'The Curtain' (1577), 'The Bear Garden' (1583), 'The Rose' (1587), 'The Globe' (1599), etc., and there existed a keen competition for new plays and a hunt for plots. From a study of Henslowe's record, it will be apparent that any author was at liberty to make use of an old play, retouch it and vamp it up to suit the current taste without being held guilty of plagiarism; naturally Shakespeare has been credited with 'having served his apprenticeship as a "playdresser" revising and bringing up to date the work of other men.' In all the early plays critics have found immaturity of style and there is noticeable a continuous improvement in this respect. This will be evidenced by comparing the versification of, say, *All's Well that Ends Well* with that of *King Lear* and *The Tempest*. We notice, in his earlier productions, frequent indulgence in punning, quibbling and alliteration, which is conspicuously absent in his later and maturer productions.

Just before Shakespeare's acceptance of playwright's profession the dramatic field was only attracting the university wits and Marlowe, Lyly, Greene, Peele, Nashe were fixing themselves up once for all for the stage. No doubt with their advent the general standard of playwriting was improving from place to place. In fact, non-university talents were being gradually ousted from the field.

It is perfectly natural, then, that when unacknowledged borrowing was allowable, and when Shakespeare was only in his nonage—there is no doubt that he was—his trembling pen in its prentice state would try to show its worth by plagiarising the works of others. But this is more a speculation than an assertion and one has to see what he can logically conclude from a few specific cases where there are evident rooms for doubt. In Henslowe-papers one would never come across the name of Shakespeare in any connection, neither there is a single line extant to show that Shakespeare ever indulged in hack-writing or took to the practice of collaborating with others.

Let us begin with *Titus Andronicus*.

Some critics hesitate to admit *Titus Andronicus* in the Shakespearean cannon, on aesthetic ground, as it is a blood-curdling tragedy of horror drawn up on the Senecan model. But its inclusion in Mere's list (1598) as also in the 1st folio is a strong proof in favour of Shakespeare's authorship. Jonson's reference in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) fixes the date between 1584 and 1589:

Hee that will sweare Ieronimo, or Andronicus are the best playes, yet, shall passe unexpected at, heere, as a man whose Iudgement shoves it is constant, and hath stood still, these fve and twentie, or thirtie years.

In 1687 Ravenscroft when printing his version of *Titus Andronicus* remarked in the preface:

I have been told by some anciently conversant with the Stage, that it was not originally his, but brought by a private Author to be Acted, and he only gave some Master-touches to one or two of the Principal Parts or Characters; this I am apt to believe, because it is the most incorrect and indigested piece in all his Workes, It seems rather a heap of Rubbish than a Structure.

There are several entries about this play in Henslowe's diary between 1591 and 1594. To quote a specimen:

ne [new] at tittus and vixpacia the 11 of aprell 1591

.....IIJ'' IIIJs.

Titus Andronicus was after all a very popular play.

Ravenscroft's evidence is a late tradition first noted 71 years after Shakespeare's death and cannot be taken into serious consideration.

Heminge and Condell were long connected with the Globe and with the man Shakespeare who was their fellow-actor. When these friends edited his writings out of pious regard for perpetuating his memory, it is easy to understand that they would not include pieces in their collection which were not from Shakespeare's pen. On the whole the present writer would state clearly that he holds that *Titus Andronicus*, whatever the internal evidence may suggest, came entirely from our poet's pen. It was after all an early production when Shakespeare was just entering into the field as an apprentice. He was, therefore, naturally tempted to conform to the popular taste for tragedies on the Senecan model.

It is clear that in his early years Shakespeare was content to allow his pen to be guided; he was apprenticed, so to speak, to Marlowe, Kyd, Lyly, Greene and perhaps others, taking their good things where he could find them, transforming them into what he wished, standing out from the very beginning as a separate voice, though one which is not always easy to distinguish when he sang in parts with others.

Let us glance hastily at the history of the chronicle type of play in England in the time of Greene's *James IV*.* Plays on subjects drawn from English history had been more or less common since the production of *Gorboduc* in 1562.

Even before the Spanish Armada (1588), England had become conscious of her own power and eager for the display of her prowess. It was under the stimulus of this growing consciousness of might that the first true chronicle play, *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, was written. In this play a dramatist for the first time displays an adequate sense of the objective value of the materials derived from history combined with that insight into human nature and largeness of imaginative power that are necessary to make of the dry records of Holinshed and Stow a moving dramatic story. '*The life and death of Jack Straw*' which also probably preceded the Armada, in its first production, is, while not so good as *The Famous Victories*, a play of vigorous characterisation and native English colouring of historical events. But we are probably 'not far from the truth in supposing that it was the year 1588 that brought the complete development of the chronicle type.

Marlowe's *Edward II*, the faultless masterpiece of his dramatic composition, was produced probably in 1590. And within a few years, in quick succession there came *Edward III*, *Richard II*, and *Richard III*, the *Henry VI* trilogy and the culminating trilogy of the two parts of *Henry IV* and *Henry V*.

It is the *Henry VI* trilogy which has given rise to animated controversies even among the most recognised and authoritative critics of Shakespearean scholarship. Up till recently it was held that *Henry VI*, Parts II and III, were based upon the *Contention between the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster* and the *Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York* respectively, but Mr. Peter Alexander has shown that

* *Greene* (Mermaid series), Nos. XLII-XIII.

it is the other way about and that they were bad quartos of pirated editions of *Henry VI*, Parts II and III, as given in the folio of 1623; the proofs he adduces carry conviction, but do not altogether do away with the valid opinions held all along that Shakespeare was indebted to his predecessors Marlowe, Kyd, Greene, Peele, Nash and Lodge. Just like *Titus Andronicus*, Henslowe records the receipts on 'harey The VJ' which was after all, as appears from his diary, a very popular play of the time. It is noted thus:

Ne [new] at harey VJ the 3 of marche 1591.....IIJ" XVJ³8d

Critics are of opinion that this is Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, although there is no convincing argument of its being so.

Mr. Alexander in his *Henry VI and Richard III* has no doubt made out a strong case in support of his thesis but he goes too far when he says that the story of *Taming of a Shrew* and *A Lier* are based upon *Taming upon the Shrew* and *The Leir* respectively. Prof. Pollard in his introduction to Alexander's book puts it thus: "Is it justifiable to call in Marlowe when it is possible to do without him, and if we refrain from calling in Greene, Nash or Marlowe is it reasonable to call in Peele who is notoriously called in by every theorizer about plays of the period who wants to account for a quantity of quiet dull verse? I confess I want Peele so bitterly in *1 Henry VI* to shoulder the Joan of Arc libels as a pair to his libels on Queen Eleanor in *Edward I* and in *Richard III* to take the blame for the interminable flyting between Richard and his mother and wife." Proceeding further he asserts: "If Shakespeare had any collaborator in these four plays I cannot help believing it was Peele."

Other opinions on this subject by experts are given below:

Malone observes that "the play (*Henry VI*) which I am confident was not originally the production of Shakespeare, but of another poet, was extremely popular being represented in the season between March 3 and June 13 (1599) no less than 13 times."

Dr. Ward, citing the conclusions of Fleay and Grant White, opines that Marlowe and perhaps Peele and Lodge were involved in the partnership.

"It is as nearly certain as anything can be which depends chiefly upon cumulative and collateral evidence that the better part of what

is best in the serious scenes of *King Henry VI* is mainly the work of Marlowe." *—Thus records Swinburne in his *The Age of Shakespeare*.

Prof. Barret Wendell, citing Fleay, says that Greene, Peele, Kyd and Marlowe had a hand in the 3 parts.

Dr. Schelling is of opinion that it is an old play by Greene assisted by Peele and Marlowe.

W. W. Greg holds that it is possible or probable that there was an earlier version of this play (*Henry VI*) and it was only *new* owing to the addition of the Talbot scene by Shakespeare. There may also have been a later revision.

Sir Sidney Lee believes that Greene and Peele are authors of the first draft of all three parts, Shakespeare and Marlowe collaborating on the revision of Parts 2 and 3.

Prof. Masfield's view is that Part I is the work of three minds, that of Shakespeare who saw a big tragic purpose in events and at least two mechanical minds, who neither criticised nor understood but had some sense of the pageant. H. C. Hart holds that it is the work of Greene in collaboration probably with Peele and Shakespeare. Tucker Brooke says that it is wholly the work of Peele.

Bonamy Dobrée, in his essay "Shakespeare and the Drama of his Time" included in *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies* (1934), says that Shakespeare must be classed with the group which numbered Marlowe, Kyd and Greene, for he worked with their material and by their methods besides using much the same sources. He also adds that Shakespeare probably developed his idiom mainly from Marlowe and Kyd.

In the celebrated and oft-quoted passage in which Shakespeare is for the first time referred to as a player in London in 1592, 'A Groatworth of Wit Bought with a Million of Repentance' which Greene wrote on his death and runs as follows:

"Base minded men all three of you (probably Marlowe, Lodge and Peele), if by my misery ye be not warned: for unto none of you, like me, sought those burs to cleave. Those puppets, I mean, that speak from our mouths, those antics garnished in our colours Trust them not for there is an *upstart crow* beautified with our feathers and being an

* " Marlowe is the one and only precursor of that veritable king 'of kings and lord of lords among all writers and all thinkers of all time' "

—Swinburne, *Contemporaries of Shakespeare*.

absolute Johannes Factotum is, in his own conceit, the only *shake-scene* in a country."

The drift of the argument is this: 'We, gentlemen and scholars, have founded the drama in England, and had hitherto held a monopoly of the theatres. Those puppets, antics, base grooms, buckram gentlemen, peasants, painted monsters'—for he calls the players by all these names in succession—have now learned not only how to act our scenes, but how to imitate them; and there is one among them, Shakespeare, who will drive us to penury.'¹

In the above the words 'upstart crow' and 'shake-scene' evidently refer, as we have noticed before, to Shakespeare.²

Now, it is generally admitted that Marlowe was the first to make use of blank verse in the dramatic composition on the public stage. So that a part of the slur on Shakespeare is that he is rivalling or trying to rival Marlowe in this his most judicious and most fruitful innovation. Contemporaries also took it in that light. Referring to Shakespeare's plagiarism an anonymous writer (R. B.) wrote in *Greene's Funerals*:

Greene, gave the ground, to all that wrote upon him.
Nay more the men that so eclipt his fame:
Purloyned his plumes, can they deny the same?

In support of the views put forth above, we may quote Sir Walter Raleigh, who is taken to be one of the most balanced of Shakespearean critics. He says: 'Lowliness is young ambition's ladder and the only way to success is by conforming to the prevalent fashions and usages, i.e. by treading on the footsteps of Marlowe, Kyd, etc.'

A good portion of *Henry VI* deals with the character and action of Joan of Arc. The denigration of Pucelle has been taken to be a discredit on Shakespeare whose impersonality is the most prominent trait. Shakespeare simply followed Holinshed and still more closely in this respect Hall upon whom the former largely drew. We find her described in the chronicles under every form of vituperation; Shakespeare has portrayed the character of the Maid with an undisguised sympathy for her courage, her patriotism, her high intellect and her enthusiasm, thus setting aside the charge of denigration. Such transfiguration and impartial treatment of character

¹ J. A. Symonds.

² *Calcutta Review*, Feb. 1940, p. 105.

is only possible in the hands of Shakespeare, who was a master in the knowledge of the springs of character.

The authenticity of all three parts has been doubted since Pope and in Part I which might have become associated with the other two, even if it were not by the same author. Malone¹ maintains that, except in parts of the fourth act, there was not a single print of the footstep of Shakespeare.

Coleridge, himself a poet of the first order and a reputed critic, very pertinently observes : " Read aloud any two or three passages in blank verse even from Shakespear's earliest dramas, as *Love's Labour's Lost* or *Romeo and Juliet* and then read in the same way the opening speech ' Hung be the heavens with black,' etc., in *1 Henry VI* ; pay especial attention to the metre ; and if you do not feel the impossibility of the latter having been written by Shakespeare, all I dare suggest is, that you may have ears, for so has another animal."

In his *Shakespeare Primer* Dowden writes in the same strain : *King Henry VI*, Part I, is almost an old play by one or more authors, which we find it in the first folio, had received touches from the hand of Shakespeare, Greene having the chief hand in the play and he may have been assisted by Peele and Marlowe.

" The general spirit of the drama," says he, " belongs to an older school and it is a happiness not to have to ascribe to our greatest poet the crude and hateful handling of the character of John of Arc excused though to some extent it may be by the concurrence of view in our old English chronicles."

Malone tries to establish that Shakespeare had no hand at all in the original composition of *1 and 2 Henry VI*. Knight is of opinion that Shakespeare was the sole author of the plays in their original form. Grant White supports his belief in the joint workmanship of Shakespeare, Robert Greene and Christopher Marlowe. In supplementing the above views, Hudson, in his introduction to *King Henry VI*, Part II, puts it in an artful manner : " As I have no fourth theory to offer, nor any ambition to excogitate one, I am content to tie up substantially with Mr. White : That the two plays were originally written conjointly by Greene, Marlowe and Shakespeare, the latter doing much the larger portion ; that afterwards, for reasons unknown to us, Shakespeare rewrote them, throwing out most of what the other

¹ See the dissertation on *Henry VI* by Malone in Vol. 18, Ed. Boswell Jr.

two had contributed, and replacing it with his own matter, and otherwise improving them ; that this joint authorship was the reason of no author's name being given in the first two editions ; and that Greene's share in them, perhaps Marlowe's also, sufficiently accounts for the use made of them, or of one of them, by ' the Earl of Pembroke's Servants,' a theatrical company with which Shakespeare is not known or believed to have had any connection."

Now, it is very important to note that Mr. Alexander's book (*Henry VI and Richard III*) was written in 1929 ; but in ' Companion to Shakespeare Studies ' published so late as 1934, edited by Harley Granville Barker and G. B. Harrison, acknowledged to be the standard critics of the third decade of the 20th century, most of the views put forward by Alexander have been refuted. Therein one of the contributors, Mr. A. L. Attwater, observes : " It is however round Shakespeare's share in the three parts of *Henry VI* that controversy has raged longest. Part I appeared first in the folio but versions of Parts II and III were published in quarto, the *first part of the contention betwixt the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster* in 1594, the true tragedie of *Richard Duke of York* in 1595. Dr. Johnson came to the conclusion that these were piracies. After all, there remains only internal evidence of style upon which to determine the question of authorship.

Again, in the same book Bonamy Dobrée, under ' Shakespeare as Part of his Time,' writes : " To what degree Shakespeare was influenced by his collaborators, how much effect he had on them, is a dubious matter, but it is none the less fascinating and important for that." He says that the four playwrights who seem to have given the impetus to the main movement of the times are Marlowe, Kyd, Greene and Peele, of whom the first two are the most important.

• The indefatigable labour of Prof. Allison Gaw deserves special mention in this connection. In his *Origin and Development of 1 Henry VI*, he arrives at the conclusion that, in the *1 Henry VI* we have a clear case of a composite manuscript, the joint product of several authors and bearing unmistakable marks of their respective idiosyncrasies as to spelling, a manuscript that later underwent interpolation or revision by another hand twice and probably three times and that finally, thirty-one years after its first penning, passed legitimately from its undoubted theatre-owners to the compositors of the basic text in the folio of 1623. Gaw contends : " The fullest treatment

of the problem of the authorship of this play, but its conclusions are affected by the theory put forward by P. Alexander."

Prof. Pollard, though he gives an unqualified assent to Alexander's views, cannot make up his mind to give up altogether a collaborator to Shakespeare and urges: "Shakespeare must surely have made his false starts like other men and occasionally even have got some way with a play, and then put it aside to work at another likely at the moment to win greater success."

It will thus be clear that the majority of views quoted here lends support to the collaboration theory and attempts have been made by critics to sort out the lines from different hands. The present writer also believes that *Henry VI*, more specially its first part, was not of Shakespeare's writing alone but was the product of composite authorship.

(To be continued)

THE TWO INDIAN NATIONS

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THE Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1921 and the Government of India Act, 1935, mark three stages of progressive self-government by Indians in the economic and political spheres. Nationalists with leftist tendencies maintain that, while we have reason to be thankful for what we have received, we should not fail to realise that somehow the British Government has taken away with one hand what it has given with the other. To all these reforms in the constitution has been tagged the Communal Award with its encouragement to the elements of disruption. Under the plea of safeguarding the interests of the minority communities, a deliberate attempt, such people hold, has been made to divide us into various sections and sub-sections and into mutually conflicting parties. As the result of this most pernicious of measures, our Mussalman brethren have been induced to regard themselves as aliens in the land of their birth. To such an extent has this objectionable mentality been developed that they are claiming that, though living in India for centuries, they do not belong to her ; that their natural affiliations, religious, political and social, are with their brothers in faith living in foreign lands and not with those with whom they are naturally allied by living in the same land and under the same Government. Is it, therefore, any wonder that those of them who hold such views should, of set purpose, stand outside any movement which seeks to establish All-India national solidarity ?

ALL-WORLD MUSLIM SYMPATHY

The question of questions with us to-day is why should members of the Hindu and Muslim communities, which have been living side by side for generations and which are bound to each other by every conceivable tie except that of professing a common faith, be constantly

engaged in a struggle now degenerating into physical clashes, at other times rising to the economic and the political plane. Another equally interesting question is why should a section of the Mussalman population of India feel so little sympathy for its Hindu neighbours while it is prepared to extend its friendship and affection in the fullest possible measure to its co-religionists who might live in a distant country and whom it has never seen. Does all this happen because the Hindu and Mussalman of India think that they belong to different nations though they have been living in the same country for centuries and also because Mussalmans all over the world are supposed to be members of one and indivisible nation ?

Sir Theodore Morrison, at one time Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University, in defending the separatist attitude of the great Muslim community, has quoted Sir Abdur Rahim who, according to him is reported to have said : " Any of us Indian Muslims travelling for instance in Afghanistan, Persia, and Central Asia, among Chinese Muslims, Arabs, and Turks, would at once be made at home and would not find anything to which we are not accustomed. On the contrary, in India we find ourselves in all social matters total aliens when we cross the street and enter that part of the town where our Hindu fellow townsmen live."

PAN-ISLAMIC UNITY

It may be, as Sir Abdur Rahim stated, that the Mussalman, to whatever country he might belong, has a certain affinity with his brothers in faith settled in every part of the world which makes him a welcome guest whenever he seeks hospitality from his co-religionist. But this is confined to the social and religious aspects of life and it is not correct to assume that this feeling of brotherhood is to be found on other than these planes.

For instance, Mr. Rezaul Karim, M.A., B.L., who, as a Mussalman, may be expected to be familiar with actual conditions, in his article contributed to the " Hindusthan Standard " of the 8th May, 1939, points out that the Indian Mussalman when he goes abroad continues to be known and called an Indian. The Arab Muslim invariably calls the Indian Muslims, Hindus or Indians. The Indian Muslim living under foreign domination is not ordinarily granted the same privileges and facilities enjoyed by the Mussalman coming from an independent

country. He is always treated as a foreigner. Here the profession of a common faith makes no difference. The attitude of the Government of Iraq towards the Mussalmans of India will prove this to the hilt. In that country, the facilities granted willingly to the Iraqi Christian are denied to the Indian Mussalman. The ideal of Pan-Islamism has no influence whatsoever in changing their point of view. This merely shows what a mistake our Muslim brethren are making when they look for sympathy and support from Muslim States lying beyond their homeland. They must be prepared to cast in their lot with their own countrymen and while continuing to be a part of the Indian nation secure all possible safeguards for conserving their legitimate rights and privileges.

I would take the liberty of pointing it out here that the grievance has reference to what, for want of a better term, may be called social ostracism. It is an undeniable fact that the orthodox Hindu does not and cannot welcome the Mussalman to his house as a guest. But it is also equally true that, within Hindu society itself, there are groups which have little social intercourse or none. Still, they do not deny that they are one nation. Such separatist feelings are not the monopoly of India alone. What about the Indian who cannot always find lodgings in democratic England simply because he is an Indian? And even in England itself, is it not true that the different social strata are so separated that they have their own clubs, their own hotels and even their own quarters and that the new-rich find considerable difficulty in entering society? National India, conscious of its own defects, has no desire to criticise the shortcomings of other nations but it is not prepared to allow such attacks to pass unchallenged, specially when they come from quarters which can, by no means, be regarded as innocent. At any rate, what India expects is that, admitting the existence of these shortcomings and defects in our social structure, the British Government, which claims to rule India for the benefit of her nationals, should not do anything to emphasise such difference but, on the other hand, should try to obliterate them. And this, it is contended, has not been always done. On the contrary, the policy followed has very often been in a different direction altogether, and this we regard as extremely regrettable and open to uncharitable interpretation in which we have no desire to indulge.

Probably the opinion that Muslims, no matter what country they live in, form one nation, was first publicly uttered within recent times

by Sir Mohammed Yakub, one of the most prominent members of the Muslim League, in the course of a statement issued through the "Associated Press" on the 11th January, 1939. He said: "The Mussalmans cannot be divided according to their country of domicile, they are a single indivisible nation, living in different parts of the world. The Mussalmans of India do not belong to the same community as the other Indians. They belong to an altogether different nation and, as such, are entitled to be classed as a different nation, and not as a community, claiming their own rights of self-determination. The Mussalmans of India can never accept any declaration of rights, or any charter of safeguards, however just and generous they may be, which gives them no hand in its formation and which reduces them to the status of a minority community."

One wonders whether the British Government, in making the Communal Award, ever thought of consulting the Mussalmans living in other parts of the world and also whether those of our Muslim brethren living in India who believe in it, before utilising it for entering various public bodies, consulted the All-World Mussalman nation to which Sir Mohamed Yakub refers.

It is admitted that there is great sympathy among Mussalmans living in different parts of the world, but this does not turn them into one nation. In the different Christian denominations also there is this sympathy but it does not make them members of one nation. For instance, a humble Baptist like myself, when deputed to represent the Baptist Lay Association of Bengal, was offered hospitality in English, Scotch and Welsh as well as Canadian and American homes. But it does not follow, because all my hosts and myself believe in a particular interpretation of the teachings of the Bible, we are members of one nation.

It is true that the sympathies of Mussalmans extend to their co-religionists all over the world and that this outlook has exercised a profound influence on the political history of this community in India. When Italy captured Tripoli, when the Christian States in the Balkans united in a wanton attack on Turkey and when France was allowed to establish a so-called protectorate over Morocco, the Mussalmans of India were convinced that Christian Europe had made up its mind to utterly demolish the last remnants of Muslim power. It is said, but with what truth I do not know, that, in the Great War, the Muslim soldiers in Mesopotamia showed great reluctance in

fighting against their Muslim brethren who were supporting the Central powers. But the greatest blow was the stand taken against Turkey. At that time, Sir Syed Ahmed is reported to have said: "When there were many Muslim kingdoms, we did not feel much grief when one of them was destroyed; now that so few are left, we feel the loss of even a small one. If Turkey is conquered, that will be a great grief, for she is the last of the great powers left to Islam. We are afraid that we shall become, like the Jews, a people without a country of our own."

One feels surprised that a fine Mussalman of the type of Sir Syed should have compared his great community scattered over the whole world to the homeless Jews if Turkey had been swallowed up by any of the great European powers. I am not aware that any prominent Mussalman of either Egypt, Africa or the Malaya Peninsula where Islam is followed extensively made any observation of a similar nature. It seems to me that this attitude would have a better justification if, instead of Turkey, Mecca and Medina, the sacred places of Islam, were to fall into the hands of the infidels.

What I hold is that this idea of all Mussalmans of the whole world forming one nation is the product of a sentiment which is partly religious and partly cultural. We have about 2 million Baptists in Soviet Russia with their pastors and we have not received any authentic information about them or their Church activities for the last 3 or 4 years, and we feel for them but that does not make us one nation. Whenever natural calamities occur, we open our purse strings for our brethren living in remote parts of the world—we hold identical theological beliefs and belong to the same religious organisation but most certainly we are not one race or one nation.

COMPOSITION OF THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY

Let us turn to what Sir Theodore Morrison, the champion of the separatist Mussalmans, has got to say on the composition of the Muslim community of India: "Some of these Muslims are descendants of the Arabs, Afghans, and Turks who came down from the heights of Central Asia in successive waves of conquest, but the great number by blood are natives of the soil, high-born Rajputs, hardworking Sudras, or lowly outcastes who were converted to Islam by nameless missionaries or by those famous saints whose tombs are to this day

visited by countless pilgrims. The Muslim population in India was increased and strengthened from yet another source : from the days of Kutbuddin Aibak in the thirteenth century down to the death of Aurangzeb in the eighteenth century, a continuous stream of soldiers and scholars, of artists and administrators came to take service under Muslim kings from the highly civilized cities of Central Asia ; many of these men wrote their names upon the pages of Indian history and founded families which are still held in high esteem. Owing to the caste system of the Hindus, these Muslim invaders and converts were not merged in the general population but remained a distinct people."

Every one who claims the least knowledge of the history of India is aware that the Mussalmans of foreign birth who came either as invaders or as seekers of service under the Muslim rulers of India were but a handful as compared with the bulk of the Mussalman population and that, in the first instance, as invaders ever will, they settled in towns and cities where they surrounded themselves with soldiers for protection as well as for the purpose of carrying on the work of administration entrusted to them. It is, therefore, that the many characteristic features of exotic Mussalman culture and civilisation are to be found in cities like Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Lahore, etc. The bulk of the Mussalman population consisted of converts, generally drawn from the poorer and less advanced Hindu classes. What little of Semitic culture they imbibed was largely diluted by their inherited culture which must have been very strongly tinged by the preponderating Hindu environment in which they lived. The Mussalman aristocratic families too have gradually been intermarrying not only among themselves but also with the wealthier and better-off convert families. To say that the Mussalmans of to-day form a nation by themselves is to take an untenable and illogical position. The bulk of the population of India, in fact nearly 90 per cent, lives in the rural areas. They have no interest in the Pan-Islamic outlook and all the difference they can appreciate between themselves and their Hindu brethren is the difference in the religions they profess. But even here there are points of contact. The Hindu makes his supplications, offers his prayers and his gifts at the shrines of Mussalman saints and the Muslim does the same at the shrines of Hindu saints. Both the Hindu *Sannyasi* and the Muslim *Faqir* flourish at the expense of the Hindu and the Mussalman peasant. I have seen this in

Bengal and Assam, in Bihar and in the United Provinces as also in the Punjab and in Madras. I give below a short extract from what a correspondent wrote to the "Statesman" which appeared in its issue of the 9th June, 1939. This will prove beyond any shadow of a doubt that such contacts between the communities are by no means exceptional and also that in many cases the worship or celebration is a joint one in which members of both the communities take part without the slightest feeling of religious intolerance. The account in question runs as follows:—

"On a painted wall, prominent along the road in Shanwarpeth, Poona, are two niches containing two small shrines—one, the Hindu 'Masoba' and the other a Moslem 'Sayed Sadadat.'

"To the Hindu and Moslem residents of this essentially Hindu locality these two shrines, standing side by side—hardly a foot separating them—are dear as they have been jointly paying homage to the two shrines for generations. They have gladly and willingly subscribed towards the upkeep of these two shrines, and every year they jointly celebrate the 'Urs' of both.

"On Friday last week (*i.e.*, the 2nd June, 1939) took place the joint annual celebration of the 'Urs' when the Hindu 'Masoba' had a new coat of red paint and the Moslem shrine was presented with a green silk covering—and both Hindus and Moslems subscribed towards the cost."

This sympathy and toleration, which are bringing together Hindu and Mussalman, are not confined to the poorer people among the two communities only, as has been suggested here and there by some of our Muslim friends. It is also to be found among those of their leaders who have no desire to exploit the ignorance and the fanaticism of their less fortunate brethren for the attainment of personal ends. The following extract from that well-known daily of Madras, "The Hindu," dated the 31st December, 1938, will prove my contention:—

"By laying the foundation stone of a temple in a village near Hoskote, and of a Bhajana hall in Hoskote, Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, provided yet another instance of his broad-mindedness and cosmopolitan outlook which have earned for him the love and regard of millions of Mysoreans.

"Laying the foundation stone, Sir Mirza said he considered it a great honour that the Committee should have asked him, a non-Hindu, to perform that sacred and important duty.

“ It was a truism that all religions aimed at the same goal and those who realised the true significance of religion lived in mutual friendship and regard.

“ The great Hindu Bhakta Poet, Kabir, had said that the recitation of the word ‘ Rama ’ or ‘ Rahim ’ meant the adoration of one and the same God. The same philosophy had been expounded by Sri Ramkrishna Paramahansa also. In their own State, their beloved Ruler set an example in that direction by his respect for Islam and Christianity.”

In the civilised world of to-day, we find different social, religious, and even racial groups living together and forming one nation, for the reason that they have one common economic and political aim. National India holds that Mussalmans have no right to ask for protection and safeguards from the enmity of neighbours with whom they have been living for generations and with whom they share the soil. It is not natural that Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian should live side by side, intermingle in town and country and yet each regard itself as a separate nation. If they differ in certain matters, these are certain customs and usages which characterise their external life. If they have come to think of themselves as separate peoples, it is only because they have been led astray by interested parties whose purposes would be best served by keeping them estranged.

COMMUNALISM AND THE MUSLIM MASSES

Sir Hugh McPherson, ex-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, who has made a special study of communal antagonism, says: “ The great masses of the rural population, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, are simple cultivators, who at all normal times live in peace and amity. Their chief pre-occupations are the timely arrival and seasonal distribution of the annual rains, the tillage of their fields, the gathering of their harvests, their dealings with their landlords and their moneylenders. Religious festivals are one of their few excitements. If these occasionally lead to strife and bloodshed, normal relations are resumed as soon as the lava flow of passions subsides. The urban masses are more prone to communal strife, because life is more complicated in the towns. Here political friction often stimulates religious antagonism ; temples and mosques are closer together ; there is more danger of collision in the narrow streets, and a larger admixture of the

rowdy turbulent elements that love disorder for its own sake and for its opportunities. The educated classes of both communities, when their vision is not temporarily clouded by some communal issue, work harmoniously together in all walks of life. It may indeed be claimed with justice that they have been drawn together, not severed, by their century and a half of association under a common administration which has given them the same laws, the same security of person and freedom of action, the same schools and universities, the same progressive civilization and the bond of a common speech." These are words of wisdom spoken by a true friend of India. Let us, therefore, sink all our differences and try to bring closer the day when separatism will disappear not only among the educated but also among the uneducated, and when any one who tries to fan communal passions will be regarded in the same light as one who tries to tempt a man to become a thief or a robber. Let me conclude by reminding my readers what Sir Syed Ahmed, the founder of what is now the Aligarh University, said in 1875. Comparing the Hindu and the Mussalman communities to the two eyes of a beautiful damsel, he said: "If you hit the one, you hurt the other." He also insisted that all Indians who reside in India belonged to "one and the same nation."

UNITY IN ESSENTIAL MATTERS

The ideal of nationalism is the outcome of several factors all operating together in multifarious ways and directions. It would be incorrect to hold that each and every one of these conditions must be present in each and every case and that the absence of one or more of these elements would have the effect of stopping the evolution of nationalism in any country or even that these conditions must exist in their plenitude in a country or among the different groups of the people. History teaches us that it is enough if some of these conditions are present. It has also to be remembered that even if these are not to be found to-day, that is no reason why they should not appear to-morrow.

It is quite true that in our motherland some of these conditions are not to be found at present. For instance, we profess different religions and speak different languages, nor is there that absolute identity of stock which is so powerful a factor in uniting different groups. A majority of the Mussalmans come from the same stock as the majority

community, but they love to think of themselves as descendants either of the Arabs, the Mughals, or the Pathans. They forget that in a large majority of cases, on account of frequent intermarriage with the Hindu converts, the Arabian and Central Asian blood has been diluted to such an extent as to lose its characteristics for all practical purposes.

Ordinarily, every one born in India is known as, or is called, an Indian. It is only people wanting to create divisions and discord among us who dub us Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and so forth. If we examine the inner life of Indians, we find the presence in it of certain common ideas, feelings and sympathies and the religion they profess does not, at least here, make any difference. These ideals, feelings and sympathies, which are common to all of us irrespective of our religion, are not shared with us by people professing our faith who live outside the boundaries of India. They are concerned with purely Indian problems and peculiarly Indian difficulties. As such they must necessarily appeal to us but not to our brothers in faith living in other countries who, in their turn, are naturally concerned with their own domestic problems. This sympathy and fellow-feeling have made us co-operate with one another in the past and, what is more, they will, with every year that passes, encourage greater co-operation among the different communities. And this must be so, for a clearer vision of our difficulties must come with time as well as the realisation of the fact that co-operation among the different groups is their only satisfactory solution.

Granted that our Mussalman brethren are demanding safeguards to protect their religion, language and culture, and that this is tending to keep us apart for the time being, none the less it is true that all far-sighted and patriotic leaders of this community as well as very many of the rank and file have expressed their desire to live under a Government that would be administered and controlled by people's representatives. Hindu, Mussalman, Christian, Sikh, or Parsi all feel a common humiliation under the economic and political control exercised by foreigners. And all take equal pride in India's past glories though, strange to say, their ancestors might not have contributed anything towards it. Not all the Pathan and Mughal kings and emperors can be justly described as ideal rulers, still they were not regarded as aliens for they settled in India and made it their home. At that time, the economic and political interests of

the rulers and the ruled did not clash. I have talked with illiterate peasants in those parts of India which I have visited in order to ascertain how they feel about this matter. While I cannot say with truth that their ideas are crystal clear, they all seem to feel that, on the whole, they would prefer to have Swaraj. They further feel that, when their countrymen are in power, their difficulties will be treated with more sympathy. Access to authority would be easier and the removal of grievances quicker. All this is drawing us closer to one another.

It is necessary to say a few words here in order to obviate all chances of misinterpretation. Under the influence of that fatalism which is so characteristic a feature of the Indian outlook on life, and partly of the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi, few, if any, entertain any feelings of positive hatred against the British Government. From what little I could gather, the ignorant masses seem to feel that the days when it will continue to administer the country are numbered and that Indians will at least come into their own. The idea behind this attitude seems to be a love of freedom combined with love of one's own motherland. It is patriotism, felt perhaps in a very dim way, which is responsible for the mass support given to the Congress, regarded as the one powerful All-India organisation which can achieve independence.

THE BIRTH OF NATIONS

Hindu India in the past professed practically one religion, had one culture and one sacred language, *viz.*, Sanskrit. Asoka, the Guptas and still later, the Marathas, ruled over extensive territories and imposed political unity but there was no Indian nation. In their days of glory, the Mughal Emperors held their sway over very large tracts but still there was no Indian nation. All the rulers, whether Buddhist, Hindu or Muslim, were influenced either by personal ambition or by the desire to hand down their kingdoms and empires to their descendants. Great Britain has enforced her *Pax Britannica*, for which we cannot be too thankful. This and her consistently liberal rule have enabled us to make whatever progress we have hitherto achieved. But the unity imposed on us has not grown from within but has come from outside. Probably this is the most serious objection that can be urged against Federation as laid down in the Government of India Act, 1935. This external unity is

not identical with the national unity, to which reference will be made immediately.

The obstacles to the evolving of a united Indian nation with which we are faced to-day, are similar to those present in the European countries two centuries ago. Before the French Revolution, France was not a nation in the sense we understand the word to-day. But when she had to resist armed invasion by her European enemies, the French nation was born. This was late in the 18th century. Only yesterday Germany, in the language of Lord Acton, "was a patchwork of some three hundred petty states and the great German people thought of themselves as Prussians, Bavarians, Hanoverians, etc., rather than as Germans." It was welded into a nation by the genius of Bismarck and Moltke. When, in 1871, France was invaded by this new Germany and lay prostrate before her enemy, then again the French nation rose triumphantly from the dust in which she had been grovelling. The present German nation was born when, under the leadership of Hitler, Germany, smarting under the injustice to which she had been a victim, determined to re-assert herself. In these cases, we find that France and Germany were countries with wide territories, with one common language and one religion, *viz.*, Christianity, and yet, in spite of all these favourable conditions, they were not nations before they had made up their minds to be such.

A nation is born only when there is an ardent desire among the people to weld themselves into a nation. There is a word *Ekagrata* which well expresses the fiery enthusiasm which must be behind a really national movement towards unity. Once this *Ekagrata* has come to stay, the separatist tendencies cannot but disappear. The unifying elements amalgamate and their amalgamation increases their unifying influence out of all proportion to their effects as separate and individual elements. Once coalesced, they predominate over the less important or non-essential elements, with the consequence that, sooner or later, the peoples and groups so long kept apart by mutual distrust and suspicion or by short-sighted self-interest are brought together; the feeling for community of interests assumes a tangible form and reveals itself by the appearance of a united nation.

In France and in Germany also there were many and almost insurmountable obstacles to the emergence of a united nation, and yet they disappeared only because the people of these countries were

determined to weld themselves into homogeneous and powerful nations. In our country, too, a handful of Indians, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian and Parsi, combined in 1885 and, for the first time in the history of India, asserted their claims to the enjoyment of those fundamental rights which are the birthright of man. We have travelled far in the 55 years which have followed. Much has been achieved, much remains to be achieved still. To-day there are in that body more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions interested in Indian politics in place of the two score or so who initiated the movement. Even if a majority of these $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions are not genuine Congressmen, there are still millions who live, think and work as members of the great Indian nation.

THE INDIAN NATION OF THE FUTURE

To-day this All-India non-communal organisation, in which there is a place for everyone, is embodying the collective will of Political India. It feels that, in order that our motherland may have a prosperous and glorious future before her, all her sons must sink their differences arising either from religious or economic reasons. The question of questions to-day with us as Indians is whether we shall allow our personal or group interests to stand in the way of the appearance of this great Indian nation. India is one of the oldest civilised countries but she is again the youngest of nations with a long and brilliant future before her. Let those who would place obstacles in her path and prevent her from making her contribution to the peace and prosperity of mankind, take care how they meddle with what does not concern them. To do anything calculated to even remotely diminish her importance in the comity of nations would be a sin against the motherland. And to do anything which would tend to lessen the value of her contribution to the peace and prosperity of mankind would be a sin against God in whose hands lies the destiny of man. Therefore, let those who even dream of interfering with her pre-ordained destiny take care lest they be shunned by man and condemned by God for their narrow and short-sighted selfishness. We are always talking about exploitation by foreigners. Let me assure my readers that this exploitation will continue so long as we do not unite to set our own house in order.

A LESSON FROM EGYPT

At the invitation of the Indian National Congress, a delegation of the Egyptian nationalist party, known as the Wafdist party, attended the Tripuri session of the Congress. It was to have been headed by the leader of this party, Nahas Pasha, but he was prevented from coming himself owing to important political circumstances and constitutional issues at home. His place was taken by Mahomed Bey. Speaking on the 10th March at the open session of the Congress, he is reported to have said that the East is the cradle of religions and philosophies which have preached co-operation and peace and sought the welfare and happiness of all. Continuing he pointed out that the year 1918 was fateful for both Egypt and India. In that year the leader of the Wafdist movement started his campaign for the economic and political independence of Egypt and that was the year in which Mahatma Gandhi led a similar movement in India. By two treaties, one signed in 1936 and the other in 1938, Egypt has at last secured what she wanted. The decisive element in the attainment of success was, in his opinion, absolute unity among her nationals. Continuing he observed: "No people fighting for their liberty can afford to be disunited. We were a nation of Muslims and Christians, but Zaghlul Pasha forged us into a nation of Egyptians. I hope that, just as in Egypt, where Arabs and Christians merged together and fought against Imperialism, in India also the people will merge together and fight for their independence."

SOME COLD WEATHER VISITORS OF DELHI

DR. S. N. SEN, M.A., PH.D.

THE cold weather brings many attractive visitors to Delhi. Some arrive with the Viceregal party, others follow soon afterwards. One of the earliest to come is a little fellow from Kashmir. He is rather shy at first and elusive. Viewed from behind he looks like a diminutive wagtail all ashy-grey, but approached from the front he is a pretty little bird, very much like a bush chat, bright orange and glossy black. One is not long left in doubt about his identity. The bird promptly takes to the shrubbery, from which he is never very far off, with a bright flourish of his chestnut tail at the approach of man, and the characteristic jerks of the caudal feathers at once betray the Red Start.

The Kashmir Red Start, for that is how our charming guest is styled, visits Delhi with the first spell of cold. It feeds on the ground and punctually appears in the morning and evening. Sometimes you may meet him at other hours. His spouse, a demure little lady, is not so conspicuously coloured and often remains unnoticed.

Every Red Start has its own special preserves and spheres of influence, and his first business, on arrival, is to find one. It is not possible to tell one cock Red Start from another, but if you happen to meet about the same hour one near the Jaipur house, another on the lovely lawn before Safdar Jang's tomb and a third about Sir Andrew Clow's bungalow, you may safely conclude that it is not the selfsame bird that you encounter at three different places; and if the chestnut tails flash before your admiring eyes about the same spot on more than one occasion, obviously the owner of those bright feathers have some special association with those favoured localities. What special features appeal to the Red Start I do not know, but a convenient shrubbery, dense and shady, seems to be an indispensable need. The method and manner of appropriation still remain obscure. I never found two cocks fighting, so the ownership of winter quarters appears to be established by amicable and peaceful settlement, and priority of arrival probably establishes exclusive claims.

The compound of my bungalow has been appropriated by a cock Red Start. The hen must be somewhere near by, but so far I have not seen her. Early in November, when the Red Start first came, it was extremely shy and would not allow me to admire him even from a distance. Now he has learnt to ignore my presence, probably experience has convinced him that there is nothing sinister in human curiosity. I am often permitted to approach as near as ten feet of the green turf where his preying beak seeks tiny particles of food. Even on a rainy day he will punctually come down from his perch and go on foraging. Though a ground feeder the Red Start cannot walk. He proceeds by a series of quick and graceful hops, then stops to pick up a crumb of food, bobs his head and jerks his tail in the tell-tale Red Start fashion and goes on again in quest of nutrition. Sometimes he takes a little flight to descend on ground once more after making a display of his tail feathers in the mean time. Two cocks are never seen feeding together, but once, very early in the morning, I saw as many as three hens hunt for their breakfast in company. With the advent of the spring the Red Start will leave us and go back to its pleasant summer quarters in the cool heights of Kashmir. The cock will then abandon his ashy-grey coat to don a darker suit which is probably more in keeping with his summer surroundings. For the few months that the Red Start chooses to remain at Delhi he adds some colour and cheer to human life, for he prefers human neighbourhood though he may shun human company at the beginning.

Scores of that ubiquitous bird, the gay, giggling, gregarious Myna (*Acridotheres tristis tristis*), congregate in the green expanse of the Princes' park every evening. Early in the morning they come in twos or fours, though the roosting tree may have sheltered at least fifty the previous night. It is in the afternoon that they group themselves into big parties and when they retire at dusk a flock of eighty to a hundred birds is by no means an uncommon sight. One day, last November, very early in the morning I found a solitary Starling exploring the turf with half a dozen Mynas. It was probably a bold veteran of many winters who had come far in advance of the rest of the community, and, not liking to keep all by himself, he sought the congenial company of his next of kin, for the Starling, like the Myna, is a member of the great family of Sturnidae and gregarious in habits. On the new year's day the old Starling was still with the Mynas waiting perhaps for the arrival of his near and

dear. At last they came in small flocks, and when their number swelled with fresh arrivals every day, they still sought, by preference, the noisy society of Mynas. Early in the morning a group of six to a dozen Starlings might be seen feeding all by themselves, but in the evening the smaller parties would coalesce into a big flock of wellnigh three score and ten, and strange to say, still seek affiliation to the Myna community, although they could very conveniently shift for themselves. At dusk the Starlings would go to roost on the same *babul* tree with the Mynas, and, when alarmed, would still steer their flight for a safer perch in the same company.

Is the Starling's preference for Myna society to be attributed to racial affinity? Is it due to similarity of habits? The Bank Myna (*Acridotheres ginginianus*) does indeed freely associate with the common Myna though they do not ordinarily interbreed. Stuart Baker says that "In winter, when the extralimital Starlings visit India, two or more races may be found in the same flock. Ticehurst obtained specimens of Finoch's Starling and Hume's Starling with one shot and also found Dresser's Starling associating with these two." But racial affinity and similarity of habits hardly offer a satisfactory explanation of the Starling's peculiar liking for the Myna's company. Delhi happens to be the common meeting place for two of the most noisy Babblers. The Bengal Jungle Babbler (*Turdoides tericolor*) is, like the Starlings and the Mynas, a gregarious bird. It is like them a ground feeder, and, though it cannot walk or run like the graceful *Sturnidae*, it hops its way with the utmost ease, and in its love of noise it leaves the loudest member of the Myna confraternity miles behind. Yet it has never been found to associate with the Myna or with its own near kin—the Large Grey Babbler. The large Grey Babbler (*Argya malcolmi*) is also noisy, gregarious, active on its legs and feeble on its wings like the Jungle Babbler. They are, both of them, ground feeders, living on insects by preference, though wild berries of all sorts will please both the Babblers for a change. Yet I have never in my peregrinations in the open parks of New Delhi and in the neighbouring jungles found the two Babblers associating with each other. They seek the society of their own species and the Large Grey Babbler leaves its jungle cousin severely alone. A Hoopoe may go on probing the turf with the greatest unconcern in the very heart of a congregation of Mynas, heedless of their complascent chuckles and mocking giggles, but an *Argya malcolmi* will never stray from its own

companions, even fifty yards off, where the *Turdoides terricolor* may be holding their riotous meeting. Why are the Babblers so exclusive in their social tastes while the Starlings and Mynas take a more democratic view of things? Why do not the Starlings associate with gregarious birds of other families, the crows and the sparrows—both ground feeders? Ornithology is yet unable to answer all our queries. It leaves many interesting problems still unsolved.

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE THAILAND (SIAM)

DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. (CAL.), D.LITT. (PARIS)

RECENT progress in the study of pre-historic archaeology of the Far East has been recorded in the proceedings of three pre-historic congresses held in French Indo-China (Hanoi), in the Philippines (Manila) and in the Straits Settlements (Singapore). Thus we are sure to-day that long before the appearance of the Mongoloid Thai people, the country was occupied by diverse races of different grades of civilisation. Palaeolithic implements of the Sumatran type have been found in Malaya as well as in Indo-China and in the intervening region of the Trang-Patalung hills of Peninsular Siam, Neolithic polished tools have been found. This area is still occupied by the ever-dwindling Negrito folks who, in the dim pre-historic Stone Age, crossed over to Siam from South India via the Nicobar Islands. These curly haired races still cherished the legend that their ancestors were the monkeys of the *Ramayana* who escaped from the burning Lanka.

North Siam was colonised by the Lawas, a race different from the Southern Negritos who were displaced by the more advanced ancestors of the present Cambodians, speaking Mon-khmer languages and connected with the Mundas of Eastern India and the Mons or Talaings of Pegu. From this time onwards this country would be influenced, for better or for worse, by the Cambodians on the one side and the Burmese on the other. The Thai people displaced the Khmers but both received the first gleam of civilization from India through the Buddhistic and Brahmanical religions. As early as the third century B.C., we hear of Buddhist missionaries being sent to Burma by emperor Asoka. By the third century A.D., we find Buddhist and Brahmanical inscriptions in the Hindu colonies of Champa and Cambodge inhabited by the Khmer people. By that time the virile Thai race who occupied the Yang-tse valley, began to be influenced simultaneously by Burma and Cambodge. The Thai founded in 8th century A.D. a powerful kingdom of Nan-Chao in Yunnan, South China, whence they emigrated into the fertile plains watered by the Menam and the Mekong rivers. The Khmers were

already occupying Cambodge to the East. The Mons formed the kingdom of Dvaravati to the West. The Malaya people founded the vast kingdom of Srivijaya to the South and the Lawa tribes of the Mon-Khmer family have built their centre at Labapuri (Lobpuri), one of the most ancient sites of Siam.

The Thai people asserted their individuality remarkably in the 13th century A.D. driving away the Mons and founding the city of Chieng Mai. So one of their kings Indraditya waged successful wars against the Khmers and established the dynasty of Sukhodaya. His son Rama Khamheng conquered the whole of Menam valley and the Malay Peninsula as far as Ligor (Nagar Sridharmaraj). They thus "paved the way for the formation of the Kingdom of Siam properly so-called. Its role in the history of Indo-Chinese arts and institutions is not less important than its political role: inheriting as it did the civilisation of the Khmer kingdom which sank in part beneath the blows that it administered, it transmitted to the Siam of Ayuthiya (Ayodhya) a good number of Cambodian art-forms and institutions which still subsist in the Siam of to-day" (G. Coedes, *Origins of the Sukhodaya Dynasty: Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. XIV). After a century Sukhodaya was eclipsed by the new dynasty of Ayuthiya, founded by Ramadhipati in 1350, and during this epoch the famous Sinhalese Buddhist reformer Saranankara visited Siam with a view to bringing back to Ceylon the purer traditions of *Theravada* Buddhism. Ruling Siam for four centuries the kingdom of Ayuthiya was utterly destroyed in 1763 by its traditional enemies, the Burmese. This ruthless destruction of Ayuthiya partially explains the lamentable lack of dated materials for the history of early Siam.

In 1782, the Chakri dynasty established its capital in Bangkok and the greatest king of this line was Chulalongkorn (1868-1910) after whom the University of Bangkok has been named. A son of this king, Prajadhipok, still lives to remind us of the constitutional revolution of 1932 which led to his abdication followed by the minority regime of his nephew king Ananda Mahidol.

King Rama V or Chulalongkorn had the mortification of seeing one of the richest archaeological sites of Siam with the famous monuments of Angkor snatched away by the French who had already captured Indo-China. He gave to the Siamese the first public museum (1874) which is known to-day as the National Museum at Bangkok adjoining the National Library founded as early as 1905

named after the prince-monk Vajiranana who became the supreme patriarch of the realm and who was also a poet of renown. The library contains the richest collection of Cambodian Pali manuscripts and old Siamese MSS. kept in magnificent lacquer and gilt book-cases. The Vajiravudh Library of printed books contains over 25,000 volumes.

King Prajadhipok founded the Royal Institute for literature, archaeology and fine arts, with the veteran Siamese scholar-prince Damrong as president. He has published volumes on "the Burmese Wars," on "Classical dancing" and on "Buddhist monuments in Siam". He warmly received Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and his party visiting Bangkok in 1928.

During the constitutional regime the Royal Institute was abolished and the National Museum and the Library were placed (1936) under the Ministry of Public Instruction now paying 30,000 ticals per annum. The National Museum controls ten regional branches: (1) Ayuthiya, (2) Lobpuri, (3) Bisulok, (4) Lampun, (5) Chaiya, (6) Bhetchaburi, (7) Nagor Pathom, (8) Korat, (9) Singhuri, (10) Wat Benchu. These field museums are daily making important discoveries, both Buddhistic and Brahmanical. Archaeological activities in Siam have been stimulated by the recent discoveries of the Greater India Research Commission financed by the late Gaekwad of Baroda. The Director of Research, Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales, has published reports of the discoveries of the Hindu monuments in Malay Peninsula where pre-historic as well as historic sites and objects are being discovered showing the intimate connection of Siam and the Malay Peninsula with India and the Indonesian world. Systematic and scientific explorations of historical sites have yet to be arranged for and funds are not always forthcoming. Lobpuri has yielded to epigraphists Hindu inscriptions of 5th-6th centuries A.D. and in spite of ravages of foreign invasion a huge quantity of Buddhistic and Brahmanical antiquities have been found and more may be expected from Ayuthiya Bang Pa-In, Chaiya and other sites. Already the National Museum of Bangkok appeared to be overcrowded as I found it during my last visit in 1938. It is a real palace consecrated to the preservation of national monuments. The Budhaiswan Hall has in its centre the famous bronze image of Buddha Sihing which is said to have been cast in Ceylon. Here we find also beautiful frescoes adorning the walls and a unique collection of

Buddhist votive tablets. Behind this hall, there is another large building devoted entirely to bronze objects and statues of Siamese, Cambodian and Indian workmanship. Along with the Buddhist images the specimens of Brahmanical iconography could also be found but unfortunately these have not yet been properly catalogued. The bigger statues are exhibited in the verandah and the last building Phra Viman contains in its nine rooms the best exhibits of modern Siamese art: royal thrones, conveyances, weapons, musical instruments, dress and masks of the dancers, etc. The Siamese, like their neighbours the Cambodians and the Javanese, are extremely fond of dancing and drama with the proper costumes and musical accompaniments. The marionette (Hun), the shadow-play (Nang), the mask-play (Khon) and the maskless normal drama (Lakon) are all represented here. We find a good deal of similarity with the Cambodian dancing. We also know that the present Burmese drama got an impetus from the invasion of Burma by the Siamese and in spite of occasional outbreak of hostilities there was a large exchange of art and culture between the various peoples inhabiting this Trans-Gangetic peninsula. With a little more of governmental and technical guidance we may expect great progress in the traditional arts and crafts of Siam like wood-carving, inlaying, mosaicwork, decoration with coloured enamels and glazed tiles, metal work, jewellery, pottery, weaving and embroidery, etc. The Government School of Arts and Crafts in Bangkok is trying to fulfil partially this nation-wide programme. Siam is the only independent country in Asia which in literature, art and religion stands nearest to India and any one surveying Siamese art from within will agree with the Siamese scholars who observed: "Most of the motives of Siamese ornament originate in a combination of religious symbolism and a love of nature, and characteristic Siamese pattern work usually contains mythological beings illustrative of some episode of the *Ramayana* and story of the "Life of the Buddha" (*Siam*, Vol. I, p. 66; published by The Bangkok Times Press).

A great service to the systematic study of Siamese art has been rendered by Dr. Reginald Le May through his *Buddhist Art in Siam* (Cambridge University Press) which we recommend to all serious students of Indian and Greater Indian art.

HUMĀYŪN IN PERSIA, 1544 A.D.

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AFTER his signal defeats at the hands of Shēr Shāh at the battles of Chausa, 1539 Qanauj, 1540, Humāyūn, during his next three years' stay in India, hoping for succour from some quarter, roamed through the Punjāb, Sind and Rājputāna, and when he found none, he at last withdrew himself to Afghānistān. He stayed for a time at Mashtāng ¹ and then, finding no adequate shelter here, decided to retreat further westward. His route lay through the dreary and arid land known as the Rēgistān or desert. The dread of the inhospitable region ² did not turn his followers from him and the fugitive chief in gratitude entitled every one of the party *Chūlī* or friend of the desert.³ Though his cup of misery seemed full to the brim, fate dealt a little mercifully with him; for Malik Hāthī Balūch,⁴ the captain of the banditti, instead of doing any injury,⁵ took pity on him, brought him to his residence and looked after his comfort. When Humāyūn resumed his journey, the Balūch Chief guided him through the dreaded tract and brought him to the more hospitable district of Garmsīr.⁶ The *kalāntar* or chief official of the region, Mīr Abdul Hai,⁷ was appointed by Askari; so knowing his master's hostility to Humāyūn he could not come forward himself but short of that he was hospitable to Humāyūn in every way.⁸ The fugitive chief also benefited from another quarter.

¹ Mashtang Road is a railway station on Quetta-Duzdap line.

² *M.R.*, p. 574, has آنحضرت قدم در وادی توکل نهاده راه چول پیش گرفتند.

For a graphic picture of it, see *G.H.N.* fol. 55b and 56a. Humāyūn relates that once 'his very head was frozen by the intense cold.'

³ Even Humāyūn's wife, Hamīda Bānū, was henceforth known as *Chūlī Bēgam*.

⁴ *A.N.*, *M.R.* *Jauhar* calls him Malik Khatī Balūch. The Baluch wife of 'Alī Ishaq was the interpreter of the conversation between Humāyūn and the Baluches.

⁵ Hāthī Baluch, a small chief in the neighbourhood, had Kāmran's and Askari's order to capture Humāyūn; but now after his meeting with the Mughal chief, he was determined to sacrifice his own life or lives of his family for him. Humāyūn on parting gave him some presents including a ruby and a pearl.

⁶ More than one writer, e.g., the authors of *A.N.*, *T.A.*, *T.Kh.T.*, mention that Humāyūn now reached a fortified place called Qila-i-Bābā Hājī. According to *G.H.N.*, Humāyūn was received by the Sayyids of the place.

⁷ *Jauhar* calls him Sayyed Abdul Haqq.

⁸ According to *Jauhar*, his slave and not he did the hospitality and was blinded by his master as punishment.

Khwāja Jalāluddīn Maḥmūd,¹ one of Askarī's revenue collectors, in the course of his duties had arrived at the fort of Bābā Hājī. When Humāyūn sent for him, he willingly came, transferred his services, and surrendered all his possessions to his new master.² Humāyūn, sorely pressed for cash, was relieved by this windfall, distributed the presents among his followers and made the Khwāja steward of the privy purse.³ Hājī Muḥammad Kōkī, Askarī's foster-brother, also deserted his master for Humāyūn.⁴

Though partially relieved of his immediate needs, Humāyūn's prospects were gloomy indeed. He did not know where to go to or what else to do. He felt dejected and at one moment thought that 'he should seek some lonely corner and withdrawing himself, outwardly and inwardly, from other matters, should give himself up to God alone.' But he was dissuaded by the presence of his followers who, out of a sense of sheer loyalty to their fallen chief, had sacrificed their all and chosen to share his misfortunes.

Thus prevented from immediate retirement into seclusion, he had for the present only one other course to adopt. It was to write to the Shāh of Persia, Tahmasp Al-Ḥusainī,⁵ and to request him for shelter in his dominions.⁶ Humāyūn hoped that his appeal would be listened to; should it turn out otherwise, he determined to retire into a hermitage. So the letter, written in verse, was full of humility and for this reason probably has not been reproduced in full by any writer. Only *Jauhar* renders its brief summary which may be given here:

"This is a memorial of Muḥammad Humāyūn who, after an offer of sincere prayers for your Majesty's welfare as is due from a person of distinction and sincere well-wisher, begs to observe that he feels overwhelmed with a feeling of shame though he is full of honest intentions. Though he looks only a particle of dust in the presence of your Majesty's refulgent glory and magnificence, he hopes much from your ocean-like virtues. It is true that in the past he had not counted himself among the slaves of the high office (*i.e.*, of the

¹ See Blochmann, p. 384, for his biography. He was one of the early finance ministers of Akbar and had risen to the rank of 2,500. Later on he was murdered by the orders of Munim Khān and Bairam Khān.

² *G.H.N.* gives the details of his possessions, a string of mules, another of horses, tents, etc. He had also some cash. See also *T.A.*, and *T.Kh.T.*

³ *T.A.*, and *T.Kh.T.*

⁴ *A.N.*, p. 212. *Jauhar* says he was made Superintendent of the palaces. If so, *بيروكيات*, palaces, must mean here the travelling tents that Humāyūn had with him.

⁵ The title Al-Ḥusainī is given by Farishta (*N. K.* edition), p. 220.

⁶ The suggestion of appeal to the Shāh came from Bairam Khān. See *M.R.*, p. 575.

Shāh of Persia) yet he had always borne the collar of friendship and of attachment and clung to you like lead. He had always tried to earn your good-will with elegant presents.

At length, the wheel of the times and of the colourless sky had drawn the petitioner away from the spacious Hindustān to the narrow and gloomy Sind :

What has passed over our head, has passed.

Whether by river or by hill or by wilderness.¹

Now the bird of his ambition spreads its wings to have a sight of your sun of dignity and magnificence and he hopes that God in His mercy will allow him to meet his friend, munificent like a river, and, in the meeting, he hopes to relate to you what he has to relate.

Verses

- (1) O king ! O my high-gifted monarch ! my soul has fixed its abode in thy armour strong as the fabulous mount of Qāf.
- (2) The ignoble and deceitful ² fortune has forced me ³ to be content with millet.
- (3) My foe is now bold. For a long while he had his back turned on me. Now he has turned his face to me in hostility.
- (4) At this moment I have one request to make of the Shāh and it is that he might do to me what 'Alī had done to Salmān in the forest of Arzhan.' ” ⁴

Having written his appeal, Humāyūn sent it by Jai Bahādur ⁵ on Shawwal 1, 950 (December 28, 1543). He had intended to continue to stay in Garmsīr until he received a reply to his letter from the Shāh. But Askari's movements did not allow him any rest. Mir Abdul Hai, who had already shown consideration to him ⁶ and had relieved his

¹ که گذشت بر سر ما آنچه گذشت - چه بدریا و چه بکھسار و چه دشت

M.R. has a slightly different wording :

بر سر ما بگذشت آنچه گذشت - چه بکوه چه بدریا چه دشت

Lit., one who displays wheat but sells barley.

³ *Lit.*, I who like a parrot would ordinarily subsist on sweets and fruits.

⁴ 'Alī had saved Salmān's life from the attack of a lion. For Salmān's influence on the evolution of sects in Islām, see Lammen's *Islām*, pp. 171-72. *Badāūnī* has a slightly different wording of the verses and adds the following line taken from a quatrain written by Humāyūn :

شاما همه سایه هما میخوراوند - بنگر که هما آمده در سایه تو

⁵ *R.T.* calls him Chūli Bahādur, *N.M.* Jabai Bahādur and *M.R.* Kōki Bahādur.

⁶ See *supra*. On Humāyūn's return from Persia, he was one of the first to do homage to him with a quiver bound round his neck. See *A.N.*

distress, now represented that Askarī had been reported to be approaching with a large army¹ and added that if the report was correct, Humāyūn might be irretrievably lost. So, on his advice, the fugitive chief moved into the province of Sistān,² for it belonged to the Shāh of Persia and as such was protected from Askarī's raids. After crossing the river Halmand, he halted by the lake of the same name.³

Aḥmad Sultān Shāmlū, the Persian governor of Sistān, was probably aware of the Mughal chief's appeal to the Shāh and, so expecting a favourable reply, tendered his hospitality on behalf of his master. Humāyūn was placed in a spacious residence, was offered the revenue of the province for his expenses and was entertained with the principal amusement of the locality, *viz.*, the sport of catching water-fowl. Aḥmad sent even his mother and wife to wait on Ḥamīda Bānū⁴ and his brother, Ḥusain Qulī Mirzā,⁵ greatly pleased the Mughal chief by a present of some books and also by making a commonsense answer to his questions. Humāyūn once asked him about the representative merits of Sunnism and Shiism. Ḥusain's observations on the subject were that whereas the Shias actually reviled the companions of Muḥammad and considered it to be a pious and meritorious act, the Sunnis considered any such act to be that of a *kāfir*. Ḥusain argued that one decision was against the other but since the Shias only promised reward for the curses as against the Sunnī threats of heinous punishment for behaving as a *kāfir*, it was well to be cautious, to forego the reward, and under no circumstances to risk the suspicion of being a *kāfir*.⁶

¹ According to *Aḥsan-ut-Tawārikh* by Ḥasan Rumlu (R.A.T.) many of Humāyūn's friends بادشاه مخلصان gave him information about Askarī.

² He had with him now only a handful of followers. A.N.'s list is fuller than most of the others and it counts 38 persons in all. Jauhar makes it 40 men and 2 women. Of the 2 women, one was Ḥamīda Bānū and the other wife of 'Alī Ishaq Āqā, a Baluch woman who proved a useful interpreter during the journey. G.H.N. calls the latter wife of Ḥasaan 'Alī.

³ According to the G.H.N., as soon as Humāyūn reached the Halmand all classes of the Shāh's subjects received him.

⁴ He gave many presents according to Jauhar, the most priceless being a mare bearing the name Lailat-ul-Qadr.

⁵ A.N. M.R. T.A., expresses Aḥmad Sultān Shamlū's services in these words

ا حمد سلطان شاملو زیاده بروسع و امکان بلوازم مهمانداری قیام نموده عورات خود را برسم کدیزان بغداد متگاری حضرت مریم مکانی فرستاده و جمیع اسباب و جهات خود را پیشکش کرده خود در سلک غلامان درگاه در آمد -

⁶ The punishment after death for *kuf*r is to be placed eternally in fire. See the Quran, 64. 10, 86.9, 4.56. For details, see Bayazīd Biāt, *Tārikh-i-Ḥumāyūn Bādshāh* (B.B.T.H.B.).

Having once entered the Shāh's territory of his own accord, it would have been unwise for Humāyūn to retrace his steps to Zamīndāwar, belonging to Askarī.¹ But such were the proposals of two of the newcomers, Bābā Qashqa's sons, Hājī Muḥammad and Ḥasan Kōka. They represented that Amīr Bēg, the governor of Zamīndāwar, and Chalma Beg, the commandant of Bist, both would transfer their services to Humāyūn, if only he made a move in their direction and that their examples would be taken up so generally that the fall of Qandahār would be a foregone conclusion. It is a credit to Humāyūn's intelligence that he rejected their advice and denied audience to them as a mark of his displeasure and continued firm in his proposed journey to Persia and Irāq. The ever loyal Bairam Khān encouraged Humāyūn in his resolution.

Humāyūn's shortest route to the Shāh's capital lay through the desert lands of Dasht-i-Lūt and Dasht-i-Kabīr. But as he had already fully experienced the privations of the waterless tracts in his journey through Rājputāna, he had no mind for another experience of a similar nature. So he proposed to travel northward to Khurāsān wherein lay the far-famed cities of Herāt or Herī, Mashad, Jām, Nīshāpūr, etc. The journey would enable him to visit the city of Herāt that had flourished under his kinsman, Sultān Ḥusain Baiqarā, and also to pay his respects at Mashad to the tomb of 'Alī Razā, the 8th Shia Imām, and at Jām to that of Shaikh Aḥmad and thus show to the world his own liberal views in the matters of faith. Humāyūn was certain that the Shāh who was proud of the three cities would be rather glad when he would learn the cause of Humāyūn's delay in reaching his capital.

When Humāyūn reached Farah² on 12th *Zulqada* 950 (6th February, 1544),³ the Shāh's reply came to his appeal. When Humāyūn's petition reached him he was grateful to God for sending to him as a supplicant a king 'from the spacious domain of India.' The Shāh's reply has been given in full by more than one writer.⁴ Though pompously worded in accordance with the epistolary usage of the

¹ According to *Jauhar*, Aḥmad Sultān Shāh-lū desired Humāyūn to stay in Sīstān, as he expected many deserters from Askarī's camp.

² Here lies buried Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr, the founder of Mahdism in India. He died in 1505. For an interesting description of his Mahdism and of the sufferings of one of his disciples, Shaikh Alāī, see *Badāūni*, pp. 394-405.

³ R.T. gives the date of receipt of Humāyūn's letter by the Shah to be 12th *Zilḥijja* 952 (February 14, 1546) which is evidently wrong.

⁴ A.N., B.B.T.H.B., M.R., R.T., T.S.A., M.A.

time, the generous intentions of the Shāh run unmistakably through its pages. We may be excused from quoting the lengthy and wearisome details and shall content ourselves with pointing out a few of its essential features:

(a) A couplet from Hāfiz's odes was quoted as a superscription. The couplet runs as

همای ارج سعادت بدام ما افتد * اگر ترا گذری بر مقام ما افتد

Tr. A *huma* of auspicious soaring falls into our net.
If for thee there chance a passage to our abode.¹

(b) Humāyūn is addressed in the Shāh's letter as Bādshāh, Nūwāb-i-Ramyab, Ān Ḥazrat, Jahānbānī Jannat Āshīānī.² The Shāh refers to himself as Nūwāb.³

(c) The Mughal ex-king was treated as a distinguished guest and the district of Sabzwar was specially assigned to the governor of Khurāsān, Prince Sultān Muḥammad Mirzā or his deputy, Muḥammad Khān Sharafuddin Oghlī Taklu,⁴ for meeting the expenses of entertaining the guest and his followers. Offerings were made on a profuse scale, *e.g.*, on the first occasion when Muḥammad Khān met the Mughal chief, the following gifts were made on behalf of the Shāh:—

(1) 6 horses with azure and embroidered saddles and with housings of gold brocade;

¹ Any other line of this ode might have been quoted:—

حباب رار بر اندازم از نشاط کلاه * اگر از روی تو عکس بجام ما افتد
ببارگاه تو چون باد را نباشد راه * کی اتفاق مبعال سلام ما افتد
چو جان فدای لب تشنه حیا می بستم * که قطره ز زلالیت بکام ما افتد
خیال زلف تو گفتا که جان مساز * کزین شکار فراران بدام ما افتد
ملوک را چو رده خالبوس این نیست * کی التفات جواب سلام ما افتد
بنا امید می ازین در مرور بزن فاله * بود که قرعه دولت بنام ما افتد
شبی که ماه مراد از افق طلوع نند * بود که پرتو نوری بجام ما افتد
ز خاک کوی تو هر که که دم زند حافظ * نسیم گلشن جان در مشام ما افتد

² Jahānbānī Jannatāshīānī was especially used for Humāyūn after his death.

³ The title of Nūwāb, deputy, was adopted by the Shia Shāhs; because, according to them, the true ruler was the immortal Al-Mahdi. See Lammén's *Islām*, pp. 145-51.

⁴ The prince, the eldest son of the Shāh, was a minor and the deputy was his tutor, لالا, or guardian اتالیق. See *T.A.*, p. 58; *T.S.A.*; *T.Kh.T.*

(2) A special side-dagger which once had belonged to Shāh Ismāil, also a golden scimeter and a jewelled girdle ;

(3) 400 pieces of velvet and satin of Europe and Yazd which were to be converted into 120 coats for Humāyūn and others for his followers ;

(4) two piles of gold brocaded velvet carpets ;

(5) coverlets of goat's hair with satin linings ;

(6) 3 pairs of large carpets 12 cubits square ;

(7) 4 goshkam carpets of fine silk ;

(8) 12 tents, crimson, green, and white.

Other gifts were made by the prince-governor and his officials : sometimes the Shāh made a gift of the whole camp as it stood with all its paraphernalia.¹ On some occasions birds like falcon and hawk were presented. The Mughal chief's followers were not excluded from this munificence, *e.g.*, at Herat the prince Sultān Moḥammad gave silk *khilats*, clothes, a horse suitable to the rank of the person and 3 *tumāns* ² to every Mughal follower.

(d) Elaborate arrangements were made by the Shāh for Humāyūn's reception and as a model instruction, he gave the minutest details of what the governor of *Khurāsān* was expected to do :—

(1) Minute details were furnished regarding Humāyūn's food, *e.g.*, it was mentioned that the guests should be given sweet and pleasant drinks and white loaves, kneaded with milk and butter and seasoned with fennel and poppy seeds. At every halt the Mughal chief was to be supplied with rose-water sharbat and lemon-juice cooled with snow and ice and, after the sharbat, were to be offered apples, water melons, grapes with white loaves. At dinner there were to be at least 500 dishes of food. On special State occasions, the number of dishes was to be increased to 1,500, but if an official was to provide for the expenses, the number of dishes might be reduced to 1,200. The governor of Herāt's entertainment was to be on an extravagant scale, *e.g.*, the number of dishes was to be 3,000. After a dinner were to be provided sweetmeats, comfits, various conserves and 'Chinese threads' ² perfumed with rose-water, musk, and grey ambergris. The high officials were to entertain the State guests by turn.

(2) The minutest details about Humāyūn's reception by the people of Persia were settled by the Shāh. For example, when

¹ This might be a mere complimentary statement, for among the presents is mentioned 'the army'.

² *Tumān* is the standard gold coin of Persia equal to 10 francs of France.

Humāyūn approached the provincial headquarters, *e.g.*, Herāt, first of all, 500 'prudent and experienced men' were to go forth several miles ahead to welcome the king. After 3 days, Muḥammad Khān, the deputy governor, was to go forward with his children and accompanied by 1,000 followers. All the officers on approaching the Mughal chief were 'to kiss the ground' and were to render service as they would do to their own master. When the Mughals would come still nearer, *i.e.*, at 12 *farsang*¹ from Herāt, the other citizens numbering 30,000 to go forth to welcome them.² On the day of Humāyūn's arrival at Herāt, the prince-governor was to ride forth with a large retinue. He was to dismount at the sight of the guest, to go near and kiss his thigh and stirrup, and 'to show all the points of service and respect and honour.' The prince was to ride close to the Mughal chief³ and the deputy was to be near the prince so that any question put by the chief, if not answered by the prince, might be attended to by his deputy. On the fourth day of his residence in Herāt, the guest was to be given a still more signal public welcome, *i.e.*, 'all the men and women of the city shall assemble . . . in the Avenue and that in every shop and bazar, where carpets and cloths shall be spread in order, the women and maidens will be seated And from every ward and lane let the masters of melody come forth And bid all the people come forth' to offer welcome. The instructions were actually carried out; for we are told that when Humāyūn rode from the Ziāratgāh to Pul-i-Malan and thence to Jahānāra garden, a distance of 3 or 4 leagues, the whole plain and the heights in the neighbourhood were filled with spectators from the city and the villages.

The instructions further added that during the guest's stay in the city, he was to be kept engaged and amused by the noted singers, musicians and instrumentalists, and every important person of the district was to be available for interview with him. In fact every 'genial and sweet-spoken person' was to be assiduous in entertaining him.

(3) The city of Herāt was to be lavishly decorated as an expression of the nation's joy. There was to be *chahār-tāq-bandī*⁴ from the gate

¹ It is an indefinite measure of distance of about 12,000 cubits or $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Twelve *farsang* would be more than 40 miles.

² *Jauhar* makes the general statement that people of all ages from 7 to 70 years were to proceed to welcome the king.

³ But the head and the neck of the prince's horse was to be behind those of Humāyūn's.

⁴ Whatever the phrase might mean. Beveridge thinks it to mean an edifice with 4 domes. *Tāq* might also mean an arch, so the phrase would mean an erection with four arches.

of the Chahārbāgh, where lay the royal palace to the Khīyābān where was situated the Bāgh-'idgāh.¹

(4) A news-writer was to remain attached to Humāyūn's train. His duty would be to note down in the form of a diary all the details of Humāyūn's reception from the day that the 500 received the Mughal chief to the day when he entered the city. When the diary was completed it was to be sealed and despatched to the Shāh.

(5) Muḥamad Khān, the deputy governor, was to entertain Humāyūn in Herāt and those of Ghuriān, Fushang, Kashu, in their respective headquarters. Where the governors were too poor individually to incur the expenses of the lavish entertainment as prescribed by the Shāh, several of them were to combine together, *e.g.*, those of Khāf, Tarshiz, Zāwahā,² and Muhawwalāt were to entertain together at a place other than their headquarters. Wherever possible some nobles were to play the host.³

Humāyūn had reached Herāt on 20th *Zulqada* (14th February, 1544) ⁴ and even on 1st *Zulhijja* (25th February) was there. He was interested in the city which had only a few decades back been the capital of a Tīmūrid prince.⁵ As the Persian festival of the New Year was near, he chose to stay in Herāt till its end.⁶ There were frequent assemblies in Humāyūn's palace. In the first meeting, Šābir Qāq, a famous reciter, chanted one of the odes of Amīr Shāhī,⁷ which begins with

مبارک منزله کان خانه را ماه چنینه باشد
همایون کشوری کان عرصه را شاه چنینه باشد

Tr. Blessed the abode to which such a moon hath come
August the dominions where there is such a Shāh

¹ The royal palace would form the heart of the city and Bāgh-'Idgāh would be at one extreme end of the city and so from the one end to the other it would be a considerable distance.

² M.R. calls it Zāwah.

³ As T.A. says:

مقرر شد که از دامغان تا اردوبی شاعری در هر منزل یکی از ایشان (اکابر و اعیان و اشراف) بلوازم مہمانداری قیام نمایند -

T.Kh.T. also makes a similar statement.

⁴ Kh.T. has 1st *Zulqada* 955 A.H. (December 2, 1548), evidently an incorrect date.

⁵ Herāt contained the tomb of Khwāja Abdullah Anṣārī. See Kh.T. According to T.S.A., the city stretched 3 or 4 *farsang*, i.e., 10 or 14 miles. The date 20th *Zulqada* is given by R.A.T.

⁶ Jaular says that Humāyūn stayed in Herāt for a month.

⁷ For Amīr Shāhī's life and diwān, see B.M. Catalogue, Vol. I, p. 640a.

Another line was :

زرنج و راحت گیتی مرنجان دل مشو خرم
که آئین جهان گاه چنان گاه چنین باشد

Tr. Be neither grieved nor overjoyed at pain or pleasure of this world :

For the mode of the world is that now one will prevail and now the other.¹

When Sībīr repeated this verse, Humāyūn, remembering the ups and downs of his own life, was deeply touched and though short of funds 'poured into the skirts of Sībīr's hopes.' During his stay, Humāyūn took the opportunity to meet 'many of the ascetics, religious persons, lofty-souled men and famous men of learning.'

Humāyūn's stay had been fairly long in Herāt, so when the festivities of the New Year were over, he started for holy Mashad.² On the way he stopped at Jām (March 29),³ where lay buried Ḥaẓrat Shaikh Ahmad, the saintly ancestor of both his mother, Māham Bēgam and of his wife Ḥamida Bānū. Then he passed on to Mashad, one of the most sacred pilgrimages for a Shia.⁴ On his approach, the governor, Shāh Qulī Sultān Istajlu, accompanied by the leading Sayyids of the town, received him with due honour. He arrived in Mashad on the 15th Muḥarram, 950 (April 8, 1544). Here he stayed for full forty days.⁵

Jauhar describes Humāyūn's first visit to the Imām's tomb, when he was accompanied by five of his followers including the writer himself. At first he was not admitted to the mortuary chamber ; for the chain that fastened the door would not loosen ; but when the king, after a prayer, opened it, he was admitted. He then went

¹ Biceray, in his *Literary History of Persia*, quotes two of his verses, one an elegy on his patron Bāqir Mirzā's death and the other a *Qaṣīda* showing his conceit. See *B.I.H.P.* pp. 399 and 591. Daulat Shāh's appreciation of Anur Shāhī is in these words : 'Scholars are agreed that in the verse of Anur Shāhī are combined the ardour of Khusrāu, the grace of Ḥasan, the delicacy of Kamāl and the clarity of Ḥāfiz.'

² *Kh.T.*, *T.Kh.T.*, *T.S.A.*, and *T.T.* all in Mashad-i-Tūs; *Jauhar* says that Humāyūn was now accompanied by Babāq Bēg, one of Ulugh Khan of Turān's nobles.

³ For Beveridge's correction of the date as given in *A.N.*, see p. 434, n. 4.

⁴ Here lies buried the 8th Shia Imām, 'Alī or Raza bin Mūsā al-Kāzīm. *N.M.* calls the Imām

امام همام عالی مقام سلطان اولیا الله العظام

⁵ *Jauhar*.

round the tomb and afterwards sat down to read the Qurān. He ended his visit with a menial service, *viz.*, snuffing the candle, burning by the actual tomb.¹ The visit to Mashad must have been highly gratifying to his Shia wife, Ḥamīda Bānū. Humāyūn was in no hurry and, if allowed, would have extended his stay at Mashad, but an order came from the Shāh that the Mughal chief should be asked to hasten to Kazvīn in order to meet him.

So from Mashad he passed on rapidly to Nishāpūr in two days, where he visited the turquoise mines in the neighbourhood; to Sabzawār in 7 days; to Dāmghān in 3 days.² From Dāmghān he retraced his steps north-eastward and went to Bistām in order to visit the tomb of the saint Taifur-bīn-ʿĪsā, popularly known as Bayazīd or Abu Yazīd. He was a Mujtahid of his time and later on founded one of the orders known as the Taifari order,³ and was known as the Bahr-i-tāmi, the swelling ocean. Next he visited Samnām where lay the tomb of Shaikh Alāuddaula Samnāmī and retraced his steps further eastward in order to reach Sūfiābād where the Shaikh had written his work entitled *Urwat-li-Ahl-il-khilwat-wal-jalwat* in 1321 A.D.⁴ So far the Mughal chief had visited only those places where lay the shrines of divine worshippers. Next he went to Rai,⁵ Aghzwār, Maimana, Dars, and finally, after a pause, to Kazvīn, the Shāh's capital. As a matter of policy, Humāyūn had sent Bābur Khān forward to meet the Shāh in Kazvīn as his *vakīl*. It was rather unfortunate that at the very first meeting, some differences arose between the two. The

¹ *B.B.T.H.P.* also describes the snuffing of the candle.

² The story of throwing dirt into a well and causing a storm to spring up thereby has been repeated by every writer. A similar story has been mentioned earlier about a spring in Ghazni in Mahmūd Ghuznavi's time. Bābur, less credulous than others, made enquiries about the latter, but could find no trace of it.

³ For some of Bayazīd's Sufistic utterances, see *B.L.H.P.*, pp. 126-28. A few are quoted here:

'I am the throne of God.....'
'I am the Truth; I am the true God.'
'I must be celebrated by Divine Praises.'
'Verily I am God: there is no God but me, therefore worship me.'

Seven times Bayazīd had been expelled from Bistām but each time he returned.

⁴ See *A.A.*, Vol III, by Jarrett, p. 576 and n. 1; also *B.M. Catalogue*, 1131-439a, 620a. The Shaikh had to his credit one historical work on the Persian kings of Samnām.

⁵ As the author of *M.H.* on p. 576 says:

این توفیق انشان را مدرس بود که در سفر و حضر پیوسته بزیارت خدا پرستان توسل
میداشتند و بظاهر و باطن بآن زنده دلان صحبت میداشتند اند.

⁶ Where had died the ascetic Abdullāh in 320 A.H. See Jarrett, *A.A.*, III., p. 352, n. 2.

Another line was :

زرنج و راحت گیتی مرنجان دل مشرخرم
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² *Kh.T.*, *T.Kh.T.*, *T.S.A.* and *M.T.* call it Mashad-i-Tūs ; *Jauhar* says that Humāyūn was now accompanied by Bubaq Bēg, one of Ubaid Khan of Turān's nobles.

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امام همام عالی مقام سلطان اولیا الله العظام

⁵ *Jauhar*.

round the tomb and afterwards sat down to read the Qurān. He ended his visit with a menial service, *viz.*, snuffing the candle, burning by the actual tomb.¹ The visit to Mashad must have been highly gratifying to his Shia wife, Ḥamīda Bānū. Humāyūn was in no hurry and, if allowed, would have extended his stay at Mashad, but an order came from the Shāh that the Mughal chief should be asked to hasten to Kazvīn in order to meet him.

So from Mashad he passed on rapidly to Nishāpūr in two days, where he visited the turquoise mines in the neighbourhood ; to Sabzawār in 7 days ; to Dāmghān in 3 days.² From Dāmghān he retraced his steps north-eastward and went to Bistām in order to visit the tomb of the saint Taifur-bin-‘Īsā, popularly known as Bayazīd or Abu Yazid. He was a Mujtahid of his time and later on founded one of the orders known as the Taifurī order,³ and was known as the Bahr-i-tāmī, the swelling ocean. Next he visited Samnām where lay the tomb of Shaikh Alāuddaula Samnāmī and retraced his steps further eastward in order to reach Sūfiābād where the Shaikh had written his work entitled *Urwat-li-Ahl-il-khilwat-wal-jalwat* in 1321 A.D.⁴ So far the Mughal chief had visited only those places where lay the shrines of divine worshippers.⁵ Next he went to Rai,⁶ Aghzwār, Maimana, Dars, and finally, after a pause, to Kazvīn, the Shāh's capital. As a matter of policy, Humāyūn had sent Bairam Khān forward to meet the Shāh in Kazvīn as his *rakīl*. It was rather unfortunate that at the very first meeting, some differences arose between the two. The

¹ B.B.T.H.B. also describes the snuffing of the candles.

² The story of throwing dirt into a well and causing a storm to spring up thereby has been repeated by every writer. A similar story has been mentioned earlier about a spring in Ghazni in Mahmud Ghuznavi's time. Bābur, less credulous than others, made enquiries about the latter, but could find no trace of it.

³ For some of Bayazīd's Sufistic utterances, see B.L.H.P., pp. 426-28. A few are quoted here :

‘ I am the throne of God..... ’
 ‘ I am the Truth ; I am the true God ’
 ‘ I must be celebrated by Divine Praises ’
 ‘ Verily I am God : there is no God but me, therefore worship me. ’

Seven times Bayazīd had been expelled from Bistām but each time he returned.

⁴ See A.A., Vol III, by Jarrett, p. 376 and n. 1 ; also B.M. Catalogue, 413a. 439a, 620a. The Shaikh had to his credit one historical work on the Persian kings of Samnām.

⁵ As the author of M.R. on p. 576 says :

این توفیق ایشان را میسر بوده که در سفر و حضر پیوسته بزیارت خدا پرستان توسل
 میداشتند و باطن و باطن با زنده دلائل صحبت میداشتند اند -

⁶ Where had died the ascetic Abdullāh in 320 A.H. See Jarrett, A.A., III., p. 352, n. 2,

Shāh wished Bairam Khān to cut his hair short and to wear the special Shia cap popularly known as the Tāj ; but the latter protested on the ground that he was a servant of some one else without whose consent he could not agree to the request. The Shāh was displeased with the answer and gruffly told Bairam Khān to please himself and in order to further terrify him killed some heretics known as Chirāgh-kush.¹ He also grew cold to his Mughal guest and ordered him to stay where he was but to send Bubaq Bēg on to him. It was when Bubak reached Kazvīn that the Shāh was somewhat mollified and sent further orders to Humāyūn to proceed to his capital.

It was midsummer and the Shāh had moved on to his summer headquarters, Sultāniya² and Sūrlīq ; in the mean time he had sent gifts to his guest and had asked his nobles and common subjects to give a hearty welcome in his stead.³ Humāyūn stayed for three days in the house of the Kalāntar, the magistrate, Khwāja Abdul Ghānī.⁴ Then he moved on for the Shāh's camp and, after a whole night's travel, halted and encamped in the morning. From Bairam Khān, who joined him now, he learnt that he was close to the Shāh's camp and that the Shāh's subjects were presently coming to welcome him. So Humāyūn hastily got ready to meet them in his Diwān-Khāna. First the *vakīls* of Sultāns, *i.e.*, the nobles, paid him a visit, next those of the Khāns, next of the Mirzās and, last of all, the chief Sayyids. When later on Humāyūn had reached the Shāh's camp, he was received again in the same order, *e.g.*, by the Sultāns first and then by the Khāns and lastly by the Mirzās.

Humāyūn moved on to Sultāniya but the Shāh had gone to encamp in the open between Sultāniya and Abhar,⁵ about 20 miles south-east of the former town. When the Mughal chief finally moved on for the Shāh's camp, he was received in due order first by the nobles and then by the Sayyids and the learned and then by the Shāh's brothers, Bahrām M., Alqās M.⁶ and Sām M. Bahrām M. presented

¹ The tenets of the Chirāgh-kushes are not definitely known. From the phrase it might be supposed that they were immoral and committed sins after the lights had been put out. See Erskine, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 287 n.

² Sultāniya, Zanjan, Rai, Abhar are mentioned in *Jarrett, A.A.*, Vol. III.

³ At Kazvīn, on the first day the *kalāntar*, on the second the *qāzi*, and on the third the citizens in a body played the host.

⁴ Even the Shāh had formerly stayed in this house.

⁵ *A.N.*, *M.R.*, *Farishka*. The place named Bilāq Sūrlīq was situated on the river Abhar, *Badāuni* calls the meeting Ilāq Surtāq, and *T.S.A.* Sārūq Bilāq.

⁶ *G.H.N.* and *R.A.T.*

an unbroken horse and made a request that Humāyūn should enter the city riding on it. It was the Shāh's subtle way of testing his guest's skill as a rider. Humāyūn not comprehending the purport of the request, agreed and easily controlled the fiery horse and thus came out successful through the ordeal. Even the commonest citizen came and saluted the ex-king in the Arab fashion which, according to *Jauhar*, indicated a greater sense of equality among the Persians.

The Shāh himself now came forward to receive his royal guest, *Jumād-al-awwal*, 951 (July, 1544).¹ The first durbar in which the two kings met was held in a picture gallery newly constructed. Humāyūn was seated on the Shāh's right and put on the Shia tāj² and took food along with his host, who, after the dinner, prostrated himself in gratitude to God for bringing a king like Humāyūn to his kingdom. The guest was staying with Bahrām M. who presented three *sar-o-pas* to him. The next day, when the Shāh was about to make a move to Sultāniya, the Mughal chief went to bid him farewell; but the Shāh paid no attention to him and the chief qāzi³ explained Shāh Tahmāsp's rudeness as due to the ill-behaviour of Humāyūn's followers. As the Mughal chief considered it partly due to sectarian differences between himself, a liberal Muslim, and the Shāh, a fanatical Shia, Humāyūn now protested to the qāzi his faith in the Imāms and later on declared himself a Shia in the Shāh's presence.*

The poet Mirzā Qāsim Gūnābādī has described the first interview of the two kings in the following lines:—

Tr.

دو صاحب قران در یکی بزمگاه * قرآن کرده ناهم چو خورشید و ماه
در نور بصر چشم اقبال را * در عید مبارک مه و سال را
دو کوكب كز ايشان فلک راست زين * بهم در یکی عرصه چون فرقدین
در چشم جهانی بهم همعنان * بهم چون در ابرو تواضع کنان
در سعد فلک را یکی برج جای * در والا گهر را یکی درج جای

¹ B.B.T.H.B. says that the meeting took place at Zanjan, T.A. at Bīlāq Sūrlīq. See also R.A.T. for other details.

² *Jauhar*.

³ M. A. says that he was وکیل مطلق العنان of the Shāh.

Tr.

1. Two Lords of conjunction in one banquet hall
Living together like the sun and the moon.
2. Fortune's two beloved sons
Two blessed *Ids*, solar and lunar
3. Two Stars which deck the sky
Are together like Farqadain ¹
4. Two eyes of the world, equal in every respect
Joining in courtesy like the two eye-brows.
5. Two Stars in one zodiacal sign
Two glorious pearls in one casket.

Presents on an extravagant scale were again made by the Shāh ² to his guest and his followers. In the conversation that followed, the Shāh made appreciative remarks on his guest's valour and military skill ³ and attributed his misfortunes not to any fault of his but to the disloyalty of his brothers. ⁴ He reminded him of their long-standing friendship, besought him to look upon him as his younger brother, assured him of every help, and even of personal service, if necessary.

After the durbar was over, other festivities, renewed from day to day, were held. Tahmāsp entered personally into all the details with the result that many entertainments of a novel kind were arranged and no money was spared to make them a success. All that Parsian craft and skill could invent were there to add to the dignity of the occasions. ⁵

Humāyūn had met with such a lavish hospitality and had been the cause of such a heavy expenditure to the Shāh and his subjects that he now felt it incumbent on him to make compensations for this huge expenditure by an offer of suitable presents to his host. So he offered through Bairam Khān a large diamond, ⁶ other smaller diamonds, 250 Badakhshān rubies and a number of pearls, which all taken together was probably worth more than all the expenses incurred on his account during his stay in Persia.

¹ The two bright stars β and γ of Ursa minor.

² A.N., T.S.A. and T. Kh.T.

³ T.S.A.

⁴ R.T., *Farishta* and several others give a different version. M.J.N. makes the Shāh observe that it was his guest's sword that had obtained Hindustān for the Mughals.

⁵ See A.N. for the details of the festivities.

⁶ Beveridge quotes British Museum MSS. No. 153 to identify it with Bābur's diamond or with *Kohi-noor*, which may be correct; for M.J.N. and T.S.A. remark that it came into

Then the two kings travelled together to Sultāniya where another series of festivities was held, among which may be mentioned the *qamarghah* hunts. The order in which the different parties entered the arena has been carefully noted. First, the Shāh and the Mughal chief, then Bahrām M.¹ and Sām M., and then after them Khwāja Muazzam, Bairam Khān, Hājī Muḥammad Kōkī, Roshan Kōkā, Ḥasan Kōkā and several others of Mughal followers. With them also entered a few of the Shāh's officers, e.g., Abdullāh Khān Istājlu, son-in-law of the late Shāh Isma'īl, Abul Qāsim Khalifā, Sundak Sultān, Qūrchī Bāshī Afshār, Badar Khān Istājlu and Shāh Qulī Mohar-dar. Last of all, a general permission was granted to the commonalty to enter and enjoy the game. Even the commonest troopers got interested in securing their game.² Other *qamarghahs* followed and also many sports like polo and archery. In the last Bairam Khān and Hājī Muḥammad Kōkī especially distinguished themselves and obtained titles as a reward.³

All this time there had been going on a discussion in Tahmāsp's court as to whether the Shāh was to support his guest's cause or not. Most of the Persian nobles were against the proposal, their reasons being, if Jauhar is to be believed, that firstly Bābur, the guest's father, had played false and had Najm-i-ṣānī killed,⁴ secondly Kām-rān had already written to the Shāh promising to return Qandahār so that, without shedding any Irānī blood in Humāyūn's cause, a coveted district might be obtained; thirdly that Humāyūn, now a humble suppliant, was once, after his return from Gujrāt, so conceited as to proclaim himself a king greater than the Shāh. Such a foolish person deserved no support. Even Bahrām Mirzā, the next brother to the

Humāyūn's possession at the time of the conquest of Hindustān. A.N. considers it 'worth the revenues of countries and climes.' The Shāh sent it again as a present to Nizām Shāh of the Deccan. See also *Jauhar*. According to G.H.N., fol. 61b, Humāyūn made the presents in order to please the Shāh whose mind had been turned against himself by khwā'ā ghazī and Roshan Kōkā. But Humāyūn, to the Shāh's surprise, excused them. R.A.T. gives the weight of the diamond as 4 misqals and 4 dangs. This would be equivalent to about 7 drams.

¹ The writers relate how Bahrām M. treacherously shot Abul Qāsim khalfā.

² According to B.B.T.H.B., the first *qamarghah* must lasted for 7 days.

³ Bairam khān, who was a Bēg so long, now got the title of khān and the Hājī that of Sultān. According to R.A.T., Bairam also got طبل و علم و بارگاه

⁴ See B.N., p. 361.

Shāh, was prejudiced against the guest.¹ It was mainly due to the Shāh's sister, Shāhzāda Sultānam,² that the discussion ended in Humāyūn's favour. She emphasized the Mughal chief's interest in 'Alī and quoted the verse

مائیم ز جان بنده علی * هستیم همیشه خرم از یاد علی
چون سر ولایت از علی ظاهر شد * کردیم همیشه ورد خود یاد علی

Tr. Wholeheartedly am I a bondsman of 'Alī's progeny.

Am always happy in remembrance of 'Alī,

As none but 'Alī comprehended the secret teachings of the Prophet.

It is well that I constantly repeat on the rosary the name of 'Alī.³

At the end of the festivities, the Shāh handed to Humāyūn a list of the troopers, with their officers, who had been chosen to aid him in recovering his lost territories⁴ and other sets of gifts were made.⁵ Then a third *qamarghah* hunt was enjoyed⁶ and the Shāh bid farewell to Humāyūn at Miām.⁷

But Humāyūn was not in a hurry to leave Persia. Either because he had grown more spiritual and less materialistic or because he wished to show his regard and veneration for the illustrious ancestors of the Shāh, he now chose to go to Tabrīz and Ardibīl and directed Ḥājī Muḥammad Kōkī to go direct to Qandahār with Ḥamīda Bānū. The Persian soldiers in the mean time were ordered to get their accoutrements and to join the Mughal chief on the bank of the river Halmand. Humāyūn first went to Tabrīz which once had belonged to the Tīmūrid prince, Mīran Shāh Mirzā. At Tabrīz he visited the dam across the stream that flowed from the Saband mountains,

¹ See *Farishta* (N. K. Press), p. 236; *Budāūnī* (B.I.S.), p. 444; *kh.T.*, *T.Kh.T.*, *T.S.A.*, *S.S.*, *R.T.* *Jauhar* makes him agreeable to Humāyūn's interests.

² N.M. Note that she is addressed as Shāhzāda and not Shāhzādī. She was usually present in the *qamarghah* hunts, taking her stand on horse-back behind her brother, the Shāh. She played the hostess to Ḥamīda Bānū and her regard for the Bānū interested her in the Bānū's husband. For the details, see *G.H.N.*, fol. 58a and b, 59a and b.

³ There are small variations noticeable among the writers when they quote the quatrain; e.g., some have preferred کاشاداد in place of خرم از ناد and یاد in place of یاد علی.

⁴ The numbers of soldiers varies from 10,000 to 14,000. Only *T.Kh.T.* puts it at 20,000. The names of the officers are given in *A.N.* and *B.B.T.H.B.* Bayazid Biāt was with Humāyūn in Persia.

⁵ See *R.A.T.*

⁶ According to *G.H.N.*, there were 8 *qamarghahs* in all. Ḥamīda Bānū enjoyed them seated on a camel or in a horse litter.

⁷ Situated in Azarbaijān, it will be seen that the 3 *qamarghah* hunts enclosed an area of more than 100 miles in length. *Jauhar* makes a mention how occasionally Humāyūn played the host and how once he presented a diamond ring to Bahrām M.

also the chief market known as Bāzār-i-Qaisaria and the Dome of Syria.¹ The city was, like other places *en fete* in honour of the distinguished guest and, besides the usual sports, new ones, peculiar to the locality, *e.g.*, hockey and wolf-dancing, were enjoyed. Tabriz, once the premier city of Irān, now lay in ruins, mainly as the result of its many earthquakes, and Humāyūn, while passing from one ruin to another, was reminded of the following verse :

افسوس که سرمایه ز کف بیرون شد
 وز دست اجل بسے جگرها خون شد
 کسی نامد ازان جهان که تا پرسم ازو
 کاحوال مسافران عالم چون شد

Tr. Alas that the substance hath slipped from the palm.
 And that many persons have bled at death's hand.
 None cometh from the other world that I may enquire
 How it fared with the travellers thereto.²

Here in Tabriz he met Khwāja Abdus Ṣamad who already had earned a name as a painter and a calligraphist³ and later in life became Akbar's court-painter and founder of a school of painting. Humāyūn, who was a connoisseur of art, invited him to join him. This he declined for the present. Possibly because the inviter was without any territory of his own and was dependent on another's charity for his subsistence. He joined him later on in Kābul.

Thence, after a four days' journey,⁴ he reached Ardibil. There he stayed for a week and was met by all the Shaikhzādas of the place.⁵

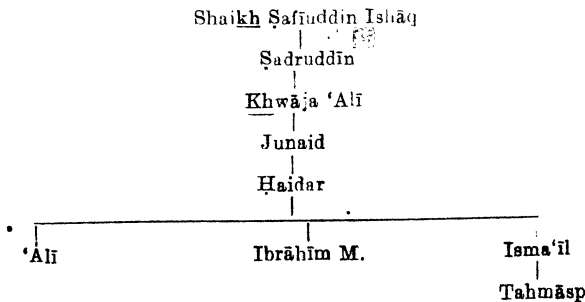
¹ *Jauhar*. He says that it was built with the materials brought from Syria.

² *M.J.N.* has سر رشته instead of سرمایه. See also *T.S.A.*

³ Son of Khwāja Nizām-ul-mulk, who had been a *vazir* of a local prince of Shīrāz. In Akbar's time he was a very influential courtier, though holding a *mansab* of 400 only. He was a poet and member of the Dīn-i-ilāhī. His son, Muḥammad Sharīf, was the *Amīr-ul-umarā* in Jahāngīr's reign.

⁴ *Jauhar*.

⁵ *i.e.*, the descendants of Shaikh Ṣafīuddīn Ishāq. The genealogy of Shāh Tahmāsp from the Shaikh is



Shaikh Safiuddīn Ishāq brought the family into fame and his son Ṣadruddīn Ṣafī was esteemed by Timūr. Humāyūn visited the two tombs¹ as well as that of Shāh Isma'il. He next visited Tāram, Kharzbīl, and Surkhāb and then reached Kazvīn again, where accidentally the Shāh had also arrived at the same time. Since the latter had bid adieu to his royal guest, he was not a little surprised to see him lingering yet in the Persian capital. So now he sent a peremptory order to Humāyūn to make a move, and this the latter did. Humāyūn joined his wife at Sabzawār but again parted from her, she travelling by the route of Tabas,² while the ex-king retraced his steps to Mashad. The governor and citizens of the town displayed profuse hospitality once more to their guest. Humāyūn had reached Mashad on the 30th *Ramzān* 951 A.H. (December 15, 1544 A.D.).² His journey had been so rapidly completed that he had not given sufficient time to the Persian auxilliary troops to gather together and so Humāyūn had to stay for a full week at Mashad and he utilized his ample leisure in meeting the learned of Mashad and also of other towns in the neighbourhood, *e.g.*, Shaikh Abul Qāsim Jurjānī, Maulānā Ilyās of Ardibil, Maulānā Jamshīd, the enigmatist, and Mullā Hairatī of Kāshān and in holding Sufistic or philosophical, scientific, or literary discourses. Once Hairatī brought to Humāyūn the following quatrain :

که دل از عشق بتان که جگر میسوزد
عشق هر لحظه بداغ دگر میسوزد
همچو پروانه بشمع سرورگارست مرا
که اگر پیش روم بال و پر میسوزد

Tr. At times my heart and at others my liver is consumed from
love of the beloved,

Love makes new scars every moment,

Like a moth my only concern is with a candle ;

For if I approach it, my wings are burnt away.

Humāyūn made a slight alteration in the last hemistich and then it read :

میرورم پیش اگر بال و پر میسوزد

Tr. I go forward even if my wings are then burnt away.

¹ *M.J.N.* says, that the main object of Humāyūn's visit was the shrine of Shaikh Safiuddīn.

² *M.J.N.* has mixed up the chronology of Humāyūn's visits to the different towns. *Badā'ūnī* gives an anecdote when a Persian rebuked Humāyūn for introducing *samin-bās*, then a novel form of salutation, see p. 446.

The amendment emphasises the purport of the poet, *viz.*, knowingly we go to the candle and in doing so we cut away all escape from it.¹

From Mashad the ex-king seems to have gone to Jām again, for on the tomb of the Shaikh is an inscription by him which may be reproduced here :

O thou whose mercy accepts the apology of all,
The mind of every one is exposed to Thy Majesty.
The threshold of Thy gate is the *qiblāh* of all people.
Thy bounty with a glance supports every one.

And beneath it is inscribed :

سرگشته رادی بی سرانجام محمد همایون ۱۴ شوال سنه ۹۵۱

Tr. A wanderer in the desert of destitution, Muḥammad Humāyūn, 14th *Shawwāl*, 951 (December 29, 1544).²

From Jām he went to Tabas and there joined his wife and then, rapidly travelling together, reached Sistān. The Persian army had already collected and was found to be in full number under the lead of the infant-prince Mirzā Murād³ and his guardian, Budāgh Khān Qāchār.⁴

We should conclude the chapter with a few general observations :

(1) Humāyūn had gone to Persia more with a view to passing on to Irāq and Arabia than with any definite hopes of getting military aid from the Shāh, and it may be said that, after his repeated failures in Sind and latterly in Qandahār, he had given up all hopes of a turn in his fortune. In fact, the generous aid rendered by Shāh Tahmāsp was unprecedented in character, and if a search be made for another such example, it will be found again in the same of family, *viz.*, in Shāh Isma‘īl’s unsuccessful efforts to re-instal Bābur on the throne

¹ Sufistically it would mean that we all should turn to God, *شیع* although in doing so we burn all our yearnings for the material.

² Bairam Khān had another inscription. The author of *M.R.* states to have seen both of them in the year 1020 A.H. (1611-12 A.D.). Sykes also quotes Humāyūn’s inscription in his *History of Persia*, Vol. II, p. 165.

³ R.T. calls him *شیرخواره* and *Farishta* *گهواره* طفل

⁴ A.N., M.R., B.B.T.H.B., R.A.T. mention the names of some of the officers. According to the last, the Persian army, after the capture of Qandahār, was to proceed to Ghazni and Kābul.

of Samarcand in 1511-12 A.D. Abul Fazl and other Indian writers¹ have tried to belittle the Shāh's magnanimity by pointing out that it was repaid several times over by Humāyūn when he made a present of his precious stones including the diamond obtained after the battle of Pānīpat and of the precious pearls. These writers forget the sanguinary nature of the ex-king's host. The Shāh could be cruel if he chose and could easily have deprived his guest and his Mughal followers of all their possessions, and contemporary history could have found nothing reprehensible, or at least unusual, in such an action of the Shāh.

(2) It is asserted by some of the Persian writers² that Tahmāsp had agreed to render military aid on three conditions—(1) on Humāyūn's becoming a Shia, (2) on his agreeing to spread Shiasm in India, and (3) on his promising to return Qandahār to the Shāh. We have seen above that Humāyūn had actually put on the Shia *tāj* and had shown his deep reverence for the Imāms. He had had, in his illustrious father Bābur, a Muslim of a very liberal type and, in his mother and wife, two ladies of Shia persuasion. That on such a person bigotry would sit very lightly, can hardly surprise us. It is his breadth of views that had attached Bairam Khān to him and had prompted the latter to refuse the generous offer of honour and rank from the Shāh and had led him to choose the life of an exile from his native land once again.³

Again, if we carefully analyse Humāyūn and his father's character, we shall see that both of them were deeply pious, but at the same time highly liberal also. For example, Humāyūn always loved to move among the learned and the religious. When he journeyed through Persia, he sought to visit the holy places like Mashad, Jām, Bistām, Ardibil and Tabriz, and took pleasure in visiting the shrines of the tombs of the Shia saints. A modern mind may scoff at the Sunnī Humayun's veneration for the Shia saints; but if one were to remember the depth of his despair caused by the ingratitude of his brothers, his general nobility of soul which refused to retaliate or do any harm to them under any circumstances, his pious nature, and the deep affection shown by his Shia wife and servant, one would probably

¹ The authors of *M.J.N.*, *M.R.*, *M.A.*

² *Farishta* (N. K. Press), p. 237; *Badā'uni* (B.I.S.), p. 545.

³ See *M.R.*, pp. 494-95.

absolve him of any hypocritical motives in his visits to the Shia shrines.

In a discussion of the subject of his acceptance of Shiism, we may be allowed to suppose that Humāyūn had neither any hatred for the sect nor did he show any special preference to it as against Sunnism. If he put on the Shia *lāj* and professed Shiism to the Shāh's Qāzī-i-Jahān, it was under compulsion. He was not so convinced of any defects in Shiism as to die a martyr for the cause of Sunnism. Since he was in a Shia land and had been pressed to declare himself a Shia by the men in power, he agreed to do so. The declaration did not cause any wrench to his heart. Without abandoning his Sunnism, he thought he could show his regard for Shiism.¹

With regard to the expectation that he would encourage conversion into Shiism later on in India, the opportunity never actually arrived. He died too soon after the occupation of Delhi. During his last Indian campaign that led to the reconquest of the Punjāb and the Delhi and Agra districts, he had given every prominence to his Shia nobleman, Bairam Khān. He had called him

فرزند سعادت مند - یار وفادار - برادر نیکو سیر همدم غمگسار

the fortunate son, faithful friend, brother of good disposition and dear companion, made him Khān-Khānān and tutor-guardian, اتالیق, of his son Akbar, and also conferred on him the second title of Khān-i-Bābā, Lord-father. At the same time he had maintained a balance between him and the other Persians on one side and the Sunnī nobles like Tardī Bēg and Shāh Abul Maalī on the other. Between Bairam Khān, the guardian, and Ḥamīda Bānū, the mother, it was to be expected that Akbar would grow up more a Shia than a Sunnī Muslim.

The cession of Qandahār was the third condition accepted by the Mughal chief. It must be confessed that he never fulfilled the condition, and on one excuse or another kept its fulfilment in abeyance during the remainder of his life. It speaks well of the Shāh's forbearance that he bore with this non-compliance for the next twelve years or so and never did any harm to his erstwhile guest.

¹ Of course, Kāmran always twitted him for his Shia professions.

(3) The services of Bairam Khān and Ḥamīda Bānū¹ in securing Shāh Tahmāsp's goodwill cannot be over-estimated. Without their company neither would the splendid hospitality of the Irānians have been forthcoming nor could the disciplined Qizlbash army have been secured. Bairam Khān guided his chief through the Shia land and Ḥamīda Bānū's influence with Sultān Khānam,² the Shāh's sister, was of paramount value in turning over a crisis during a discussion whether Humāyūn's cause should be supported or not.³ Those others who among the Irānians upheld Humāyūn were Qāzi-i-Jahān Kazvīnī, the king's Diwān⁴ and Ḥakīm Nūruddīn Muḥammad Taiyib, the Shāh's confidant.

(4) It is to the credit of Shāh Tahmāsp that neither does he mention his magnanimity in his own memoirs⁵ nor do the contemporary Persian historians.⁶ Not only did he keep his word by sending the full number of soldiers but also ensured unity of Mughal command by placing the Persian army under his infant son, Murād Mirzā.⁷ This prince died within a few months of his arrival at Qandahār, probably due to the hardships of the camp life but the Shāh made no grievance of his son's death.

(5) The general results of Humāyūn's sojourn in Irān and his contact with the Irānis have been of a far-reaching character:—

(a) It re-cemented the cordial relations of the two peoples—the Indian and the Irānian—that had commenced from Bābur's time or even earlier.

(b) It allowed the Irānian language and culture to permeate more and more deeply into the Mughal court and the Indian society. Turkī, the mother-tongue of the early Mughal kings, receded more and more into the background. If to-day the language of Irān

¹ According to *N.M.*, as a reward for her company in exile, Humāyūn had given her the title of Chūli Bēgam.

² She was commonly called Sultānam.

³ Several writers have mentioned that but for Sultān Khānam's influence, Bahrām Mirzā would have wreaked vengeance on the Mughal guest by turning the Shāh against him. For Bahrām Mirzā's prejudices against Humāyūn, see *Farishta* (N. K. Press), p. 236; *Badā'uni*, p. 444. *Kh.T.*, *T.Kh.T.*, *T.S.A.*, *S.S.*

⁴ *Farishta* calls him Nāzīr of the Diwānī, i.e., Superintendent of the Finance department, *Kh.T.* and *T.S.A.* Vazir, *M.A.* وکیل مطلق العنان, of the Shah. *Tazkira-i-Tahmāsp* (B.I.S.), p. 3, Vazir and Sāhib-i-diwān.

⁵ Entitled *Tazkira-i-Tahmāsp*. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has published a printed edition of the work.

⁶ Except the author of *R.A.T.*

⁷ See *R.T.* and *Farishta*.

occupies a significant place amongst the classical languages of India, it may partly be ascribed to its continued usage for the last four or five centuries.

(c) The Irānians were encouraged to immigrate in large numbers into India and they furnished soldiers like the Shia Bairam Khān and the Sunnī Shāh Abul Maalī, a historian like Khwāndamīr, and writers like Shaikh Zainuddin Khāfī and Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī. Most of these Persians were Shias.

The following abbreviations have been used in this paper :

<i>Abbreviation used</i>	<i>for</i>
1. M.R.	Māṣir-i-Raḥīmī
2. G.H.N.	Gulbadan Bēgam's Humāūn-nāma
3. A.N.	Akbar-nāma
4. T.A.	Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī
5. T.Kh.T.	Tarīkh-i- <u>Kh</u> āndān-Tīmūria
6. Jauhar	Jauhar's Tazkirat-ul-wāqīāt
7. Blochmann	Blochmann's translation of Āin-i-Akbarī
8. Farishta	Tarīkh-i-Farishta
9. R.T.	Rauzat-ut-Ṭāhirīn
10. Badāūnī	Badāūnī's Muntakhab-ut-Tawarīkh
11. N.M.	Nafais-ul-Maāṣir
12. R.A.T.	Ḥasan Rūmlū's Aḥsan-ut-Tawarīkh
13. B.B.T.H.B.	Bayazīd Biāt's Tarīkh-i-Humāyūn Bādshāh
14. T.S.A.	Tarīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Afāghina
15. M.A.	Mirāt-i-Ālam
16. Beveridge	Beveridge's translation of Akbar-nāma
17. B.M. Catalogue	British Museum Catalogue
18. Kh.T.	<u>Kh</u> ulāsāt-ut-Tawarīkh
19. M.T.	Muntakhab-ut-Tawarīkh
20. B.L.H.P.	Browne's Literary History of Persia
21. M.J.N.	Mirāt-i-Jahān-nama
22. S.S.	Ṣubh-i-Ṣādiq

THE THEORY OF PERCEPTION AS PRO FOUNDED BY PRABHĀCANDRA

SĪTANSUSEKHAR BAGCHI, M.A., B.L.

PERCEPTION according to Prabhācandra is the clear apprehension of objects. So all other kinds of knowledge which lack clearness fall outside the range of perceptual knowledge. Clearness in apprehension is a felt fact and neither stands in need nor is possible of a definition. It is an ultimate characteristic of a class of cognition, which is styled perceptual knowledge and is not found in indirect knowledge, such as inference. It cannot be regarded as the characteristic of the object, as in that case all objects would have this character, which is not the fact. Nor will it be a fair question why this character should belong to a particular species of knowledge and not be a universal trait in all cases of knowledge. Because such questions are futile and can be pressed against the ultimate constitution of all things. The ultimate nature of things, objective or subjective, must be accepted as final on the evidence of uncontradicted experience. An explanation is offered by the Jainas in terms of their metaphysical theory. The metaphysical postulate of all knowledge is the expulsion or subsidence of obstructive Karmic matter in the soul, which envelops the light of the soul and prevents it from operating upon objects.¹

Only when the obstructive Karmic matter is expelled or made to subside, knowledge takes place. The resultant lucidity or otherwise in knowledge can thus be explained in conformity with this theory as due to the quality or quantity or both of this universal condition of knowledge, which admits of varying degrees of completeness. Therefore clear apprehension is the true nature of perception. Prajñākara-gupta, a Buddhist philosopher of 940 A.D., has propounded a curious theory of perception. He maintains that the abrupt knowledge of fire on the accidental perception of smoke, the knowledge that all objects are momentary and the knowledge of universal concomitance such as where there is smoke there is fire, come under the category of perceptual knowledge, no matter whether there is

¹ *Vide Prameyaka-maṇḍaṇḍa, pp. 57-58; Sūtra-pāda-nāka, p. 814.*

clear apprehension or not. But this view is absolutely untenable because in that case even inference will be included under perception if distinctness and clearness be not accepted as the criterion of perceptual knowledge. If this criterion is rejected, there will be left to us no standard by which we can distinguish inference and the like from perception and the consequence will be that all knowledge, irrespective of their source and character, will be labelled as perception—an absurdity which does not require confutation. To drive home the absurdity it may be asked regarding the knowledge of fire on the abrupt perception of smoke, which is contended to be perceptual in character, what is its content?²

Is it the universal of fire or a particular individual? If it is the universal (*sāmānya*) that is cognised, then it is not a case of perception, for according to your view a universal is never an object of perception. If you (the Buddhist) accept this, your position that perception gives the knowledge of particular objects (*viśeṣa*) and inference gives the knowledge of the class-character or the universal will fall to the ground. Moreover perception according to Dharmakīrti consists in the apprehension of an object in its own specific character (*svalakṣaṇa*) having nothing in common with other objects similar or dissimilar and is thus completely free from association with names and verbal expressions, which presuppose and is made possible by relational thought. The object of perception is the reality which is immediately revealed to the mind and not such other ideas as generality (*sāmānya*), quality (*guṇa*), action (*kriyā*), substratum (*dravya*), or name (*nāman*), which are not a part of the presented sense-data but are supplied by the understanding (*vikalpa*).³ Thus if generality (*sāmānya*) becomes the object of perception, then perception will cease to be the infallible source of knowledge of reality, which according to the Buddhist is always a particular and the universal or other categories of understanding have nothing to do with the objective real. So the knowledge of fire under dispute will not be perceptual if it is supposed to cognise the universal. If on the other hand the knowledge in question is supposed to cognise the fire in its specific character, then there will be no room for doubt about its specific character, as to the kind of fuel from which it is produced as

² Vide PKM, pp. 57-58.

³ Vide PKM, pp. 57-58.

fire produced from dry leaves has a different individuality from that produced from hay. This individuality is cognised only in direct perceptual knowledge. When one infers fire, the knowledge is of a general nature and as such the possibility of a doubt about the individual character of the fire inferred is not excluded. No such doubt arises from an object that is perceived close at hand. Nobody entertains doubts about the specific character of the fire which he is perceiving near at hand. If still there be a doubt, then no other variety of knowledge whether arising from verbal testimony or from inference will be free from it. And it is fallacious to assert that there is no doubt in the knowledge arising from verbal testimony and inference. Therefore what you (Buddhist) have mentioned as the case of perception is nothing but inference arising from the apprehension of the probans.*

* *Vide* PKM, pp 57-58.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CENTRAL BANKING AND THEIR LESSONS FOR INDIA

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I

THE past few years have witnessed a striking growth of central banking. As many as 14 new central banks have been created in countries which had none before¹; and there is hardly any civilised country to-day which is not equipped with a central bank. Brazil, Venezuela and the Irish Free State are the notable exceptions but even in the case of all these three countries, the establishment of new central banks is under consideration. In the first two countries draft bills have already been presented to the legislatures² while in the case of the third, the recent Banking Commission has recommended the conversion of the existing Currency Commission into a full-fledged central bank.³ A careful examination of the statutes of these newly created central banks is particularly revealing. Most remarkable departures are found to have been made from the orthodox prescriptions drawn up in the case of the pre-war or early post-war central banks. This is true not only of the new central banking legislation but also of the amendments made in recent years to the statutes of a number of old established central banks.

The practices of present day central banking and the scope of the functions assumed by it under the present legislation in many instances hardly fit in with the classical position as understood in the pre-war or even in the early post-war period. Not only the practice but the theory of central banking appears to be drifting away from its old moorings. The last great depression had left its impress on the

¹ Money and Banking (League of Nations), 1937-38, Vol. I, p. 79. The more important of these are the Central Bank of Bolivia (1929), the Central Bank of the Turkish Republic (1931), the Bank of Mexico (1932), the Reserve Bank of New Zealand (1934), the Central Bank of Salvador (1934), the Bank of Canada (1935), the Reserve Bank of India (1935), the Central Bank of the Argentine Republic (1935) and the Bank of the Republic of Paraguay (1936). See De Kock, *Central Banking*.

² Money and Banking (League of Nations), 1937-38, Vol. II, pp. 39, 210.

³ Report of the Irish Banking Commission, 1935.

structure of central banking and the developments no doubt are partly its outcome but it would be misleading to suggest that they are wholly the product of an emergency situation.¹ Some of the most important trends had already been observed in the post-war years: they were merely accentuated in the years after the depression. The new legislation therefore reflects currents of ideas which have steadily grown stronger. In many respects it has been the result of experience garnered by central bankers over a series of years. Changes have been rapidly taking place in the economic organisation—in the methods of financing domestic and foreign business. Possibly to keep themselves abreast of the times and to equip themselves properly for their task, the central banks are passing through this new phase of evolution.²

The record of central banking legislation in the post-depression period has been so strikingly significant that it is well worth while to recall a few of its high lights. The object of this paper is to stress some of the most remarkable trends in recent central banking legislation and to examine in the light of these developments the extent to which the Reserve Bank of India should amend its own law and practice.

II

One of the most striking trends in recent central banking legislation is the reduction of the legal cover ratio with a view to introducing greater elasticity in the employment of primary reserves. In the years immediately after the last Great War, the reserve ratio fetish had been greatly extended and during the decade 1922-32 there was a general tendency not only to raise the legal reserve requirements of central banks to 40% or even more but also to include sight liabilities in the calculation.³ Large gold reserves, however, were found to be useless in emergencies because the greater part of the reserves were unavailable and for all practical purposes immobilised. It was the excess reserves which strengthened the position of the central banks but these excess reserves, as Keynes put it, were "uncomfortably small."⁴ The entire amount of gold held as a statutory reserve was thus

¹ Sixth Annual Report of the Bank for International Settlements (1935-36), p. 56.

² Ninth Annual Report of the Bank for International Settlements (1938-39), p. 119.

³ Report of the Gold Delegation Committee (League of Nations), p. 58.

⁴ J. M. Keynes, *Treatise on Money*, Vol. II.

a dead asset and in the picturesque language of a recent writer might vanish into thin air or lie at the bottom of the sea without any serious consequences provided no one knew.¹ The truth is that the more strictly and conservatively the gold reserves of a central bank are sought to be regulated by law, the weaker it becomes and the more helplessly exposed to disastrous disturbances from every wind that blows.

Opinion had been rapidly gaining ground in the early years of the Depression that the statutory reserves should be substantially reduced, if gold were to be used with full efficiency under a reformed international gold standard. It was frankly recognised that a lowering of the percentage from 40% to 33% or even below it would release a great deal of gold for active employment, enlarging the operative reserves of that amount. "The whole system of defined ratios," observed the Gold Delegation Committee, "has proved itself in the light of the special circumstances of post-war years to be too rigid and inadaptable.... we are of the opinion that it would be advantageous to reduce the reserves from their present levels."² The Minority Group of the Gold Delegation went further and suggested that the legal regulation of percentage reserves should be abolished.³

Then came the Monetary and Economic Conference of London in 1933. The unanimous recommendation of the Conference was that in order to improve the working of a future gold standard, greater elasticity should be imparted to the legal cover provisions of central banks by reducing the percentage gold cover to a minimum ratio of not more than 25%.⁴ The idea was not to permit the building up of a larger superstructure of notes and credits but to strengthen the position of central banks by increasing their free reserves. This recommendation gave concrete expression to a principle which had been gaining ground even before the Conference met. Experience had shown that even the country which possessed the largest stocks of gold, the United States, had twice found that the legal provisions were too inelastic in a period of sudden movements.

The statutes of a number of central banks had already been amended so as to make provision for a lower legal ratio. In August, 1932, the Austrian National Bank had reduced its minimum legal ratio from

¹ A. D. Gayer, *Monetary Policy and Economic Stabilisation*, pp. 84-85.

² Report of the Gold Delegation Committee (League of Nations).

³ Minority Report of the Gold Delegation Committee.

⁴ Annual Report of the Bank for International Settlements, 1936.

24% to 20%. In Poland the minimum legal ratio against notes and other sight liabilities which had been 40% of gold and foreign exchange had been reduced under the new provisions of February, 1933, to 30% of gold alone against notes and other liabilities in excess of 100 million zloty.¹ Since 1933 the tendency for central banks to adopt a lower legal ratio is unmistakable.² Not only have the statutes of several old established central banks been amended to provide for a reduced ratio but the newer central banks have increasingly adopted it at the outset. Under the Law of February, 1934, the National Bank of Czecho-slovakia adopted a 25% gold cover against sight liabilities in place of a 30% cover in gold and foreign exchange which existed in 1930 and which would have risen on the basis of the old graduated scale to 35% in 1935.³ When the Bank of Canada was established by Act of Parliament in 1934, a minimum statutory reserve ratio of only 25% was adopted. By a decree of January 15, 1935, the reserve requirements of the National Bank of Yugoslavia which stood at 25% gold and 35% gold and foreign exchange were reduced to 20% and 25% respectively.⁴ As a result of the amendment of the statutes of the Bank of Danzig on 1st May, 1935, the legal minimum of gold and foreign exchange to be held against notes and other dues and liabilities was reduced from 40% to 30%. According to the decree of 13th January, 1935, the legal minimum cover in the case of the National Bank of Bulgaria was changed from 33½% to 25%.⁵ Under the original statutes of the Latvian Bank (Art. 13) the Bank was obliged to secure by gold or stable and sure foreign currencies at least 50% of the note circulation, if the total circulation did not exceed 100 million lats.⁶ In May, 1936, the minimum cover was reduced to 30%.⁷ In terms of the provisions of the Act of July 12th, 1907 (Art. 7, paras. 1-3) the National Bank in Copenhagen was required to keep a metallic reserve equal to 50% of the nominal value of the notes in circulation. This reserve might consist of domestic legal tender gold coins, foreign gold coins and gold bullion.⁸ Under Sec. 10 of the New National Bank of Denmark Act,

¹ Third Annual Report of the Bank for International Settlements (1932-33), p. 10.

² Money and Banking (League of Nations) (1937-38), Vol. I, p. 89.

³ Federal Reserve Bulletin, July, 1936, p. 542.

⁴ Sixth Annual Report of the Bank for International Settlements (1935-36), p. 10.

⁵ Legislation on Gold (League of Nations), 1930, Table III, pp. 18, 97.

⁶ Federal Reserve Bulletin, July, 1936, pp. 544-45. Also Seventh Report of the Bank for International Settlements (1936-37).

⁷ Legislation on Gold (League of Nations), 1930, p. 70.

it was laid down that the gold fund should cover 25% of the total active note circulation.¹ According to the Hungarian Monetary Legislation of 1924, the minimum cover of the National Bank was to rise to 28% in 1934. But such an increase was then considered to be untimely and it was decided to continue the older ratio for a further period of 4 years. When a reform of the central bank was effected by the Law of July 14, 1938, the minimum gold and foreign reserve was fixed at 25% of notes and other demand liabilities (excepting those to the Government).² It may be interesting to note in this connection that the legal reserve requirements of the Reichsbank of Germany and of the Bank of Italy were suspended in September, 1932 and in July, 1935, respectively.³

In view of this pronounced trend towards a lowering of the reserve ratio, should not the Reserve Bank of India carefully consider a reduction of its minimum gold cover? Sec. 33 (2) of the Reserve Bank Act of 1934 provides that no less than two-fifths of the total assets of the Issue Department should consist of gold coin, gold bullion or sterling securities, the amount of gold coin and bullion being not less than Rs. 40 crores in value.

The assets of the Issue Department have been divided into two classes—'A' consisting of gold coin and bullion and sterling securities and 'B' consisting of rupee coin, Government of India rupee securities and bills of exchange and other commercial paper. This gives us a ratio of A to liabilities amounting to 40%. Some element of flexibility has been sought to be imparted to the statutory reserve ratio by including sterling securities but there is the minimum gold provision; and the ratio of 40% may reasonably be considered to be unduly high in these days. A lowering of the ratio would not only give greater elasticity to the reserve but would also help to counteract, if necessary, a deflationary tendency. The importance of this aspect of the question has been clearly revealed in recent years. When the Reserve Bank's attempt to maintain the sagging rupee-sterling ratio led to a depletion of the sterling reserves, its deflationary effect could

¹ The National Bank of Denmark Act—Federal Reserve Bulletin, July, 1936, p. 538.

² Money and Banking, 1938-39 (League of Nations), Vol. II, Commercial and Central Banks, p. 102.

³ Money and Banking, 1937-38 (League of Nations), Vol. I, p. 89.

be offset to a considerable extent by reducing the ratio of 'A' to liabilities. It was allowed to fall to a figure which was still nearly 10% above the legal minimum.¹ This afforded some scope for avoiding contraction and even for expansion of note issue. But that scope may be considered to be much too limited for initiating an expansionist policy. In any scheme for the economic recovery of our country, the first step to be taken must be the provision of cheap and abundant bank credit. This cannot possibly be achieved in a system where the central bank is constantly hampered by an anxiety to maintain larger prescribed reserves. If the legal reserve ratio were lowered from 40% to 25 or 30%, the scope for expansion would be considerably widened. It is interesting to note in this connection that the recent Australian Monetary and Banking Commission recommended the abandonment of the percentage method altogether in favour of a system of maximum note issue irrespective of gold reserves.²

It may be pointed out in this connection that a revaluation of the gold stocks of the Indian Reserve Bank may also afford a wide scope for expansion. An examination of recent central banking legislation discloses that greater elasticity in the employment of the primary reserves has been sought to be imparted not only through a reduction of the legal cover ratio but also through a revaluation of the existing gold holdings. The United States was the first country to revalue the central gold holdings in January, 1934. The American precedent has been steadily followed by an ever-increasing number of countries. The National Bank of Austria followed immediately. The National Bank of Belgium revalued its gold reserves in the next year. When the gold *bloc* ceased to exist in 1936, Italy, Switzerland and France decided to revalue. The gold and foreign exchange holdings of the National Bank of Hungary were revalued by an amendment of its statutes in 1938. In the same year legislation was introduced in Finland with a view to revaluing the gold holdings of the Bank of Finland. The Eesti Bank revalued in March, 1939.³ In the face of this remarkable trend towards revaluation of

¹ B. N. Ganguly, *Whither Rupee ?*, p. 30.

² See Copeland's Article in the *Economic Journal*, December, 1937.

³ Ninth Annual Report of the Bank for International Settlements (1938-39), pp. 69-70.

gold holdings by central banks throughout the world, the Bank of England which had continued to value its gold reserves at the old statutory price of 85s. per ounce reconsidered her position in 1939.

The Currency and Bank Notes Amendment Act of 1939 which came into effect on February 28, 1939, provided for a revaluation of the assets of the Issue Department. According to Sec. 2 (1) of the Act, "the assets held in the Issue Department shall be valued on the day on which the Act comes into operation and thereafter once in each week."¹ The Bank's return for March 1, 1939, revealed the incorporation of the provisions of the Act. The gold reserves which stood at £126·4 millions on 22nd February, 1939, at the old price were written up to nearly £221 millions on the basis of 148s. 5d., per fine ounce. Not only a large number of countries other than those mentioned above have revalued their gold holdings in recent years, such as the Argentine, Japan, Latvia, Rumania and Netherlands (March 1, 1940), but some of those cited above have revalued for the third or even the fourth time (*e.g.*, France).

The legislation relating to revaluation of gold reserves has, as Mr. Robertson has pointed out, increased to an important extent the wide powers of manoeuvre already possessed by the monetary authorities.² It is high time that the Reserve Bank of India should proceed to revalue her gold stocks after the manner of her *confrères* in other countries. The Reserve Bank has often been accused of being a party to deflationary tactics. Since the war there has no doubt been an increase in the issue of currency notes but the expansion has been much less than required. In many quarters there is an insistent demand for a mild measure of inflation from the revaluation of gold.³

III.

Perhaps the most revolutionary feature of central banking legislation is the altered relationship between the State and the central bank. ✓ This tendency stands in marked contrast with that of the pre-war period and early post-war years, when a great deal of emphasis was

¹ Federal Reserve Bulletin, April, 1939, p. 271.

² D. H. Robertson's Article in the Lloyds Bank Monthly Review, May, 1939—"British Monetary Policy."

³ See Manu Subedar's Article "Financial Injustice to India" in the "Indian Finance" February 24, 1940, p. 425.

placed upon the desirability of maintaining and strengthening the independence of the central banks from the State. There was hardly any other principle of central banking which was so much stressed as this independence of central banks from State ownership and State control.

It was clearly expressed in the resolutions adopted at the Brussels Conference of 1920 and the Genoa Conference of 1922. It was embodied in the statutes of most of the central banks established or reorganised during the post-war reconstruction period. It was restated even as late as in the London Conference of 1933. Recent developments in central banking, contrary to all the established traditions, indicate a movement towards a closer State control and greater State participation.¹ Not only old established central banks functioning as independent institutions for centuries are being converted into State banks but newly created private shareholders' banks are being transformed into State banks within a few years of their inception. The trends are significant and unmistakable.

The National Bank in Copenhagen originally founded as a State bank in 1813 was changed into a private shareholders' bank in 1818 and functioned in this form independently of the State for more than 100 years.¹ By the Law of 7th April, 1936, it was nationalised and transformed into Denmark's National Bank. The shareholders received as compensation 54 million kronor (which was equivalent to twice the nominal value of the shares) in 4% bonds issued by the new Bank for this purpose and guaranteed by the State. The Government provided a general capital fund of 50 million kronor in the form of a certificate. By degrees as funds out of the annual profits are allocated to the guarantee fund, corresponding amounts are to be written off the general capital fund certificate.²

The Reserve Bank of New Zealand is an outstanding example of a nationalized central bank, if not because of its subservience to the Government, at least because of the unequivocal way in which this has been laid down in the constitution.³ When the Reserve Bank Bill was introduced for the first time in 1932, the proposed Bank was

¹ De Kock, *Central Banking*.

² The National Bank of Denmark Act No. 116, April 7, 1936—Federal Reserve Bulletin, pp. 537-40 (July, 1936).

³ *The Banker's Magazine*, April, 1939, "The Reserve Bank of New Zealand"—Article by H. B. Randerson, p. 580.

conceived on orthodox lines and in accordance with Sir Otto Nieme-
yer's recommendations was to be controlled by a Board "entirely
free from the actual fact and fear of political interference."

The Bank was established on August, 1, 1934, as a private share-
holders' bank by the Law of November 27, 1933. But important
departures were made from Sir Otto's scheme for the Act made pro-
visions for a substantial measure of political control. The Board of
Directors came to be composed not only of four shareholders' 'directors'
but also of the Secretary to the Treasury and 3 State directors and the
Governor and the Deputy Governor, all of whom were to be appointed
by the Governor-General in Council. Although the Bank was esta-
blished with wide Government powers over it, yet the monetary reformers
were not satisfied. The Labour Government, by passing an amending
Act on April 8, 1936, placed the Bank virtually in the position of a
Government department. The shares were cancelled and the holders
were given in exchange Government stock or cash computed on the
market valuation of the shares. Every vestige of private control was
completely removed: the Secretary of the Treasury who did not pre-
viously possess a vote was given one; the Board of Directors were to
serve at the pleasure of the Government. All previous restrictions
on the power of the Bank to buy and sell long-term Government
securities were removed; and the Bank was authorised to under-
write any New Zealand Government loan, to advance the full amount
of the Treasury's estimated revenue and discount Government bills.

The Bank of Canada was established in 1935 as an entirely private
shareholders' bank. Under the Law of 23rd June, 1936, the State
assumed partial ownership of the Bank by increasing its capital by
issuing 102,000 shares of Class B at the par value of \$50 each to the
Minister of Finance.¹ By the Bank of Canada Amendment Act of
June 1, 1938, which came into force on August 5, 1938, the Bank was
nationalised. Sec 17 (1) of the Act provided that the capital of \$5
million should be issued to the Minister to be held by him on behalf
of the Dominion of Canada. Under Sec. 17A, the Minister was to

¹ Federal Reserve Bulletin, October, 1936, pp. 789-92. Sec. 17 (1) The Bank of Canada
Amendment Act, 23rd June, 1936, "The capital of the Bank shall be ten million one hundred
thousand dollars consisting of one hundred thousand shares (Class A) issued to the public and
one hundred and two thousand shares to be issued to the Minister at par (Class B) to be held
by him on behalf of the Dominion of Canada and to be paid for out of the consolidated revenue
funds."

exchange 100,000 Class B shares out of 102,000 held by him for 100 shares of the capital of the Bank which it has been authorised to issue. The Bank was to pay to each holder of Class 'A' shares of the Bank of the sum of 59 dollars and 20 cents for each Class 'A' share. The Minister would re-imburse the Bank the amount by which payments made by the Bank to holders of Class 'A' shares exceed the par value of such shares and such re-imbursement should be effected by surrendering to the Bank for cancellation 2,000 of the Class 'B' shares held by the Minister having the aggregate par value of one hundred thousand dollars and by paying to the Bank out of any unappropriated moneys in the consolidated revenue fund the sum of eight hundred and twenty thousand dollars.¹

When a new central bank was formed in Paraguay by a decree of 23rd February, 1936, out of the existing Bank of the Republic of Paraguay, a privately owned commercial bank, it was State-owned.² By the Law of 12th March, 1936, the Bank of Italy was transformed into a "public law" institution and the private shareholders were repaid the old capital.

Although the old Reichsbank was privately owned, it was operated and controlled by the Government. This long association of Government control was broken by the Law of 1924. The new Bank was created as a privately owned joint-stock company to be controlled by its own Board of Directors and the charter stressed its independence of State control.³ But when the statutes of the Bank were amended by the Law of 10th February, 1937, the provisions regarding its independence were eliminated and its Directorium was placed directly under the Führer and Chancellor.⁴ New law seeking to bring the transformation of the Reichsbank, which had begun with the Law of 10th February, 1937, to a conclusion in conformity with the National Socialist principles was promulgated on 15th June, 1939. Sec. 1 (1) has definitely laid down that the German Reichsbank shall be responsible to the Führer and Chancellor of the Reich.⁵

¹ The Bank of Canada Amendment Act of 1st July, 1938—Federal Reserve Bulletin, August, 1938, pp. 652-54.

² De Kock, *Central Banking*.

³ M. P. Northrop, *Central Policies of the Reichsbank*, p. 29

⁴ Sixth Annual Report of the Bank for International Settlements, p. 96.

⁵ Federal Reserve Bulletin, September, 1939, pp. 737-42.

The trend towards State control of central banks is reflected not only in the ownership of their capital but also in the increased participation in their administration. In several instances where no alterations were made in the ownership of the capital, a substantial measure of direct and indirect State participation in the appointments of Governors and Directors of central banks is to be observed in the recent amendments to the statutes. In the Bank of Greece, the Cabinet of Ministers has been appointing the Governor, the Deputy Governor and the Sub-Governor since 1932, all of whom were previously elected by the General Meeting of shareholders. The composition of the council in the case of the Bank of France was radically changed by the Law of 24th July, 1936. A General Council was substituted for the old Regency Council and the State was empowered to make a number of appointments.¹ One of the three members of the Board of Governors of the newly transformed State Bank of Denmark is to be nominated by the King. He shall also be the chairman of the Board.² In the U.S.A. all the members of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve system are being appointed to-day by the President; and the appointments of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the Federal Reserve Banks themselves are also subject to the approval of the Board.³

This trend towards increased State control and participation is manifested in a different manner in the growing interference by the State in the policy of the central banks and in the pressure exerted on them for financial accommodation. A most interesting feature of this development has been that this intervention has not been resented by the central bankers as an infringement of their freedom and independence. On the contrary, they have frankly expressed their willingness to mould their policy in accordance with the wishes of their Governments. There is hardly any central banking institution to-day which is legally more independent of Government control than the Bank of England but we find its Governor assuring the Ministers in the course of a statement made in 1936 that the Bank was always willing to do loyally and with goodwill what they would direct as if it was under legal compulsion.⁴

¹ De Kock, *Central Banking*, pp. 323-24.

² Sec. 6, The National Bank of Denmark Act, 7th April, 1936—Federal Reserve Bulletin, July, 1936, p. 537.

³ Article in the Journal of Political Economy, December, 1935, by H. H. Preston—"The Banking Act of 1935."

⁴ See *The Economist*, 10th October, 1936.

This assurance was re-affirmed by the Governor a year later in the following words, " We must look largely to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and we assure him that in all matters his requests govern the conduct of our affairs." ¹

Apart from the domination of the Treasury in matters relating to monetary and banking policy, the central banks have been increasingly subjected to the constant pressure for extension of financial facilities to the State. The great depression and the subsequent abandonment of the gold standard over almost the entire world brought about a chaos in Government finances and the central banks had to meet the increased demands for accommodation. On 14th April, 1938, a convention was entered into between the French Minister of Finance and the Governor of the Bank of France which increased by 10 billion francs the amount of advances that might be granted by the Bank to the French Treasury.² When the statutes of the Bank of Poland were amended on 13th February, 1939, advances to the State were raised from 100 million zl. to 150 million zl.³ An examination of the recent balance-sheets of many central banks in this connection is particularly revealing. Large holdings of Government securities and Treasury bills as well as direct State debts will at once leap up to the eye.

This trend towards State ownership and State control as reflected in current central banking legislation should be carefully noted in our country. There has been a wide-spread demand for State Banks in India for a long time and it will be recalled that the first Reserve Bank Bill foundered on the rock of the question of independence of political control. At that time State banking institutions in the world were very few in number and this was one of the strongest points in favour of the shareholders' type of central banks. But circumstances have entirely changed since those days. The number of State banks has been steadily on the increase and during the last few years the trend towards State control and ownership as shown above has been unmistakable. At present there are at least 12 central banks whose capital is fully owned by the State besides a large number where it is partially owned. They are the Reichsbank of Sweden, Bank of Finland, National Bank of Denmark, National

¹ Money and Banking (League of Nations), 1937-38, Vol. I.

² Federal Reserve Bulletin, August, 1938, pp. 650-51.

³ Money and Banking (League of Nations), Vol. II, p. 144.

Bank of Bulgaria, Bank of Latvia, Commonwealth Bank of Australia, Reserve Bank of New Zealand, Bank of Canada, Central Bank of China, Bank of the Republic of Paraguay, Bank of the Republic of Uruguay and the National Bank of Costa Rica.¹

The old and rusty weapons from the armoury of the State bankers need not be brought out again to support the case for a State-owned central bank in India. Recent developments in foreign central banking should help to revise our notions in regard to the constitution of central banks. Even if they failed to afford any lesson to the protagonists of the shareholders' type of banks, developments nearer at home, within our own country, cannot certainly be ignored. When the Reserve Bank of India was inaugurated, the Government intended to make it a truly representative shareholders' bank by keeping the electorate as wide as possible. Accordingly when the Reserve Bank issued its capital, it accepted only applications for between 5 and 50 shares. The limitation to 50 shares of the maximum voting power of an individual has the same thing as its objective.

During the five years between the inauguration of the Reserve Bank and to-day, the total number of shareholders declined from 92,047 to 57,192. During the last year alone there was a drop of 2,585. The average number of shares held by each shareholder has consequently increased from 8.4% to 8.7%. The total number of shareholders has declined by nearly 38% since the establishment of the Bank.² Not only the total number of shareholders but the distribution of the shares among the different provinces has undergone significant changes. There has been an increasing drift of shares to Bombay. Her original holdings amounted to 140,000 shares; they have now increased to 205,500 shares, mainly at the expense of Calcutta and Delhi. The holdings of Calcutta have declined from 145,000 to 122,800 and those of Delhi from 115,000 to 90,000.³

From the figures given above, one fact of startling importance at once leaps up to the eye. The Reserve Bank is well on the way to lose its status of a public institution. The concentration of the shares in the hands of a small number of individuals of a particular province

¹ Prior to 1935 the Bank of the Argentine was State-owned but the capital is now owned equally by the State and Commercial banks. De-Kock, *Central Banking*, Ch. XV.

² Annual Report of the Central Board of Directors, Reserve Bank of India, for the year ended 31st December, 1939.

³ *The Commerce*, 20th January, 1940, p. 73.

will strike at the root of the intentions of the Government to maintain the electorate as wide as possible. In the recent annual report of the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank a pointed reference was made to this tendency for the Bank shares to be concentrated in the hands of fewer people and the possibility of domination of the Central Bank from a particular centre. The Bank reported the position to the Government of India and as a result of its recommendation that the number of shares held by an individual should be limited to a maximum of 200 and that no transfer should be registered in the name of any individual in excess of that amount, the Reserve Bank of India Act has just been amended. It is difficult to see how this tendency can be checked by legislation. The Amending Act would hardly enable Government to attain the desired objective. Several members of one family may buy up to the legal maximum and control of the complete block of several hundred shares may remain in the hands of an individual. Hence the entire purpose of the Act may be defeated. One solution—and we believe it to be the real solution—at once suggests itself. The Central Government should buy out the shareholders altogether and own the Reserve Bank itself as has been done in the case of several countries in recent years.

[*To be continued.*]

NAZĪRĪ OF NISHĀPŪR

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NAZĪRĪ'S LIFE

Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḥusayn, poetically named Nazīrī, was a native of Nishāpūr.¹

The date of his birth is not recorded by biographers. They are silent about his ancestors and the details of his early life are not available either. But he was undoubtedly one of the gifted poets.

From his very boyhood he cultivated the art of poetry, as the following couplet shows:—

بشعر و شاهددم از کودکی نظم باز بست
که عشق خیزد از آب و هوای کشور ما²

‘ From (very) boyhood, I am inclined towards poetry and love-matter ;

As love is inherent in the (very) nature of our clime.’

It appears that he led a family life. The elegy on the death of his son, Nūr-ud-Dīn-Muḥammad, in which he laments the death of his daughter also, with the feelings of a true man, goes to show that he had at least two children. He also makes a mention of his twins (son and daughter) in the couplet noted below:—

باین قصیده برجسته شد تدارک غیبم
که دختر و پسر توامان بیدگر آمد

‘ In this extempore Qaṣīda it was arranged invisibly that I should have twins—a son and a daughter one after another.’

¹ Some are of opinion that he originally belonged to Juwayn (جوین), *vide* Atashkada, p. 194.

² *Dīwān* (Nawal Kishore ed.), p. 15.

³ *Dīwān*, p. 314.

⁴ The elegy is thus set forth.

این ترکیب مرثیه ایست که در فوت ولد دلبندم نور الدین محمد که دوازده روز در فضلی دنیا بود گفته شد

Dīwān-i-Nazīrī, R. A. S. B. MS. No. 706.

There is another elegy on the death of his brother, wherein he says:—

غربت و بیماری و مردن نصیب کس مباد
داد از مرگ برادر آه از حرمان من

'Let none fall ill and die in a strange land !

The death of my brother, alas, a disappointment for me !'

The title of this poem in the R. A. S. B. MS. No. 706 contains the word *حبیه* (daughter) and *برادر* (brother), while there is no mention of the former in the title of the same in the Nawal Kishore edition. But the couplet noted below, has a clear reference to his son, whose death he mourns with that of his brother.

بود دردی اندک خیل و خدم آتشم
داغ فرزند و برادر سوخت مغز جان من

'The smoke of the sorrow of horseman and attendants rose from my fire,

The scar of the death of son and brother consumed the kernel of my heart.'

This shows that he had a brother whom he loved very much and he feels his separation keenly.

He remembers him thus:—

از عزیزى اشرف الاخوانش خواندم بنام
باشرف چون نام من بردند از و اخوان من

'Out of love I called him by name the most honoured of brothers.

And my brothers were, like my name, in honour (*sharaf*) through him.'

This brother, Mawlānā Sharaf,¹ a skilful musician, was also in the service of the Khān Khānān. He died in a strange land, which added to the misery of the poet. The son whose death he mourns also in this elegy, may be different from one mentioned previously.

¹ *Diwān*, p. 375.

² *Ibid.*, p. 372.

There is a pun on the word '*sharaf*,' which was the name of Naziri's brother and which also means honour.

³ Blochmann, p. 613, Note 3.

Āzīmā,¹ a poet of no ordinary rank, is mentioned as the son of Mulla Qaydī, who is mentioned as the son of Nazīrī by Āzād on the authority of the *Mirāt-us ṣafa*. He is said to have been to India with his father and having returned to Nishāpūr to have come back over then again.

While still in Khurāsān, he won a name for himself in poetry. As his fame spread, he marched to Kāshān where he entered into poetic contests with poets like Ḥaṭīm, Fahmī, Maqṣūd-i-khurda, Shujā', Ridāi, who had distinguished themselves in this sphere.

It was here that he composed and recited, to the admiration of all, the well-known ghazal beginning with

فلک مزدور ایمای تو باشد * نوازد هر کرا رای تو باشد

'The sphere is at your beck and call ;

It nourishes whomsoever you like.'

It appears Nazīrī spent some time in this way in Kāshān.

'Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān was well-known for his lavish rewards to poets and scholars. His court attracted all such men of letters from home and abroad.

The reign of Akbar the Great was a glorious one, which witnessed the advent of many poets from Persia, *e.g.*, Sanā'i of Mashhad, Urfī of Shirāz, Khwājāh Ḥusayn of Meru, Anīsī Shāmlū, Qudsī of Karbala, etc., whose merit was handsomely rewarded.

Nazīrī, like others, also came to India to try his luck. He was first introduced to the Khān Khāna at Agra. He refers to this incident in the *Qaṣīda* having this name :—

این قصیده در مدح صاحب ابر الفتح بهادر عبد الرحیم خانخانان بن
بیرمخان هنگامیکه بایلغار از گجرات به دار السلطنت آگره آمده بودند
و اول مداحی و ملازمت کرده بود گفته شد²

'The *qaṣīda* was composed in honour of Lord Abu'l Faṭḥ Bahādur Khān Khān b. Bairam Khān, on his return to the capital at Agra, after having (successfully) led the expedition against Gujrat, and it was here that for the first time he (Nazīrī) waited upon him.'

¹ 'Āzīmā is one of the distinguished poets. He had a *diwān* entitled *Fawz-i-Āzīm*. He died in 1121 (1709). The ode beginning with the following couplet is amongst his fine productions and runs thus :—

قصده آمد گفتیش آن ماه سیمین بر چه گفت
گفت با هجرم بساز و گفتیش دیگر چه گفت

² *Diwān*, p. 350.

The Qaṣīda runs thus:—

بِعمرِ مژده که عیش ابد نثار آمد * شگفته روی جاوید را مدار آمد¹

‘ Joyful tidings are for life that eternal is available,
And smiling face has become the pivot for eternity.’

This event took place in 992 (1584).

Nazīrī thus found a real patron in the Khān Khānān, who introduced him to the court of Emperor Akbar.

It was at this time that they celebrated the birth of prince Khusraw, the son of Jahāngir. It was a golden opportunity for the poet to compose a qaṣīda suited to the occasion, which he readily did. It begins

زمانه را بی تزئین سور شاه امسال
بهار پیش ز نوروز کرد استقبال
کشید ماه جلالی بطالع فیدروز
فراز چتر سپهری سراوتات جلال²

‘ To beautify the royal feast this Year, spring has dawned before (the advent of) Nawrūz (New Year’s day). The month of jalālī raised gorgeous pavilions over the canopy of the sphere, at an auspicious moment. He composed qaṣīdas in honour of Emperor Akbar which will be discussed in their proper place.

Although our poet composed laudable qaṣīdas in honour of Emperor Akbar, it seems he could not enjoy a position at the royal court, befitting his rank. Like many other poets of eminence, he too fell a victim to opposition. He refers to this point in the following lines:—

جماعتی ز سفیهان تیره طبع دنی
مدام در پیش افتاده اند همچو ربال
ز بی تمیزی این نادان کم مایه
گهر بقدر خذف گشته ‘ زر برخ سفال³

‘ A body of fools, who are dark and mean-minded,
Like a calamity are constantly after me.

¹ *Ibid*, p. 350.

² *Dīwān*, p. 317.

³ *Dīwān*, p. 320.

Through the discourteous behaviour of these mean critics,
Pearls have turned into pebbles, gold into earthenware.

He was content, therefore, to remain attached, more or less, to the khān khānān and settled at Aḥmadābad. He is the first Persian poet to sing songs in praise of this chief. To this a reference is made by some critics:—

ز ریزه چینی خوانت نظیری شاعر
رسیده است بجای که شاعران دگر
کنند بر مدیحتش قصیده‌ها انشا
که خون رشک چکد از دل سخن پرور
ز نوک خامه او مضطرب دل جیغون
ز رشک نامه او تشنه لب لب کوثر
لباس لفظ شود تنگ در پی معنی
گهی که بگر معالیش بفگند چادر¹

A few years later he intended to make ḥajj, which he performed in 1002 (1593).²

Before starting on his journey to the Holy Land he composed the following qaṣīda in honour of the khān khānān, beginning with

ز هنر بخود نگنجم چو بغم، منی مغانی
بدرد لباس بر تن³ چو بجر شدم، معانی

'My skill controls me not like wine in the jar of a tavern-keeper;

When my heart is full of meaning, it tears my clothes on my body.,

and in the couplets noted below, he prayed for passage money:—

همه عیش این جهانی بعنایت تو دیدم
چه عجب اگر بیابم ز تو زاد آنجهانی

¹ Maṣṭhūr-i-Raḥīmī, Vol. III, p. 116.

² Maṣṭhūr-i-Raḥīmī gives 1012 A.H. as the date of the poet's pilgrimage, which is obviously an error.

³ Diwān, p. 328.

تو اگر دهی و گر نه غم و خوشدلی ندارم
 که نظر بدوست دارم نه بگنم شائگانی
 چو رسد بجز شبنم، ز فلنا چه بیم دارد
 که بقا بدوست یابد، چو شود ز خویش فانی¹

‘Through your grace, I enjoyed all the pleasures of this world!
 What wonder! if I get from you provision for the next world!
 Whether you grant this or not, I have neither joy nor sorrow,
 As I have an eye upon the friend, not upon the large
 treasure.

When dew-drops mingle with ocean, it fears not annihilation,
 As it enjoys abiding in the friend, after annihilation.’

The khān khānān granted his request. Nazirī left for Mecca from Surat. He was waylaid in his journey, which he described at length in the qaṣida having this descriptive title:—

این قصیده در راه مکه مکرمه بعد از غارت سارقان و حرامیان مذیل
 بمدح نواب محمد عزیز اعظم خان منظوم شد -

This qaṣida was composed in the Holy Land of Mecca after the poet was waylaid by robbers together with the praise of Nawwāb Md. ‘Azam Khān.

He was in trouble. So he approached the Nawwāb to help him on his return journey. He refers to this² point in these lines:—

بگوشه نظر التفات محتاجم
 بزاری که توان کشتنم به نیم نگاه
 ز بی بضاعتی خود چنان هراسانم
 که بر توشه ره باز کردم از درگاه
 بسیل مرحمت از خاک ذلتم بردار
 که همچو غلبه عطشان فتاده‌ام بر راه²

‘I require the corner of the eye of your attention.

I am in trouble such that a wink of your eyes is sure to kill me.

¹ *Ibid*, p. 325.

² *Diwān*, p. 327.

(i.e., slightest attention on your part will enable me to accomplish my object.)

I am so much frightened on account of my poverty
that I may return from your court (disappointed) in getting
provision for the journey.

With the torrent of mercy, raise me from the dust of disgrace,
as I have fallen on the road, like a thirsty person.'

He somehow managed to perform the hajj. Amīn Rāzī says that while he was engaged in composing the *Haft Iqlim*, Naẓīrī contemplated a pilgrimage to the Holy Land which he performed in 1002 (1593).

On his return from hajj, it appears, Naẓīrī found access to the court of Prince Murād.

A guide led him to the court ; there was festivity on the occasion of Nawrūz (New Year's day) and the poet graced the ceremony by composing a poem in honour of the prince. The poem begins thus :—

پس از ادای نماز و حج و رسوم عباد
بسیر عرصه گجرات اتفاق افتاد
قبول جذبه آن آب و خاکم از کشتی
چو دست نابله از مهد برکنار نهاد
چنان بشوق خرامان شدم دران کشور
که سوی حجله زیبا عروسی نوداماد¹

' After performing the hajj and the pilgrim's practices,
I chanced to visit Gujrat.

The attraction for land and water drew me to the bank from
the boat;

Like a capable hand, (drawing one) from cradle.

I eagerly walked into that clime,

Like a bride moving towards her chamber.'

It appears that he was very much attached to the prince. The *Tarkib-band*,² which he wrote on his death and which is regarded as a fine specimen of his poetry, bears eloquent testimony to this fact.³

¹ *Diwān*, p. 332.

² *Tarkib-Band*, a form of strophe poem.

³ The poem begins :—

لب خوش نگشته خنده ره چنگ میزند در بزم مرگ ' خنده بر آهنگ میزند

The fame of Nazīrī reached the ears of Jahāngīr, who summoned him to his court in the fifth year of his reign in 1019 (1610). Nazīrī presented himself with a replica to the well-known qaṣīda of Anwari which runs thus:—

باز این چه جوانی و جمالست جهان را ¹

‘What youth and grace appertain to this world!’

The poet's qaṣīda begins as follows:—

ترکیب کهن تازه شد آئین زمان را * نوداد لسنسق ‘شاه جهانگیر جهان را

‘The old order changeth giving place to new.’

Emperor Jahāngīr is running the world's administration anew.’

Jahāngīr was very much pleased with this and he rewarded the poet with one thousand rupees, a house and a robe of honour.

Jahāngīr once desired Nazīrī to write an inscription for his building. He presented a qaṣīda to the Emperor, describing the beauties of the edifice therein. The poem begins:—

ای خاک درت ‘سندل سرگشته سران را

بادا مژه جاروب رخت تاج-وران را

‘O thou! the dust of your door is ‘sandal’ for diseased heads,
May the eye-lids of rulers sweep the dust of your path.’

Jahāngīr appreciated this very much and bestowed upon him, ² as a reward, three thousand bighas of land.

Nazīrī wrote panegyrics in honour of Emperor Akbar and Jahāngīr, Prince Mūrād, the Khān khānān and ‘Azīz khān kawka. These poems will be fully discussed in the proper place.

Nazīrī was a panegyrist, and as such he was a success. As hinted above, he was very much attached to the Khān khānān. Once he submitted to this chief, ‘I have not seen a lakh of rupees in a mass. How does it look?’ The Khān khānān ordered the sum to be piled up. ‘Thank God!’ exclaimed Nazīrī, ‘Through your grace, I have now seen a lakh.’ The chief made a gift of the sum in his favour. Nazīrī was a skilful goldsmith.⁴ He carried on trade also. Thus he lived in a princely

¹ Tuzuk edited by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, 1290 (1863), p. 91.

² Khizāna-i-Amira p. 437.

³ Ibid,

⁴ Maṣṭhūr-i-Rahīmī, Vol. III, p. 118.

style. He was very generous and lavishly gave away to the poor.¹ He was addicted to tobacco. He has a poem² in its praise, although its use was forbidden by Emperor Jahāngīr and Shāh 'Abbās, both in India and Irān.

There was a poet of the name of Nazīr in those days. As the two names differed by the letter yā (ی) and the word Nazīrī is derived from the original word 'Nazīr,' poet Nazīrī gave his namesake ten thousand rupees to change his name, so that there might possibly be no dispute about the authorship of his poems.³

Once the Khān khānān wrote a letter to Anīsī, on the margin of which he remembered Nazīrī. He took it to heart and referred to it in a poem addressed to his master:—

مَدِّی در سه مخصوص دل ما نکشیدی
مخدوم چنین یاد نمود ست خدم را
ما نام خود از حاشیه شستیم گزین بیش
مهمان طفیلی نتوان بود قلم را⁴

'What note in the margin was not to my desire,
Did a master ever thus remember his servants?
We washed over name from the margin,
One cannot be guest (parasite) of the pen.
There was a certain dignity of it in Nāzīrī.'

He says:—

من گرهر هرم، فلک نشامرا چه جرم
من اخترم، زمانه نداد، مرا چه عار

'I am a pearl! let not firmament know me!
I am a star, let not time recognise me, what shame!'

Though a panegyrist, he was not mercenary as Zahīr of Faryāb, or Anwārī of Khāwarān, nor like 'Urfī was he so much self-conceited. He has made references to these poets, viz., Farrukhī,

¹ Riyāq-ush Shu'arā, MS. No. 92, f. 314, Buhār Library:—

ابواب فیض بر روی مردم کشوده

² Diwān, p. 275.

³ Maāthir-i-Raḥīmī, Vol. III, p. 118.

⁴ Ibid, p. 128.

'Unṣurī and Anīsī¹ Khāqānī and Magir² and Abul 'Alī Beg.³ He mentions Hafiz⁴ as his guide whom he imitates in his odes. He also mentions Sa'dī,⁵ Khwāja Ḥusayn Sanāī.⁶

He reverently makes a mention of Attar⁷ also. Though living in India and improving his fortunes here, he never forgets his native land, and looks upon it with wistful eyes, as he says:—

دل تشنه ست کان نشاپور میروم تا آب و رنگ رفته، بمعدن در آورم
گیرم سرای مادر و قبر پدر مقام آرام شان بمسکن و مدفن، در آورم

'My heart is thirsty: I am going to the mine of Nishāpūr so that I may restore lustre upon it

I may take my abode in the grave of my parents, I may bring peace to thier lasting dwelling place and like poet Ḥazīn shows contempt for the land of his adoption.'⁸

Towards the latter part of his life, he showed a remarkable tendency for the acquisition of religious enlightenment. When he accompanied the Khān khānān to the Deccan, he met Shaykh Ghawthī, the author of the Gulzār-i-Abrār, at Mandu: and he set about learning Arabic under him and then acquired the science of the commentary of the Qurān⁹ :—

Diwānī, p. 402 :—

از نظم او که شهره محمود داده است * گم گشته نام فرخی و ذکر عنصری
پرسی اگر بعشر چه آرام نداده شد * شعر انیسی آور و وحی پیغمبری

² Ibid, p. 376 :—

چندی بهم نبردی خاقانی و مجبر * غوغا بشیروان و بارمن در آورم

³ Ibid, p. 66 :—

رشک ملک شیروان امروز شادروان اوست * کوبه از خاقان، نظیری به ز خاقانی نشت

⁴ Ibid, p. 400.

⁵ Ibid, p. 19 :—

تا اقتدا به حافظ شیراز کرده ایم * گرویده مقتدای دو عالم کلام ما

⁶ Ibid, p. 404.

⁷ Ibid, p. 353 :—

خدیبو نظم سنائی که در مبادی فکر * بلند گشت ازو پایه نذا کردن

⁸ Ibid, p. 144 :—

ای صبا از گل عطار نشانه بمن آر * وز گلستان نشاپور خوانی بمن آر

⁹ Ibid, p. 322 :—

شرم نظیری کجاست خاک برون همت * سفره هند آمدن ملک عجم داشتن

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 376 :—

گجرات را بعزم خراسان کنم وداع * بیت چیرگان هند بهرمین در آورم

سوی عراق و فارس ز آثار طمع خویش * خلدی ز نظم و نثر مزین در آورم

¹¹ Ibid, p. 327 :—

دل ز هند و سمیه بکر گداخته شد * در آرزوی نشاپور و شمال هرات

and tradition from Mawlānā Ḥusayn Jawharī.

According to this learned scholar, Nazīrī set his face against the world some twelve years before his death and lived a secluded life. He speaks of Nazīrī thus:—

”مولانا نظیرزی نیشاپوری حاجی الحرمین درویش طبیعت صوفی سیرت - مہذب الاخلاق بود - در آخر روزگار زندگانی عنان نظم تراشی بصوب طرز گفتار صوفیان وحدت گذار منعطف ساخته - نخست سراد عربی از مصاحبت نگارندہ گلزار ابرار روشن ساخت سپس دوازده سال کہ تتمہٴ عمر او بود در احمد آباد اقامت گزیدہ علوم دینی تحصیل کرد و تصحیم تفسیر و حدیث از خدمت مولانا حسین جوہری وارہ نمود - در سنہ ہزار بست و سہ بعالم قدس خرامید“¹

But even in this state he did not cease composing laudatory poems.

The following *qaṣīda* was composed during this period :—

چندی بغلط بتکدہ کردیم حرم را رقت است کہ از کعبہ بر آریم صنم را

‘Wrongly for a long time, I turned the sanctuary of the Ka’ba into a temple.

It is high time that I should take out idols from the Ka’ba.

He died in Aḥmadābād and lies buried in the mosque built by himself which is situated in Tājpurā.² There is a dome over his tomb. Taqī Aubadī, the author of the well-known work *Urafāt*, who came to Aḥmadābād in 1016 (1607), says that he frequently visited Nazīrī. He gives مرکز دائرہٴ بزم کجاست as the chronogram of the poet’s death in 1021 (1612).

Another chronogram ز دنیا رفت حسان العجم آہ giving the same year as its numerical value, is mentioned in the *Makhzan-ul-Gharāib* and is said to have been composed by Mir Fā’īd, the son-in-law of Nazīrī.³ The author of the *Gulzār-i-Abrār* places his death in 1023 (1614).

¹ Sark Azād (Hyderābād Ed.), pp. 21-26.

Name of the locality, where the mosque built by Nazīrī stands.—*Shir-ul-Ayau*, Vol. III, p. 141.

³ *Catalogue of Persian MSS.*, O. P. Library, Bankipore, Part III, p. 18.

NAẒĪRĪ AS A POET

Every poet has some special features. Ūrfī is known for 'falsafa' (introducing philosophical ideas), Sāi'b for 'mithālīa' (using proverbs and maxims and drawing lessons therefrom) and so is Naẓīrī known as 'taghazzul' (delineation of human passions).

A careful study of the history of the development of ghazals will reveal that, though long in vogue, it received perfection at the hands of Kamāl-ud-Dīn Ismā'īl, called Khallāq-ul ma'ānī ('creator of ideas'); Sā di improved upon it and Ḥāfiẓ raised it to a still higher level and made it a miracle.

During the 16th century of the Christian era, when poetry was influenced by the progressive ideas, many new ideas and ideals were introduced.

Naẓīrī is one of those favoured sons of Nature who were endowed with a genius characteristic of its own. His ghazals or love-poems possess high imagination, sweet cadences, grace and elegance, delightful and novel presentation of love-matter, fascinating turns of expressions, quick use of common idioms and phrases, and, above all, personification, which makes his poetry what it is.

It is these which have singled him out among his compatriots.

Sāi'b speaks of Naẓīrī :—

صائب چه خیال است شری همچو نظیری

عرفی به نظیری نه رسانید سخن را

'Sāi'b, do you think, you can equal Naẓīrī ?

Ūrfī could not rival Naẓīrī in poetry.'

Wālih Dāghistānī observes :—

مولانا نظیری نیشاپوری ... خاقان اقلیم سخنوری ... پایۀ سخن

را بجای رسانیده که شهباز خیال را با هزار پر و بال در آن عرصه مجال

پرواز نیست¹

'Mawlānā Naẓīrī of Nishāpūr, the Khāqān of the clime of poetry, raised it to such a height that the falcon of imagination, with a thousand feathers, could not soar in the region.'

¹ Rīyāz-ush-Shua'ra. MS. No. 92, f. 814b, Buhār Library.

Jalāl-i-Athīr says of Nazīrī:—

همچشمی نظیری حد بشر نباشد

‘Equality with Nazīrī is not within the reach of man.’

Ghālib also observes:—

جواب خواجه نظیری نوشته ام غالب

خطا نموده ام و چشم آفرین دارم

‘I have written a reply to Khwājāh Nazīrī, O Ghālib,
I have made a mistake, yet I hope to be praised.’

Shiblī Nūmānī's work, *Shirul-‘Ajam*, Part III (pp. 145-64), contains a brief but fine criticism on the poetry of Nazīrī. It is simply out of question to add to it any new material. The poems of Nazīrī as found in the *Dīwān* (Nawal Kishore ed.) fall into the following classes.: (A) Ghazals or Love-poetry, (B) Qaṣīdas or laudatory poems, (C) Tarkīb-band, (a form of strophe poems), (D) Tarjī‘band (a form of strophe poems) and (E) Qit‘āt or fragments.

A. GHAZALS OR LOVE-POETRY

The number of ghazals in the *Dīwān* (Nawal Kishore ed.) is 551. These are detailed below, according to *radif* (ردیف *i.e.*, last word repeated at each line of a poem):—

RADIF	NO. OF ODES.	RADIF	NO. OF ODES.
ا (ālif)	59	ض (ḍād)	5
ب (bā)	8	ط (ṭā)	6
ت (tā)	73	ظ (ẓā)	2
ث (thā)	2	ع (ain)	5
ج (jīm)	1	غ (ghain)	5
چ (chā)	1	ف (fā)	5
ح (hā)	3	ق (qāf)	3
خ (khā)	2	ک (kāf)	4
د (dāl)	110	گ (gāf)	1
ذ (dhāl)	1	ل (lām)	10
ر (rā)	19	م (mīm)	53
ز (zā)	19	ن (nūn)	23
س (sīn)	18	و (wāw)	10
ش (shīn)	32	ه (hā)	28
ص (ṣād)	5	ی (yā)	38
		TOTAL	551

The chief features of his ghazals are as follows:—

(1) *Novelty of Ideas.*

An idea may be expressed in a simple way ; but it becomes extremely fine if the language used to convey the same is novel. In this respect our poet tops the list. His mode of expression is charming and graceful. It, therefore, presents to the mind's eye a world of beautiful imagery.

The following quotations, which speak for themselves, will bear out this point :

(i) ز عاشق میشود معشوق را نام و نشان پیدا

نمر نیکر نیاید تا نگردد باغبان پیدا

تمنايش چو گردد گردِ خاطر، مضطرب کردم

چو محتاجي، که گردد، در سرايش مهمان پیدا

' A beloved is made known through her lover;

Good fruits are not made available but by a gardener.

I become restless, when overcome by passion for him,

Like a needy person in whose house a guest may happen to come.'

(ii) دریغا در چنین فصلی حریفم یار بایستی

میان بلبلانم جای در گلزار بایستی

' Alas! in such season my companion should have been my friend,

Amidst the nightingale my place should have been in the garden.'

(iii) چه خوشست از دو یکدل سر حرف باز کردن

سخن گذشته گفتن، گله دراز کردن

اثر عتاب بردن، ز دل هم اندک اندک

به بدیه آفریدن، به بهانه ساز کردن

تو به خویشتن چه کردی، که بما کنی نظیری

بخدا که لازم آمد ز تو احتراز کردن

' How happy it is for the two hearts in union to start a discourse together,

To talk about past incidents, to enter into long complaints!
 To wipe off the effects of anger from each other's heart,
 With prompt excuses seeking for re-union,
 What hast thou done for thyself, O Nazīrī, that thou wouldst
 do to us,
 By God! it has become necessary to avoid thee.'

(iv) حرور و جنت جلوه بر زاهد دهد در راه دوست
 اندک اندک عشق در کار آرود بیگانه را
 عشق کامل نیست تا در بند مال و مسکنی
 آنزمان آتش علم گردد که سوزد خانه را

'Houries and paradise draw ascetics towards the path of the
 Friend,
 Love, little by little, makes strangers active (familiar).
 Love is not perfect, so long thou art after wealth and abode,
 When fire consumes house, it turns wild.'

The idea of the attainment of perfection is nicely depicted by means of similitude. Nazīrī is remarkable in this respect and is rightly called Qāānī of India.

(2) *Personification.*

This element is very strong in Nazīrī's poetry. He depicts abstract ideas and visualises them before his mind's eyes, making them come out in flesh and blood. This point is fully illustrated by the following extracts:—

(i) ز پای تا بسرش هر کجا که می نگرم
 کرشمه دامن دل می کشد که جا اینجاست
 بغیر دل همه نقش و نگار بیمعنی است
 همی ورق که سیه گشت مدعا اینجاست

I look at him from top to bottom.

Coy glance draws the skirt of heart (painting). This is a
 fit place for making love.

Without the heart all pictures are meaningless!

The page which is splattered with ink contains relevant
 extracts.'

(ii) رسوا شدم وگرفته صد بار در دلم
 رفتی و آمدی که کسی را خبر نشد

'I am ashamed, for you went into my heart a thousand times
 and came out of it,
 And none was aware of it.'

(3) *Charm.*

Nazîrî's poetry scintillates a picture of true feeling and emotions, which produce a thrilling sensation on the minds of readers and hearers alike, transporting them into a region of bliss and joy. The fine extracts given below are instances in point:—

(i) ما بید بوستانیم ما را ثمر نباشد
 مردرد بوستانیم از ما بتر نباشد
 قاصد که میفرستی رطل گرائش درده
 کز ما خبر نباشد تا بی خبر نباشد

'We are garden willows; we are fruitless!
 We are friend-discarded; none are worse than we!
 Give full measure of wine to the messenger you like to send to us,
 Unless he is dead drunk, he won't meet us.'

(ii) هر کس شهید آن مژهای دراز نیست
 در شرع بر جنازه آنکس نماز نیست
 عاشق وفا نماید و معشوق سر کشی
 حسن از حجاب خالی و عشق از نیاز نیست

'Every one who did not suffer martyrdom by his long eye-lashes,
 Is not entitled, according to the law of Islam, to funeral prayers.
 A lover shows constancy, a beloved obstinacy,
 Beauty requires a veil, love requires supplication.'

(iii) از کف نمی دهد دل آسان ربوده را
 دیدیم زور بازوی نا آزموده را

'He does not let go from his hand the easily captivated heart,
 We realise in full the strength of that inexperienced arm.'

از گلستان گل بیازار آمده (iv)
عید مرغان گرفتار آمده

'The rose has come to the market from the garden,
The 'Id of the birds in cage has come.'

سوالی کن ز من امروز تا غوغا به شهر افتد (v)
که اعجاز فلانی کرد گویا بی زبانی را

'Ask me something to-day that the city be agog,
That the miracle of so and so, made the dumb eloquent.'

(4) *Philosophical Ideas.*

Naziri's poetry contains philosophical but simple ideas. The extracts noted below will illustrate this point. :—

نی عدم بود رنی وجود اینجا * صورت وهم بود اینجا (i)
عکس شخصی فتاد در مسکن * نیک جستم کس نبود اینجا
عشق ما کرده جلوه بر ما * عشق ما دل ربود اینجا

'There was neither non-existence nor existence here!
There was only a phantasm here!
The reflection of a being fell upon our abode,
Much as we sought, we found none there.
Our beauty displayed itself upon us,
Our Love stole away (our) heart from us here.'

The poet refers in the above extract to the Sūfī doctrine, which regards the being of a lover as reflection of True Beloved, i.e., there being only one and one real existence, all other existences being its reflection.

که تجلی مانعست و گاه هجران حائلست (ii)
حیرت اندر حیرت و مشکل اندر مشکل است
از نم فیض که با این مشق خاک امیختند
حاملان عرش را بار امانت در گل است

'At times Illumination is obstruction, at times separation is an
obstacle (to the enjoyment of Beloved's sight),
This leads to bewilderment after bewilderment, difficulty after
difficulty.

With the moisture of Grace bestowed upon the handful of dust
(i.e., Adam),
The throne-bearers (i.e., angels) carry the load of trust (i.e.,
through clay).'

In the above extract the poet hints at the doctrines of Illumination and Concealment, and also to the theory of 'man' being the vicegerent of God.

(iii) گر عکس روی خویش در آئینه دیده
توحید شیخ و شرک برهمن بجا شناس

'If you have beheld the reflection of your face in the mirror,
Regard the monism of Shaykh and heathenism of Brahmin to be
true,

i.e., There is splendour of the Divine Being ¹ everywhere.'

(iv) نظر گردد حجاب آنجا که من دیدار می بینم
نهان از چشم ظاهر بهن تماشای دگر دارم

'Eyes become obstacle where I enjoy vision,
Hidden from external eyes, I enjoy another spectacle.'

(5) *Continuity of Thought.*

In an ode distichs are generally independent of one another. But there are some odes of Nazîrî which are continuous. This beautifies the sense and adds lustre to thought.

The following couplets will serve as an instance in point :—

چشمی براه میرود مژگان نمناکش نگر
در سینه دارد آتشی پیراهن چاکش نگر
دامی که زلف انداخته در گردن سیمینش بین
خونی که مژگان ریخته بر دامن پاکش نگر
شرم از میان برخاسته 'مهر از دهان' برداشته
گفتار بی ترسش بین 'رفتار بباکش نگر

Cf. Hafiz. :—

همه جا خانه عشق است چه مسجد چه کنشت
'Love abides everywhere, in the mosque or the temple.'

از کوی معشوق آمده، شوریگان، در حلقه اش
 از صید آهو، می رسد شیران بفتراکش نگر
 دل پرده در دل باختن، معشوق عاشق پیشه بین
 بگرفته در انداختن بازوی چالاکش نگر
 وحشی غزالی کز صبا رم در بیابان میخورد
 رام نظیری میشود در هوش و ادراکش نگر²

Translation fails to convey full import of the above passage.

An attempt is, however, made at making the passage intelligible.

This is the description of a beloved who is quite indifferent to his
 lover :—

'He is looking in this way, look at his wet eye-lashes,

His breast is full of fire, mark his torn garment !

Behold the net which his curly locks spread round his own
 silvery neck,

Behold the blood shed by his eye-lashes at his pure skirts.

He has no modesty at all, the seal is broken from his mouth
(i.e., he is now speaking).

Mark his talk to himself, behold his bold and fearless gait,

He has just returned from his sweet-heart's love, which admirers
(as usual) form a ring round him.

He returns after hunting a deer, sees lions in his saddle strap,

He lost his own heart in captivating those of others, behold a
 beloved-lover.

He captivated a heart (*i.e., is a beloved*) in giving away his own ;
 behold his skilful arms.

As for the wild deer which takes to its heels even at the sound of
 a gentle breeze,

Behold how it has become tame to Nazirī in all sense and
 seriousness.'

(ii) رفتی ببزم غیر نکر نامی تو رفت

ناموس مد قبیلہ زیبک خامی تو رفت

اکنون اگر فرشته نکر گویدت چه بود

در شهر مد حکایت بدنامی تو رفت

هم صحبتِ رقیبِ شدی از غرورِ حسن
 نامِ خوشِ تو در سرِ خودِ کامی تو رفت
 یارانِ متفق همه انکار میکنند
 هر جا حدیثِ نیکِ سرانجامی تو رفت
 برداز رخِ تو رنگِ حیا باد؛ هوس
 شرمی که بود در همه جا خامی تو رفت
 با کارِ غمزۀ نظیری اثرِ نماند
 فارغِ نشین که خونِ دلِ آشنای تو رفت

'You attended the assembly of strangers ; you lost your good
 name (thereby),

One short coming of yours destroyed the honour of a hundred
 tribes ;

If an angel calls you virtuous now, it won't help you now,
 A hundred tales of your bad names are (already) spread in the city.
 You mixed with rivals through pride of beauty,
 You lost your good name in self-conceit.

Wherever there is talk of your good name.

All friends do unanimously refute it,

Vain desire for wine turned your face pale,

Modesty which you show everywhere and which was your
 protection, is gone.

Nazīrī, the diligence (i.e., movements) of the eye-lashes (of the
 Beloved) has no effect ;

Be at rest, you will not have to drink heart's blood.

Such passages may be multiplied from his works.

(6) *Sūfistic Element.*

There is Sūfistic element in the poetry of Nazīrī. As mentioned above, towards the end of his life, he retired into pious seclusion and gave himself up to religion. His poetry is replete with Sūfistic ideas. The following extracts may be cited as instances in point.

- (i) آتشین گفتارِ خاکی پیکرم * قطعه باغِ خلیلِ اذرم
 دردم احیا عیسی معجزم * درید بیضای مرسی دفترم
 عالم معنی بنورم روشنست * در حقیقت آفتابِ دیگرم

از سخن هر کس هیولای نمود * من هیولای سخن را جوهرم
جوهرم جسم نمیدانم چیم * هر چه هستم غرق مهر حیدرم

'I am fiery in speech, earthy in form;
I am a portion of the garden of Khalil-i-Adar;
I am a miracle-worker, Jesus-like, in recalling the dead to life;
I bear the authentic mark, Moses-like, in the whiteness of
the hand;

With my light the world of sense is illumined,
In reality I am a sun by myself independent.
My speech is copied by everybody,
I am the substance which is the model copied by all.
I am substance, I am body; I do not know what I am,
Whatever I am, I am drowned in the love of Haider (i.e.,
Hadrat Ali).'

(ii) عشق تو قید علائق ز ره ما برداشت
هر که مجنون تو شد، سلسله از پا برداشت
جنس ارزنده و ارباب بصارت مشتاق
نتوان دست ز بیعانه سودا برداشت

'Thy love removed from our path the bond of attachment.
Whoever became thy majnūn, removed fetters from his feet
(i.e., lost attachment to all other things).
The commodity is worth having, and the worthy are eager (for it).
One cannot but advance earnest money.'

(iii) دل بقرب و بعد او مهجور نیست
از نظر دورست، از دل دور نیست
گرچه زان نور است روشن دیدها
دیدها را طاقت آن نور نیست

'My heart is with him, whether he is near or far;
He is away from sight, but is not away from the heart;
Although the eyes can see with that light,
The eyes have no power to bear that light.

(iv) ترا بکعبه مرا کار با دل افتاد است
بکعبه بتکده من مقابل افتاد است

Your affair is with the Kāba, mine with my own heart,
The temple of my idol is just in front of the Kāba.'

هیچ اکسیر به تائیر محبت نرسد (v)

کفر آوردم ردر عشق تو ایمان کردم

'No elixir is so potent as the property of thy love;
I brought heresy and in thy love turned it into faith.
Nazīrī confesses himself a follower of Hāfiz.'

تا اقتدا بحافظ شیراز کرده ایم (vi)

گردیده مقتدای درعالم کلام ما

'By the time I have been a follower of Hāfiz of Shīrāz, our poetry has come to be respected in both the worlds.

The all pervading idea of Divine Essence, the mystery of life, the fickleness of fortunes, and, above all, the predominating influence of *Love divine*, the burden of Nazīrī's song, form the subject-matter of his poetry.'

نظری کوی عشق است این نه شاهد بازی و رندی (vii)

که گر یاری رود از دست کس یاری دگر گیرد

'He sings of love like Hāfiz of Shīrāz in the couplets which are regarded as fine specimens of his poetry.

This is the way of Love; not of whoremonger and profligacy, Nazīrī,

that, if a friend deserts a friend, he should take to another.'

می منصور که در جوش ز خامیا بود (viii)

بعد دوری بقرام آمده در شیشه ما

'The wine of manṣūr which was in ebullition through immaturity, was really poured into our glass, after a long time.'

بی عشق عقل را هنری در دماغ نیست (ix)

بدسوزد آن فتیله که از شعله داغ نیست

'Without Love, reason has no power with the mind,
The wick, which has no spot, burns dimly through flames.'

عشق عصیانست اگر مستور نیست (x)

کشته جرم زبان مغفور نیست

'Love is a sin, if it remains not concealed ;
The one killed for blabbing it out, receives no salvation.'

عشقست طلسمی که در و بام ندارد (xi)

آنکس که از یافت نشان نام ندارد

'Love is a talisman, knowing no door or balcony,
He who gets a clue to it, has no name.'

کفر و ایمان نبود شرط نظیری در عشق (xii)

بتو کافر بنمایم که ولایت دارد

'Faith and infidelity are no (necessary) conditions of Love, O Nazīrī.
I may point out to you an infidel, who possesses saintliness.'

Hāfiz is the arch-master in ghazals and Nazīrī is his follower. Hāfiz was a Šūfī, so was Nazīrī. Both retired from public life, one earlier, the other later. Nazīrī followed in the wake of his master from the very beginning and imitated him in all points of poetic beauty-charm, sweetness and grace and has surpassed all his contemporaries in India and Irān.

'Love divine,' which is the burden of song with Hāfiz, finds a suitable place in Nazīrī. But in Nazīrī 'high thought' predominates.

In order to understand their similarity, we should compare them both by putting their parallel odes:—

Nazīrī (نظیری)

(1)

Hāfiz (حافظ)

اذا ما شئت ان تعی حیرة حلوة المعیا
برسوامی برآر سر، ز مستوری برون نه پا
حدیث عشق و مشتاقی درون پرده پنهان بود
برآمد شوق از خلوت نهاد این راز بر صغرا
اگر نالم ز حرمان، رخ مگردان حسبه الله
قیاس وصل و معرومی گلستانست و نایبنا
نظیری کر طمع داری که مقبول جهان باشی
فلا تحسد ولا تبخل ولا تعرص علی الدنیا

الا یا ایها الساقی ادر کاسا و ناولها
که عشق آسان نبود اول وای افتاد مشکها
بجوی نافه مشکین کاخر صبا زان طره بکشاید
ز تاب جعد مشکینش چه خورن افتاد در دلها
همه کارم ز خود کامی ببند نامی کشید آخر
نهان کی ماند آن رازی کز سازند محفلها
حضور می گرهمی خواهی ازو غالب مشو حافظ
متی ما تلق ان نهوی دع الدنیا و امهلها

(2)

سبب می‌رس که چرخ از چه سفلہ پرور شد
 قبول بی هنران ز التفات معشوقشت
 که کام بخشی او را بهانه بی سبب‌یست
 عنایت ازلی را بهانه بی سببی است
 ازین چمن گل بیخار کس نچید آری
 ز من مشاطہ بستان صداقت می طلبد
 چراغ مصطفوی با شرار بولہب‌یست
 هنوز دختر روز در سراچہ غنبی است
 حسن ز بصرہ بلال از حبش معیب از شام
 ز خاک مکہ ابرجہل این چه بوالعجب‌یست
 جمال دختر روز نور چشم ماست مگر
 که در نقاب ز جاجی ر پرده غنبیست
 بیارمی که چو حافظ مدام استغفار
 به گریہ سحری ر نیاز نیم شبیست
 مگر ز دوست ملامت بود نظیری را
 که مستی سحری از نیم شبی است

(3)

بکوی میکده یارب سحر چه مشغله بود
 بغمزه روز الستم همین معامله بود
 که جوش شاهد ساقی ر شمع مشعل بود
 ابد رسید و نیاسودم اینچه مشغله بود
 حدیث عشق که از حرف و صوت مستغنیست
 نصیب من ز ازل درد بید را گردید
 بنالہ دغ و نی در خروش ولولہ بود
 که بردباری هر کس بقدر حوصلہ بود
 مباحثی که دران حلقہ جنون میرفت
 دلم ز سردهانش بقیل ر قال فتاد
 رزای مدرسه ر قیل ر قال مسئلہ بود
 لطیفہ ز لبش صد هزار مسئلہ بود
 قیاس کردم ازان ترک چشم شهر آشوب
 لبش بدادن کامم نمود جهد اما
 ز خیل دلشدگانش هزار در گلہ بود
 بغمزه کرد حوالت که بد معامله بود
 ز احترام نظر سعد درست که دوش
 فریب قول بد اندیش گرگ قاصد گشت
 میهن ماه و رخ یار من مقابله بود
 دہان یار که در مان درد حافظ داشت
 ز قول خویش فراموش کرد این ملہ بود
 نغان که وقت مروت چو تنگ حوصلہ بود

(4)

ای صبا نکمته‌ی از کوی فلانی بمن آر
 زار و بیمار غم راحت جانی بمن آر
 قالب بی‌عامل ما را بزن اکسیر مراد
 یعنی ار خاک در دوست نشانی بمن آر
 در کمین گاه نظر با دل خویشم جنگست
 ز ابرو و غمزۀ او تیر و کمائی بمن آر
 منکران راهم ازین می دوسه ساعر بکشان
 وگر ایشان نستانند روانی بمن آر
 ساقیا عشرت امروز بفردا مفکن
 یا ز دیوان قضا خط امانی بمن آر
 دلم از برده بشد دوش که حافظ میگفت
 ای صبا نکمته‌ی از کوی فلانی بمن آر

(5)

گلبن عیش میدهد ساقی گاه زار کو
 باد بهار می وزد باده خوشگوار کو
 هر گلی تو ز گلبن یاد همی کند ولی
 کوس سخن شنو کجا دیده اعتبار کو
 مجلس بزم عیش را غالبۀ مراد نیست
 ای دم صبر خوش نفس، ناله زلف یار کو
 حسن فروش کلم نیست تحمل ای صبا
 دست زدم بخون دل بهر خدا نگار کو
 گفتم مگر ز لعل من بوسه نداری آرزو
 مردم ازین هوس دلی قوت اختیار کو
 حافظ اگر چو در سخن خازن گنج حکمتست
 از غم روزگار دون طبع سخن گذار کو

همه نفسی بجان حرم قافله تبار کو
 مردمی از ان زمین کجا گردی از ان دیار کو
 جادری از بخواب خوش غارت صبر میکند
 گریه شب و مرا شورش کار زار کو
 حادثه از هزار سواره نشاط بسته است
 غمزده را طرب گهی جز سر کوی یار کو
 کس نمود جرعه کز جگر گزک نخواست
 خسته درد سرشدم باده لبی خمار کو
 هست ز گوشۀ لبی عیش مداوم آرزو
 زد می ناشتا دلم مستی پایدار کو
 سخت نظیری از ازل حادثه رای آمده
 توشۀ عشرتش دهی راحت روزگار کو

These are parallel odes by which we can judge the respective merits of both the master-minds of Persia. More instances might be given, if space would permit.

NAZĪRĪ AND GHĀLIB

Ghālib, who is regarded as a first-rate poet of Urdu, does not lag behind in Persian poetry. He calls himself a follower of Nazīrī. Like Nazīrī, Ghālib has also given expression to Sūfistic thought. He has tried to follow Nazīrī and we can say that he has succeeded in his attempt. He writes:—

نظیري لا ابالي خرام بهنجار خاصه خودم بجالش آورد

‘Nazīrī, who walks wantonly in love, has brought me to follow his special path.

We may put their respective odes, side by side and compare them:—

Nazīrī (نظیري)

(1)

Ghālib (غالب)

نظر بظاهر و صیاد در قفا خفت ست
اجل رسیده چه داند بلا کجا خفت ست
کجا ز عشره آن چشم نیم باز رهم
که فتنه خاسته از خواب پای ما خفتست
شمیم مهر ز باغ وفا نمی آید
بهر چمن که تر بشگفته صبا خفتست
شب امید به تمنای آشنا خفتست
که آشنا به تمنای آشنا خفتست
فسانه صرف نظیري مکن که خواب کند
شکسته که بصد درد مبتلا خفتست

بودی که در آن خضر را عصا خفتست
بسینه می سپرم راه گر چه پا خفتست
وگر ز ایمنی راه و قرب نعبه چه حظ
مرا که ناله ز رفتار ماند و پا خفتست
ببین ز دور مجور قرب شه که منظور را
دریچه باز و بدر از اژدها خفتست
بدین نیاز که باتست نار می رسد
گدا به سائده دیوار پادشاه خفتست
بغراب چون خودم آسوده دل مدان غالب
که خسته غرقه بغور خفته است تا خفتست

(2)

کجا بودی که امشب سوختی ازده جانی را
بقدر روز معشر طول دایمی هر زمانی را
سوالی کن زمن امروز تا غوغا بشه افتد
که اعجاز فلانی کرد گویا بیزبانی را
بهر جنس که میگرد اخلاص وفا خرب است

پس از کشتن بخورام دید لازم بدگمانی را
بغور پیچد که می هی دی غلط کردم فلانی را
دام بر رانج نه برداری فرهاد می سوزد
خداوند بیا میرز آن شهید امتحانی را
نشاط لذت آزار را لازم که در مستی

هلاک فتنه دارد ذوق مرگ ناگهانی را
 بجز سوزنده اخگر گل نه گنجد در گریبانم
 بد آموز عتابم برنتابم مهربانی را
 دلم معبود زرد شست، غالب فاش میگیرم
 به خس یعنی قلم مر داده ام آذر فشانی را
 (3)

عمر اگر با قیست رنجشها کهن خواهد شدن
 آن لبان تلخگو - یزین سخن خواهد شدن
 باز خواهد آمدن از نقش بازپا خیال
 این در چشم بنگر من تب شکن خواهد شدن
 پاسخ گفتار زشت ماهم استغفار ماست
 کی منم گویا بکفر برهن خواهد شدن
 با ز عشق حيله گر شاهد فریبي میکند
 یوسفی هر گوشه در چه بی رسن خواهد شد
 من کجا وعیش و مستی باده بر من زهر باد
 بی تو گر شکر خورم تلخم دهن خواهد شدن
 اسم اعظم ثبت لعل تست پاکش و ارهان
 این نگین روزی نصیب اهر من خواهد شدن
 جیب ماتم دیدگان چاکست تا دامان حشر
 شاهد حال نظیري پیرهن خواهد شدن

The respective merits of Nazīrī and Ghālib may be gathered from these parallel odes:—

QASĀID

The Kulliyāt (Nawal Kishore ed.) contains Qasīdas, numbering thirty-eight only. The Qasīdas are, on the whole, written in a simple, lucid and clear style. They are devoid of those subtleties and rhetorical devices which characterise the Qasīdas of Khāqānī, Anwārī, Badr-i-chāch and Urfī. Of the thirty-eight qasīdas, one is in praise of Allah, the Prophet and his companions, one in praise of Haḍrat 'Alī, one in praise of Imām Riḍā, one in praise of Imām Abul Ḥasan, one in praise of

the Eighth Imām, one in praise of poet Sanāi, one on the birth of his son and daughter (twins), one on his brother's death, one in praise of his own poetry and eulogy of the Prophet.

The kings, princes and chiefs, who are among the patrons of Nazīrī and to whom the poems are addressed, are as follows:—

Emperor Jalāl-ud-Dīn Akbar, *four* poems; prince Salīm, one and Emperor Jahāngir, *five*; Prince Murād, *one*; Nawrang Khān, *one*; Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Azīz Khān Kawka, *two*; Iraj Mirzā, son of the Khān khānān, *one*; 'Abdur-Raḥīm Khān khānān, *ten*; the Khān-khānān with an eulogy of the Prophet and description of the journey to and from Mecca, *five*.

Some relevant extracts from qaṣīdas are given below, which will throw light on the merit of the poet in this respect.

The following qaṣīda, which is in divine praise, begins thus:—

ای جلالت خلوت از اغیار تنها ساخته
حکمت تو از کرم دی کار فردا ساخته
پرده از روی صفات ذات خود برداشته
آنچه پنهان بود در علم آشکارا ساخته
عقل کل بکشوده بر خورشید ذات روزنی
رز فروغش دیده هر ذره پنهان ساخته
شعنه عشقت تشنه بر سر بازار کون
درس گاه عقل را دکان سودا ساخته
در هدایت عشق را از شور عشق انگیزته
وز ریاح آنس ایشان روح پیدا ساخته⁽¹⁾

'Thy glory likes seclusion free from strangers,
Thy wisdom accomplishes to-morrow's work through yesterday's kindness.
Thou hast removed the veil from the face of the qualities of thy Being,
Thou hast made manifest what was hidden in thy knowledge;
The Universal intellect opened a window upon the sun of thy Being,
And from its light, it has endowed the eyes of every atom with a vision.

¹ Diwān, p. 304.

The sentinel of thy Love is sitting in the market of the world.

It has turned the school of intellect into a ware-house.'

The *qaṣīda* beginning with the extract noted below, contains the poet's intention to visit the Holy Land, Mecca, together with the praise of his patron-in-chief, the Khān khānān:—

ز هنر بخود ننگجم چو یخم می مغالی
 بدرد لباس برتن چو بجوشدم معالی
 دل زاهد و برهن ز غرور قرب من خون
 نه بکعبه ام نیازی نه پذیرم ارمغانی
 عجب ار نبوده باشد خضری بجستجویم
 که فتاده ام بظلمت چو زلال زندگانی
 ز طلب عذاب نه پیچم همین که ره درازست
 نه رسم اگر بمنزل برسیم کاروانی
 همه عیش این جهانی بعنایت تو دیدم
 چه عجب اگر بیایم ز تو زاد آن جهانی
 بخدای کعبه دارم ز در خدائگان رر
 نه فریب تازه دارم نه دروغ پاستانی

' My skill controls me not like wine in the jar of a tavern-keeper ;

When my heart is full of meaning, it rends the clothes on my body ;

The heart of a hermit or Brahmin is full of blood through the pride of proximity with me,

I have neither supplication at the Kaba, nor do I accept any present.

It is no wonder if Khid̄ar be seeking me,

As I am to be found, like limpid water, in the reign of darkness.

I cannot give up search, though the path be long,

If I cannot reach my destination, I can reach a caravan.

I have enjoyed pleasures of this world through your kindness.

What warder! if I get provision of the next (world) through thee.

By God of the Kaba, I turn my face away from other masters,

I practise neither new deception, nor old fraud.'

The qaṣīda beginning with the following couplets, contains Ṣūfistic ideas. In it, the poet sings, in the same vein, of his aloofness from the world and of the praise of the Khān khānān:—

چندی بغلط بتکده کردیم حرم را
 رقتست که از کعبه بر آریم صنم را
 بهیخ هوس و میل بپریم که زشت است
 خار و خس بیگانه گلستان ارم را
 ما و در آسودگی مرگ کزین بیش
 زحمت نتوان داد سفارا و الم را
 عمریست که همسایه بختم درین کر
 یکبار ندیدیم ره خانه هم را
 هر دست به پیچاک سر زلف نهرزد
 انگشت خم ارزنده بود خاتم جم را
 تنهای این بادیه را شور غریب است
 مجنون نه سیه خانه شناند نه خم را

'Wrongly for a time I turned the sanctuary of the Kāba into
 a temple;

It is high time that I should take out idols from the Kāba.

I shall uproot avavice and greed which is ugly,

I should remove the rubbish from the garden of Irān.

We and the door of easeful death go together,

We won't bother about health or pain.

We have been living all our life in the lane,

We have not even once seen the house.

Every hand cannot desire to touch the curly locks of hair,

The ring of Jamshed befits the curved finger.

The loneliness of the desert has strange tumult.

Majnūn cannot know a block-house from a camp.

'Urfī has also written a *qaṣīda* in honour of the same chief. It begins thus:—

اقبال کرم میگذرد ارباب هم را * همت نغورد نیشتر لا و نعم را

TARKĪB-BAND

The number of poems in the Tarkīb-band in the *Kulliyat* (Nawal Kishore ed.) is eight. Of these, one is dedicated to twelve Imāms, having an equal number of bands; another on his intense desire to visit Mecca; a third on his return to India from the Holy Land and the praise of the Prophet; a fourth on Prince Murād's death; a fifth on spring and prayer for the health of the Khān-Khānān; a sixth on the death of his son, Nur-ud-Dīn; a seventh on the death of Abul 'Alī Beg; and an eighth on the death of poet Sanā'ī.

The elegy just referred to is given below only in part for want of space. It begins thus:—

لب خوش نگشته خنده ره چنگ می زند
در بزم خنده بر آهنگ می زند
هرگز زمانه جامه ماتم برون نکرد
نا رفته شب بدامن شب چنگ میزند
وقت گذشته را نیاسف ز پی مرد
کارها نشاط گام به سرسنگ میزند
دست اجل به تیغ سیاست دبریده باد
از خاک مهر بر دهن تنگ می زند
آرائش جنازه و دستار می کند
گوئی که گل بر انسرور رنگ می زند
این چرخ شوخ دیده عجب بی بصارت ست
بر جام عشرت که به بین سنگ می زند
فرزند شاه اکبر والا نژاد از مرد
شیون بر آورید که سلطان مراد مرد

Ghālib has also written a similar elegy (in the same form of poetical composition) on the death of Farkhunda Shāh, the son of Bahādur Shah, who, like Murād, was cut off in the prime of life. It begins:—

ای دل به چشم زخم حوادث نگار شو
ای چشم از تراش دل اشکبار شو

TARJĪ'-BAND

There are two Tarjī'-band poems—one is on the decoration of Agra, together with the praise of Emperor Jahāngīr, the other is in imitation of Sādī. The former contains five bands, the latter twenty-one. It (i.e., the latter one) begins:—

ای عقد کشای هر کمندی * بردار ز پای شوق بندگی
یک لحظه ز سرکشی فرود آی * تا در تر رسد نیازمندی
مد کام ز چاشنی بسوزد * کز نام تر بشکینم فندی

'O thou that opens the knot of every noose,
Remove the fetters from the leg of ardour.
Lesson thy obstinacy for a moment,
That a suppliant may approach thee.
The sugar-candy of thy name that I taste,
Is envied by a hundred palates.'

QATAĪT

There are in all five poems in this fragmentary form. One is on the birth of Mīrzā Dārāb, the son of the Khān khānān, one is on Emperor Akbar's death, and the rest deal with morals.

The qīta on the death of Emperor Akbar runs as follows:—

جهاندار فرمان روا شاه اکبر * که ملک از پدر تا بآدم گرفته
در عالم جگر تشنه سیراب گشته * نکین کز سرانگشت ارنم گرفته
ز ایثار زربس عرق کرده دستش * ورقهای افلاک برهم گرفته
چو رفته بمسند بمعراج رفته * گرفته جهانرا چو خاتم گرفته
قضا پای کیوان بایوان کشوره * عطاپای زلف بسلم گرفته
چنان کرد و کار جهان دست عدلش * که دینش مسیحا و مریم گرفته
چو سال وفاتش بتاریخ دیدم * به نیروی امزد در عالم گرفته

'Emperor Akbar is the ruler of the world,
The conqueror of the world from his father to Adam !
Both the worlds were thirsty. They are now satisfied.

The signet-ring received moisture from his finger-tip,
His hand sweated much through distributing gold !
His ascent to the throne was like Ascension.
Like a seal, he was a sign of the conquest of the world !
He introduced the desires of Saturn in his palace,
He won the gift of Rafrat by a ladder,
The sway of his justice administered the world !
His religion had the merit of Jesus and Mary,
When I *sought the date of his death*

(It was) with divine power he caught the world (*i.e.*, conquered it)¹

The italicised expression above being the chronogram, gives
1014 (1605) as the date of the Emperor's death.

BENGALI VAISHNAVAS ON HINDI-PEN

KALIDAS MUKERJEE, M.A., M.R.A.S. (LOND.)

To consider God as beloved is first marked in the writings of the Sūfi poets. Malik Mohammad Jāyasi, Kutuban and Manjhan did the same by writing the Padmāvata, Mrgāvati and Madhumālāti respectively. It was later on found in the achievements of the Bengali Vaishnavas as well. The Hindi world is rather silent on the deeds of the Bengali Vaishnavas, but here and there scanty references are evident. The earliest specimen in Hindi where the names of Rūpa and Sanātana occur is that of the latter half of the 16th century. It is in a book known as "The Discourses of the Eighty-four Vaishnavas" (चौरासो वैष्णवों की वार्ता) compiled by Vittalnāth, the famous son of the great Vallabhāchārya. The following is found in it in Brajbhākhā prose:—

तब वे बंगाली तहाँ ते भाजि सों मधुरा भाये । तब रूपसनातन के पास चाय के सब बात कही ।

Next shines the famous Bhaktamāl of Nābhādās where we find the great Bengali Vaishnavas. Among the many commentaries written on this Bhaktamāl that of Priyādās has acquired much fame. The other day I found a manuscript copy of the later half of the 17th century. It is also a commentary on that Bhaktamāl. Its language is plain and simple Oudhī in which the Bengali Vaishnavas have been described well and good. It does not, of course, deal with the life and parentage of the Vaishnavas, but supplies us with important materials concerning them. At the end of the manuscript copy the author has revealed his identity in the following lines:—

नाभानु को अविलास पूरण ले करयो मै
तौ ताकी साखी प्रथम सुनाइ लीकी गार के ॥
भक्ति विस्वास जाको ताहि सों प्रकाश को मै
भीजै रंग हियो लिजै सत नि लड़ाइ के ॥
समत प्रसिद्ध दश सात सत लहु तरकाल
गुण मास वदी सप्तमी विताइ के ॥
नारायण दास सुखरास भक्तमाल ले कै
प्रियादास दास सर बसी रह्यो हार के ॥

The life of some of the Bengali Vaishnavas written in Oudhī language stands in English as follows:—

"Shree Krishna Chaitanya Mahāprabhu jū kī tikā :

"Lord Krishna, the son of Yashodā, being a bit bashful before the beautiful cow-blondes for his blue-complexion assumed a fair one and appeared as Chaitanya on the laps of Sachimātā in the Gauda Country. He then performed certain deeds and thereby drew affection and admiration; (when he grew old) he at times became quite pale being overpowered with devotion, and on certain occasions was out of his sense. Sometimes he played Rādhikā and it was due to sentiment. No doubt, he was an incarnation of God, and no need proving it. He

visited Jagannāth. He showed himself with four and and at times with six arms and thereby drew admiration and esteem. He, later on, was proclaimed 'Chaitanya.' Before the birth of Chaitanya there was none in Gauda who could be called a devotee and hence none knew as to what 'Bhakti' is ; but after his birth Gauḍa was plunged in devotion. This led Gauḍa to call Chaitanya as 'Hari.' Chaitanya became the leader to help the people in shunning up the worldly calamities and showed them the path to reach their ultimate goal. It is all past and only the achievements of Chaitanya are found in books to commemorate his memory. None stands as witness save these letters. Chaitanya's power was so great that people doing worse deeds than Ajāmil also could achieve salvation through his grace." (Stanzas 326-28.)

" Rūpa-Sanātan jū ki tikā :

" Nabhadās was a life-long preacher of Vairāgya, there remained only his poems to speak of his truth. Nabhadās preached also of the devotion for Rādhā-Krishna—who had divulged their mystic and amazing deeds. Rūpa and Sanātan were great saints. They went to Vrindāvan thinking it to be the Vraja of the bygone ages. They prayed to God according to the lines of the Bhāgavata and which is pleasing to those who are filled with sentiment (रस). They had gone to Vrindāvan as they were ordered by the Mahāprabhu and there they composed many 'Granthas.' Each and every word of the Granthas composed by them makes the people thrill with emotion, the hair of their bodies stand erect, and tears gush forth from their eyes.

" Once while Rūpa was in Nandgāon, Sanātan went to him. Rūpa offered 'Kshira' as offering (भोग) and while chatting asked the welfare of his wife at home. Sanātan said that he would reply to it while dining. Then at that time he explained to Rūpa that when he had once abandoned his wife and offered himself to devotion, it was not prudential thinking of the wife or home. At this, hot tears came forth from their eyes, but this tear was not for the beloved at home, but for that Supreme Beloved for whom they had forsaken everything. Once when Rūpa heard that he was praised by the people, he was so sad at heart that he fainted away. Rūpa was very sober and cared little for his health. On some other occasion the saint Karnapūra went to meet him hearing of his profound devotion. Seeing him every limb of Rūpa began to tremble, as if he were before a great fire. Such mystic things are beyond mentioning.

" Once Lord Krishna appeared before Rūpa in his dream and revealed to him how and in what state He would meet him. Really He met him with all His glory which is beyond the power of a man to describe. (The poet says) 'If I try to do so it will be something like filling the vast ocean in a small jug.'

" Sanātan lived in the holy Nandgāon. Once a lad of dark complexion passed by him. Sanātan asked his address. When he went away Sanātan searched each and every house of the village but did not get him. Then he thought that the lad was none but Lord Krishna, and he promised that next when He came he would not let Him go so easily. Then he began meditating on the dark-red turban that he had seen on His head. Sanātan lived in that holy village for a certain period and composed Kāvyaś (काव्य). After some time Sanātan went to his brother Rūpa to Vrindāvan. There they lived meditating. Words fail to describe the purity of their character." (Stanzas 353-59.)

“ Shree Jiva Gosāi jū kī tikā :

“ Jiva composed many Granthas. He threw the wealth that he had, in the river Yamunā, and all that came later on. He asked every body to pay respect to the saints. He also explained to them the various characteristic features of the great devotees. Jiva Gosāi was a man of ideal character and there was no limit to his devotion. He was a ‘paccā-vairāgi.’ One cannot describe his deeds.” (Stanza 370.)

“ Shree Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa jū kī tikā :

“ When Jiva Gosāi heard the couplet of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa which was filled with devotion for Shree-Krishna, he at once sent two saints to fetch him anigh. The saints reached the outskirts of the village where Gadādhara lived and found a man seated on a well. They asked him about Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa. The man, who in fact was Gadādhara himself when he heard that he was called by Gosāiji, was so filled with emotion that he fainted away, and God forbid, fell on the ground and not in the well. When he regained his sense and was given the letter of Jiva he bowed low to the letter and at once started for Vrindāvan. When he met Gosāiji he was so overpowered with emotion that his nerves failed him and tears inundated his eyes. However, when he was himself again, he recited the same couplet and later on many others filling with ecstasy or joy all those who were present. In that assembly there was a man named Kalyān Singh, Rajput by caste. He was sad for his deceased wife, but hearing Gadādhara he forgot all that. A certain Mahanta was also present there. He was given the first seat of honour. When the people asked the reason for it Gadādhara said that he was a great saint.

“ Once a thief entered the house of Gadādhara and collected all that he could get. But lo, the bundle was too heavy to be lifted alone. Gadādhara was glad enough to approach the scene and helped the thief in lifting the bundle. It was, of course, something like expecting water out of stone and the thief asked for its reason. The saint replied that next morning he would get ten times the value he was taking. At this the thief fell on his feet and became his disciple. No doubt, Gadādhara was a great saint and spent much of his time in reading the Bhāgavata. He had shown the right path to attain salvation.” (Stanzas 518-25.)

“ Gosāi Kāshishwar jū kī tikā :

“ Kāshishwar was a great saint and lived in Nīlāchal. Later on he was ordered by Mahāprabhu to go to Vrindāvan. There he was made the chief priest. He defeated many learned Pandits on various occasions while discussing on Shāstras. His discussions were very interesting and many assembled at the place.” (Stanza 393.)

“ Prabodhānanda Saraswati jū kī tika :

“ Prabodhānanda was very witty and at the same time a great sentimentalist. He had a great fascination for the group of Shree Krishna Chaitanya. He said that the way in which Rādhā and Krishna used to play in pleasure gardens was quite a new one. Prabodhānanda lived in Vrindāvan and pleased all those came to him. Many were turned to great saints while listening to him.” (Stanza 607.)

“ Vishnupurī jū kī tikā :

“ Once when Mahāprabhuji was sitting in a large gathering in Jagannāth surrounded by great saints, Vishnupurī said that one could attain salvation by living in Kāshī. At this Mahāprabhuji gave him a piece in writing and asked him to do so.” (Stanza 173.)

“ Shree Madhu Gosāi jū kī tikā :

“ Madhu Gosāi went to Vrindāvan and was very anxious to meet Lord Krishna. Therefore in His search he traversed many a forest day and night and totally forgot of hunger and thirst. Once while passing the bank of the river Yamunā he met his Beloved beside a crag. The Lord with His smiling face approached him and embraced him close firm and tight.” (Stanza 375.)

“ Shree Loknāth Gosāi jū kī tikā :

“ Loknāth belonged to the ‘Chaitanya-group.’ His manners were simple and pleasing. His love for Rādhā-Krishna was like that of a fish for water. Loknāth had a good grasp over the Bhāgavata and he asked others to re-cite it. He had a keen interest for the Rāsa-performance (রাস), and he told the people their duties in this world.” (Stanza 374.)

“ Shree Gopāl Bhaṭṭa Gosāi jū kī tikā :

“ Gopāl Bhaṭṭa was mad after Krishna. His offerings (ভোগ) to God were of different kinds and he was famous for his mystic deeds. The charming sight of Vrindāvan had occupied a place in his heart which made him settle there. He adopted the good and abandoned the evils. Gopal was filled with pity, was pious and a perfect devotee.” (Stanza 371.)

“ Shree Raghunāth Gosāi jū kī tikā :

“ Raghunāth had a great affection for his family in his younger days, but he gave up all and settled in Nilāchal. His father used to send him to fetch money, but instead of doing so he was marked sitting beside Chaitanya. He used to gaze at the door of the temple with expectant eyes. When ordered by the Mahāprabhu he left Nilāchal for Vrindāvan and settled beside the Rādhākunda. It is hard to describe the way in which he lived and behaved with others. His fame spread far and wide.” (Stanzas 323-24.)

“ Shree Nityānand Prabhu jū kī tikā :

“ Sentiment had made Baladeva (the brother of Krishna) quite enchanted to appear in the guise of Nityānand. He (Nityānand) later on became a Mahanta. He was a perfect sage and visited many ‘Parishadas.’ While listening to him many became overwhelmed. There are many Granthas which speak highly of him.” (Stanza 325.)

Here ends the description of some of the Bengali Vaishnavas found in the manuscript copy. In addition to these a few more have been mentioned. It would have been much helpful if side by side with the description their lives and various other deeds were depicted. However, whatever we get is due to the gift of the Hindi world for which we are much indebted. This may, to some extent, supplement the making of the history of Bengali literature.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Inter-University Board.

The Inter-University Board of India, has, it is understood, requested the different Indian Universities to offer a few stipends to advanced students of history in order to enable them to avail themselves of the facilities afforded by the Imperial Record Department for training in the principles and methods of Archives administration as well as the scientific use of records in original investigations.

The Board has also sought the opinion of the Universities on the proposed course of Extension lectures at the commencement of every academic year for presenting to the students and junior practitioners a general outline of the origin and growth of medicine with special reference to and a detailed discussion of the various epochs of Indian civilization and their contribution to the knowledge of the science and art of medicine, as well as the changing methods of affording medical relief for fighting epidemics.

Their opinion as to the desirability of arranging for the exchange of professors and other teachers between different Indian Universities, has also been asked by the Board.

Commercial Research

The Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, attached to the Commerce Department of the Government of India, is preparing a brief survey of investigation carried out by Universities, the Government, or private industrial organisations, which have been either commercially developed or are likely to be so developed, or may be developed if suitable help is forthcoming.

The survey is expected to enable the Commerce Department to bring to the notice of promoters of industry the claims of research in any particular line, and, in suitable cases, to provide facilities for the completion of investigations likely to be useful for the promotion of Indian industry.

The various chambers of commerce have been addressed by the Board on the subject.

The Commerce Member of the Government of India is the President of the Board ; the Director-General of Supply is the Vice-President, and Dr. S. Bhatnagar, of the Lahore University, is the Director.

Training of Women Health Workers

The need for an institution where women could be trained in various branches of social welfare work was stressed by Col. A. C. Chatterjee, Director of Public Health, Bengal, at a recent meeting of the Bangiya

Samaj Vijnan Parisat (Bengali Institute of Sociology), at the Calcutta Dental College and Hospital, Lower Circular Road, Dr. John B. Grant, Director, All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta, presided. There was a large attendance.

Col. Chatterjee, in the course of his address, referred to problems that were arising which concerned the well-being of the nation. These included public health, midwifery, general nursing, tuberculosis, home visiting, children's aid and after-care work. Progress in these branches of public health work was retarded because a sufficient number of trained workers was not available. And because a large amount of the work pertained to women and children and it was desirable that a more systematic effort should be made to train women workers.

To meet this need Col. Chatterjee suggested the establishment of a women's college for social work. The college should have three courses—a preliminary or a basic course which would be common to all an undergraduate course for social workers and a diploma or graduate course. Each course should be a stepping stone to the next. All work, as far as possible, should be co-ordinated and the minimum qualification for entrance into the institution should be that of Matriculation.

Col. Chatterjee added that for the establishment of such an institution it would not do merely to look to the Government. The public should take the initiative in the matter.

Healthier Schools

Under the auspices of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health and the Publicity Department of the Corporation of Calcutta, a joint exhibition was organized with a view to imparting visual health education to the pupils of high schools in Calcutta and to develop a school health programme. The exhibition was held in the Museum of the All-India Institute of Hygiene, Central Avenue and the Commercial Museum, College Street Market, on April 27, 28 and 29.

The University of Calcutta also co-operated with the organisers by lending educative charts and models prepared by the Students' Welfare Committee. Special demonstrators conducted batches of students round the two Museums. Pupils were brought from the first four forms only of the high schools.

Training in Rural Welfare Work

A simple scheme for the training of the students of Calcutta University and colleges in rural reconstruction is to be launched shortly.

For this purpose the following appeal has been issued by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, and Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Minister in charge of Agriculture, Industries and Rural Reconstruction Departments:—

"It is being gradually recognized that a well-planned scheme of rural reconstruction offers the best solution of the economic educational and cultural problems of our rural areas. And it is also being increasingly realized that there are immense possibilities through organization of self-help of the rural population.

"It is indeed a happy sign of the times that the students of our educational institutions have been seriously thinking of a programme of useful and

constructive service during vacations. While there is no dearth of enthusiasm, there are many who have no clear ideas either as regards the aim and object of the movement of rural reconstruction or the methods which should be followed to achieve success.

"In order to give some information to the student enthusiasts as to the ideology and methodology of rural reconstruction and an elementary knowledge about some of the subjects appertaining to rural welfare, the Director of Rural Reconstruction, Bengal, has, with our permission, drawn up a simple scheme of a week's training for the students of Calcutta University and colleges before the summer vacation commences.

"We appeal to those students of the University and colleges who are keen about rural welfare work during the ensuing summer vacation, to receive training in the classes organized by the Director and to do substantial practical work in their own villages during the vacation.

"We also appeal to the heads of the institutions to encourage their students to join the training classes and thus give a constructive direction to the energies of the youths of the province."

Mr. T. I. M. Nurannabi Chaudhuri, I.C.S., Director of Rural Reconstruction, Bengal, has asked the heads of Calcutta colleges to send the names of the volunteers who are eager to receive training.

Lectures were delivered on the following subjects from 7 p.m. in the evening at a central place for about a week:—

Ideology of rural reconstruction ; methodology of rural reconstruction ; rural reconstruction as part of the world youth movement—the example of foreign countries ; fundamental principles of rural hygiene and sanitation ; maternity and child welfare ; mass adult education—how it can be spread—the methods ; profitable agriculture ; the work-a-day problems of the cultivators and their solution ; common problems of rural drainage and rural irrigation and reclamation of fallow lands ; the proper housing and improvement of various livestock ; dairying and poultry keeping for profit ; wider application of the principles of co-operation in rural economy.

Those students who are keen on doing some practical work during the ensuing summer vacation in their villages are advised to receive this training.

If necessary, arrangements will be made for giving practical training to some students in selected villages in 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Howrah Districts.

Tagore's 80th Birthday

Santiniketan celebrated the eightieth birthday of its founder-president, Rabindra Nath Tagore, in the evening of 14th April when propitious Vedic hymns resounded the 'Mango Grove' where the function was held in the presence of a large gathering and inmates of the Ashram.

The poet's birthday falls on May 8 but as the summer recess of the University begins at this time and as Dr. Tagore usually goes on holiday to the hills, his students, friends and admirers celebrate the occasion on the first day of the Bengali New Year when the entire province is in a festive mood.

Seated on a decorated *dais* the poet received felicitations and gave readings from his drama *The King of the Dark Chamber*.

In a congratulatory message to Dr. Tagore, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek said :—

“ As the smaller ranges look up to the snowy heights of the sacred peak and as all the rivers tend towards the vast deep, even like that does the whole world look up to you, respected Gurudeva Tagore, and tend towards you.

“ On the auspicious occasion of the celebration of your eightieth birthday I take this opportunity to respectfully tender to you my heartiest and warmest congratulations.

“ In wishing you good health and long life I pray that you may be spared to humanity for many more years to come so that you may shed over ever-widening areas of the world the benign influence of your love of peace and fellowship and also propagate your noble ideas in the fields of education and culture. May you hold up a beacon-light to this benighted and suffering world for ever and ever.”

Chen Li Fu, Education Minister, Chinese National Government, has sent a poem of his own, composed especially for the occasion.

Miscellany

HOUSING LEGISLATION IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Before 1930 verry little progress had been made in the United Kingdom in improving the housing conditions of the poorest sections of the working class. The hope that public authorities, by increasing the supply of new working class dwelling, would contribute indirectly to the improved housing of the slum dwellers by a kind of filtering-up process was disappointed.

The Housing Act of 1930 marked a definite turning point in the entire policy. For the first time the public authorities stated the criteria according to which a house would be considered unfit for human habitation. A slum was defined in effect as an area in which "the dwelling houses.....are by reason of disrepair or sanitary defects unfit for human habitation, or are by reason of their bad arrangement, or the narrowness or bad arrangement of the streets, dangerous or injurious to the health of the inhabitants of the area."

In order to be certain that the improvement in housing conditions accomplished through public initiative (slum clearance) would benefit those living under substandard conditions, the Act of 1930 made it a statutory obligation for the local authorities to find accommodation for people displaced from cleared areas.

A further step was taken in 1935, when for the first time a standard for measuring overcrowding was introduced.*

The most effective measures employed to combat overcrowding were the re-allocation of tenancies on the local authorities' own estates and the provision of new dwellings for overcrowded families. In order to prevent future overcrowding, the Minister of Health fixed for each local authority in the country a date as from which it became an offence to occasion new overcrowding.

Government encouragement of differential rents adapted to the individual tenant's ability to pay is a link in the policy based on the principle

* The Housing Act of 1935 lays down that a dwelling house shall be deemed to be overcrowded when the number of persons sleeping in the house either—

(1) Is such that any two persons over 10 years of age of opposite sex, not being persons living together as husband and wife, must sleep in the same room; or

(2) Is, in relation to the number and floor area of the rooms of which the house consists, in excess of the permitted number of persons as defined below :

(a) Where a house consists of—

1 room	2.
2 rooms	3.
3 rooms	5.
4 rooms	7½.
5 rooms or more	10.

with an additional 2 in respect of each room in excess of 5.

(b) Where the floor area of a room is—

110 sq. ft. or more	2.
Between 90 and 110 sq. ft.	1½.
Between 70 and 90 sq. ft.	1.
Between 50 and 70 sq. ft.	½.
Under 50 sq. ft.	Nil.

that no one must be obliged to live in substandard housing conditions. Since a nation cannot expect to have a morally and physically healthy population unless it is housed in accordance with the established minimum standards, the families who can afford to live in dwellings over the standard must pay enough to allow poor families to live in standard dwellings.

A similar development, providing the low-income class with standard dwellings, has taken place in all the British Dominions.

In Canada, for instance, where the Minister of Finance is empowered under the National Housing Act of 1938 to grant loans to local housing authorities for the purpose of facilitating the construction of dwellings to be let to families of low incomes, the loans may be granted only for the purpose of low-rental housing projects intended to remedy shortage, overcrowding, or the substandard character of existing housing accommodation. Only families with a total income not exceeding five times the "economic rental" are entitled to rent a dwelling in which the loans are invested. If the family budgets are not sufficiently large to bear even this low rent, the local government may undertake to grant periodical contributions to allow reductions in the rents charged.

The upward trend of housing standards was probably most pronounced in New Zealand. The labour Government which came into office in 1935 wanted the term "worker's home" to cover the highest-grade home that had yet been achieved for the majority of any community. They wanted the worker's house to mean a home that set a new high standard and not merely a house that bore some relation to an average standard. In 1936 a housing survey covering 163,000 dwellings made by a number of local bodies, showed that 55,000 of those dwellings were such as to be considered substandard. In a very large percentage of these houses, shocking conditions prevailed. In a statement made in 1939 before the New Zealand Parliament Mr. Arstrong, the minister in charge of housing, declared that since the Government started housing operations and established the Department of Housing it had let contracts for well over 8,000 standard houses for rental, and in addition there were many houses being built for private ownership as a result of the more liberal lending policy of the State Advances Corporation.—C. M. Wright in the *International Labour Review*.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

AMERICAN BANKING IN 1939

Banks were purchasers of Government securities on a large scale in 1939 and their combined holdings of direct and guaranteed obligations rose above the previous maximum reached in 1936. The growth in bank holdings during the year corresponded closely to the increase in the outstanding amount of publicly-offered direct and guaranteed obligations of the United States Government other than United States Savings bonds which are purchased by banks only to a limited extent. Most of the increase in holdings of United States obligations was at member banks in New York City, which added substantially to their holdings of Treasury bonds and bills and also of guaranteed obligations. Member banks outside New York, as a group, reduced their holdings of direct obligations but purchased additional amounts of guaranteed obligations.

Federal Reserve Bank holdings of United States bonds and notes were substantially increased during the period following the outbreak of the European war when prices of these obligations decreased abruptly, but subsequently, when prices began to recover, some of these securities were sold. After the middle of June the Federal Reserve Banks did not always replace Treasury bills in their portfolio as they matured and by December 6 the System's bill portfolio, which had been \$477,000,000 in June, was entirely liquidated. As a net result of all these operations, Reserve bank holdings of Government obligations showed a small reduction for the year.

Banking resources as a whole showed a further substantial growth in 1939, reflecting in large part additions to bank reserves, arising from gold imports, but also increase in bank loans and investment. The gold inflow in the first instance added to deposits and reserves of New York City banks and most of the increase in loans and investments during the year also occurred at these banks. Treasury operations and other financial and commercial transactions, however, redistributed the funds throughout the country, with the consequence that deposits and reserves of banks outside New York City also increased.

The amount of United States Government obligations, both direct and fully guaranteed, held by all commercial banks in the United States may be estimated to be about \$16,200,000,000 at the end of 1939. This represents an increase of about \$2,200,000,000 since the summer of 1938, mostly, at city banks. In 1937 there had been a substantial decrease, following 6 years of almost uninterrupted growth from about \$5,000,000,000 in 1930 to over \$15,000,000,000 in 1936. The proportion that commercial banks held of outstanding publicly offered direct and guaranteed obligations of the United States Government increased from about 33 per cent. in 1930 to 42 per cent. in 1936, and at the end of 1939 was about 38 per cent. The proportion of total earning assets of banks held in the form of United States Government securities increased from about 10 per cent. in 1930 to about 40 per cent. at the end of 1936 and has since continued at close to that level.

Most of the changes in bank holdings of United States Government securities in recent years have been at city banks. All banks in New York City and the banks in 100 other leading cities have accounted for over \$1,900,000,000 of the increase of \$2,200,000,000 estimated for all commercial banks since June, 1938.

New York City banks increased their holdings of Treasury bonds in the first half of 1939, reflecting in part exchanges for maturing notes but to a larger extent additional purchases. In the second half of the year, when Federal Reserve bank holdings of Treasury bills were declining New York City banks obtained additional amounts of bills. They purchased Government guaranteed obligations throughout the year, with the result that total Government security holdings at member banks in New York showed a growth of about \$1,000,000,000 in 1939 to a level above the previous peak reached in 1936. At member banks in 100 other leading cities holdings remained close to the 1936 level; for the year as a whole increases in Treasury bond holdings and additions to guaranteed obligations exceeded reductions in Treasury notes by nearly \$300,000,000; a large part of this growth came in the week ending December 27. Country bank holdings of direct obligations declined by about \$250,000,000 in the first nine months of the year, while guaranteed obligations increased by \$100,000,000. Information regarding country banks for the last quarter of the year is not yet available.

The sharp increase in business activity in the latter half of 1939 brought a growing need for funds to finance the enlarged inventories as well as the expansion of current operations, with the result that city banks experienced a livelier demand for loans from commercial and industrial borrowers. In this period commercial loans at banks in 101 leading cities rose by nearly \$600,000,000 or 13 per cent. About half of this increase was in New York City. Taking the year as a whole, commercial loans increased at city banks in each Federal Reserve district except the San Francisco district. During the first three quarters of the year, it appears that there was a moderate increase in commercial, industrial, and agricultural loans at member banks outside the leading cities. No reports are yet available from these banks for the final quarter of the year. Notwithstanding these increases, the aggregate volume of such loans at all member banks is still only about half of the level prevailing in the 1920's.

While the volume of both United States Government securities and commercial, industrial, and agricultural loans at banks has risen considerably, changes in holdings of other types of securities and in other types of loans have been small, except for short-time fluctuations in loans to security brokers and dealers in response to market conditions and offerings of new issues.—*Federal Reserve Bulletin* (January, 1940).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

WHAT IS A CLASS ?

The problem of classes in society and their significance in social change was first brought forcibly to public attention by revolutionary theorists, particularly the radical theorists of the French Revolution. It was from a study of the French Revolution, among other factors in his development, that Karl Marx was led to formulate his theory of the fundamental importance of classes in social change. With Friedrich Engels, who had studied the economic conditions of the English working-class in 1844, and through development of the ideas of the continental socialists, Marx was led to formulate the striking sentence of *The Communist Manifesto*: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class-struggles." To Marx, class betokened opposition and conflict by its very existence as a social institution.

For research, a concept of class which demands conflict as its essential characteristic is not usable, for sociological research seeks to discover what class makes men do and starts with the hypothesis that what men are doing in terms of their class realities is not one kind of behaviour (such as conflict) or another, but many different and often contradictory kinds in terms of the same class position held by them. Social research seeks to discover what *relations* men enter into because of their class, what tendencies towards class mixture or class concentration occur in social life *as it is lived*. Class opposition, class conflict, class struggle are not outside the purview of class analysis, to be sure. They are composite concepts which can be investigated only after the simple concept of class has been analyzed in a fashion empirically usable and tested in research. The conflicting alignment of classes as a universal historical phenomenon and as a fundamental premise of the driving force of social evolution in general still does not tell us how classes function in social relations to-day. A general

historico-economic analysis of classes in contemporary American life and their opposing interests still does not tell us how men in different classes are behaving in terms of their class position. It may be held that basic to strong labour unionism is class opposition economically founded ; and yet without field research we know little of the sociology of class feeling, class consciousness, and the consistencies of classwise or nonclasswise behaviour among labour unionists.

The concept of class that must be posited for use in research must be such that the multifarious actions of men can be appraised in terms of their reactions to their objectively determinable class position. Otherwise, the research begins in the midst of a maelstrom of unclear and inadequately understood social actions. The flights of fancy concerning the future of classes in society might be resolved into ascertainable tendencies if we knew actually what was going in the hinterland of men's behaviour in terms of class. What classes are objectively, and what men are doing in terms of them subjectively, are the two basic guide-lines in class analysis. To start with a subjective concept of class is to jump into a vicious circle.

While social life buzzes with activity, the sociologist of this type concerns himself with how men feel and the economist thrusts men's feelings aside as outside his picture. As a result, we assume that we know how men "feel" without reference to what they are "feeling" about, and we assume that we know *what* men are "feeling" about without knowing *how* they "feel" about it. Neither abstract economics of the money symbol nor abstract sociology of the attitude-pattern can come to grips with the concrete behaviour of men acting and living.—G. Simpson in the *American Sociological Review*.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

District Development Scheme.—By Sir M. Visvesvaraya, K.C.I.E., L.L.D. Bangalore Press. 1939.

Sir Mokshagandham Visvesvaraya is a pioneer in the field of economic planning in India. The present book is a sort of sequel to the two earlier treatises on the planned economic reconstruction of India. District Development Scheme, as proposed by the author, if brought into operation in the right spirit, is expected to provide an effective starting point for the economic reconstruction of the countryside. The specific aim of the plan at the outset will be to stimulate the productive capacity of the district and double its income in seven to ten years' time. Since there will be wanting men, money and directing ability to do this on any vast scale, it is proposed to confine the scheme at the outset to one or two districts in each province and State. The scheme aims at securing bare subsistence wants mainly for the rural population. It is intended for the rehabilitation of a district—not the province or the country as a whole.

There is no responsible agency or organisation at present, argues the author, to correct defects in the economic life of the people and stimulate progress. So a District Development Department associated with a District Economic Council is proposed for the purpose. Linked up with the District organisations there shall be village and town organisations to carry out the work. There are too many people employed in some occupation and too few in others, and production is impeded. To remedy this, a balanced redistribution of occupations is urged. Industries were badly neglected in the past. To make up speedily for past losses, special measures are contemplated to expand them and increase the proportion of the working population on them to three or four times its present strength. Steps should be taken to ensure 'free circulation of capital,' even if it necessitates Government sharing unfavourable risks. The average citizen should be educated and encouraged to work the proposed plan. He should be induced by lure of income and profit to raise his economic status.

Developments in other spheres—political, social and cultural—should, points out the distinguished author, be attempted by creating other independent agencies and not be mixed up with this scheme of district development. Although such beneficial measures should be worked together and in close harmony, the immediate aim of the scheme is economic betterment. "Material wants in which we are very poorly equipped at present must rank first and as they are fundamental to the very existence of the population, they are important enough to be treated as a class by themselves."

Most rural development schemes suffer from a confusion of ideas economic, political, cultural and social aspects of rural life are not considered separately for the purposes of rural reconstruction. All these problems are sought to be tackled by one and the same organisation, all at once. The result is a dismal failure. The author, therefore, with commendable wisdom, recommends economic planning of the district as the central movement; political, social and cultural movements come in to co-operate more or less in a subordinate capacity.

The author, in order to make his scheme successful, relies on the familiar aids to rural economic life, such as banking facilities, economic

surveys and statistics, protection, mass education, travel conveniences commercial museums, exhibitions, marketing organisation, transport facilities, central workshops for industries, trade schools, etc. He seems to think that an annual Government grant of Rs. 5 lakhs for each district should ordinarily be able to meet the needs of district development. This grant is to continue for the "first 4 or 5 years after which the experiment ought to be able to pay its own way." The financial implications of the scheme, so far as they go, do not appear to be appalling, but, perhaps, the estimates are a little on the optimistic side. Moreover, Sir M. Visvesvaraya takes for granted an organising ability which is hardly to be found in our country where centuries of political subjection has practically destroyed the traditions of self-government. Even then the author's scheme deserves the serious consideration of economists and statesmen.

NIRMALCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Rural Bengal.—By H. S. M. Ishaque, B Sc. (Aligarh), M.Sc. (Lucknow), I.C.S.

The object of the author in writing this book is "nothing more than to throw some light on the real problems of Rural Bengal and to indicate the possible and practicable lines of improvement in a concrete form." With certain definite limitations the purpose of the writer seems to have been realised. Rural uplift scheme launched in Sirajganj sub-division, in Pabna district, by Mr Ishaque, attracted considerable attention in Bengal. He was reported to have formulated a comprehensive scheme after a careful survey of the condition of the rural population and their needs; and the scheme came to be thoroughly discussed at representative conferences of those interested in it. A programme of work was drawn up and to implement the scheme, rural development organisations, composed of voluntary workers only, were established all over the sub-division.

A Press Note prepared by the Press Officer, Government of Bengal, dated Calcutta, the 7th October, 1937, gave an admirable summary of the work claimed to have been accomplished by these Rural Development Organisations. The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Minister, Government of Bengal, in a Foreword to the book, describes the achievements of Mr. Ishaque and his associates as 'stupendous and magnificent.' As regards Education, Night Schools for adults, and Primary and Middle English Schools for boys and girls were established. For improving the standard of teaching, Training Camps under the supervision of qualified teachers were opened at different centres. As to agriculture, model farms were opened; the sub-division was divided into three circles and a demonstrator was appointed for each circle, to look after the farms and to guide and advise the cultivators; ten stud bulls were purchased and allotted to different localities. As to rural industries, attempts were made to revive weaving as a subsidiary occupation for agriculturists; weaving factory schools were started on co-operative basis. So far as sanitation was concerned, the village organisations cleared jungles, destroyed water-hyacinth, filled up stagnant ditches, and excavated many *khal*s. Nor was communication left alone; up to October, 1937, "five hundred new roads with a mileage of about five hundred miles were constructed and an equal number of old and disused roads with a mileage of about 350 miles" were reclaimed principally through voluntary effort. This appears to be a remarkable achievement when it is remembered

that "during a great part of the year the whole area is submerged under water." The organisers of the scheme also ran a weekly organ devoted to the service of the rural folk. "Necessary funds were raised from the villages themselves by 'musti-collection' and by contributions from Union Boards." The scheme has not only resulted in the material benefit of the rural masses but it has also awakened in them a spirit of self-sacrifice, co-operation and self-help. Indeed the moral aspect of rural development scheme through voluntary efforts cannot be over-emphasised. People of Sirajganj have reasons to be grateful to Mr. Ishaque for his devoted service to the cause of rural uplift in the locality.

Mr. Ishaque's scheme was lucky in getting a tremendous official publicity. After all this one wonders why such an energetic officer's services were not continued permanently in the interest of rural welfare in Bengal. The author presents the reader with a confused mass of valuable material which might have been better digested for scientific treatment. He admits that he did not get 'much leisure to read.' If he had got it, the resultant knowledge would certainly have increased the value of his book. Again, one does not expect from a man of Mr. Ishaque's culture the egotistic touches which are noticeable here and there. The writer of the book is frankly suspicious of "nationalists." He forgets that the people are likewise suspicious of officials. These mutual suspicions lead us nowhere. In more than one place Mr. Ishaque pours ridicule on the "nationalists." Government officials of the Indian variety like to forget the fact that they are what they are largely because of the sufferings and efforts of these very nationalists and agitators. Printing and general get-up of the book leave very much to be desired.

NIRMALCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Cultural Movements in Modern India —By Ramprasad Pandeya, M.A., with a Foreword by Principal P. Seshadri, M.A. Published by Lakshminarayan Agarwal, Agra. Pp. 122. Re. 1.

It has been generally held that India in the 19th century experienced a renaissance due to contact with Western civilization and that no period in the recent history of India was ever more full of activity and growth. Pandit Ramprasad Pandeya shares this belief with enthusiasm. In this monograph he chronicles the cultural movement of India that this renaissance brought into being. He begins by giving a brief account of the historical origin of Indian civilization and its march through earlier centuries and then goes on to give brief but interesting resumé of the religious, educational literary, political and constitutional movements, finally concluding with a peep into the future and expressing an earnest aspiration for a happier and more vitalized life for the nation. Mr. Pandeya writes with knowledge and imagination and has a lucid style. Intended as a general text-book for our college-boys, the book will serve its purpose well.

N. RAY

Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, for the year ending 31st July, 1938.—By Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Director of Archaeology, Baroda State. Pp. 37, with 36 Plates. Rs. 2-4.

The newly constituted Department of Archaeology of the Baroda State has issued its Fourth Annual Report for the year ending 31st July, 1938. Some important conservation works were carried out; of special importance are those of the Baroda Gate, the Junāgaḍh temple at Basait, the temple at Bardia and the tomb of Sheikh Farid. The listing of monuments within the State is going on apace. Three important temples were brought to notice in the year under survey: (1) The first is the Hīṅgloji-mātā temple at Khaṇḍorān in the Visnagi Taluka, dedicated to the Goddess Sarvamāṅgalā and furnished with an inscription dated in the year 1207 of the Vikrama era equal to 1150 A.D., (2) the second is the Siva temple at Asoda in the Vijāpur tāluk which may stylistically be dated in about the 11th or 12th century A.D., and (3) the third is the Viṣṇu temple that stands on the top of a hillock at Māhūdi on the right bank of the Sāvarmatī. the temple going by the name of "Kotyārka." A few important finds of metallic images have been made in the compound of this temple, and they are frankly Buddhistic, including images of Jambhala or Kuvera. The village of Māhūdi has also contributed some interesting Brahmanical images, mostly Viṣṇuite. During the year under review the Director of Archaeology succeeded in securing several pieces of excellent wood-carvings for the State Museum of Baroda. Excavations during the year yielded a specially noteworthy find, namely, a clay dye bearing the legend Sri-Silāditya written in the late Gupta script. This dye was found from the site where a hoard of some two thousand silver coins of Kumāragupta I was unearthed the year before last. As the place is very intimately connected with the Maitrakas of Valabhi, this Sri-Silāditya must refer to the same king of the Maitraka genealogical list.

The plates are useful and interesting.

N. RAY

Ourselves

[I. Course in Museology.—II. Conference of Government and University Representatives.—III. Proposed Inclusion of Lushai as Vernacular for I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations.—IV. Readership Lectures on "Cosmic Ray."—V. Research Work on Papain.—VI. Indian Science Congress Association.—VII. All-India Library Conference.—VIII. D.P.H. Examination, Part I.—IX. The Asutosh Museum of Indian Art.]

I. COURSE IN MUSEOLOGY

The University has decided to start from July next a certificate course in Museum Training under the auspices of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art. Extending over a period of six months, training will be given by the Curator, Mr. D. P. Ghosh, and other experts in various aspects of Museum up-keep and administration, viz., stylistic discrimination, arrangement and classification, display, cataloguing and labelling, mounting and casting, cleaning and preservation. For the present provision has been made to train not more than a dozen candidates.

This is the first time in India that a move has been made by any University or institution to provide facilities for training in Museology in a regular and scientific way. Apart from the question of selecting the most significant exhibits and presenting them to the onlooker in a most attractive way, the problem of their preservation is equally important. In a country like ours where even the hardest of stone sculptures are not impervious to climatic conditions, it is almost a baffling problem to arrest forces of decay and decomposition inherent in more perishable materials. Unless adequate steps are taken a lovely piece of clay and terra-cotta will crack and crumble, a delicate textile fabric will wear out, and colours will slowly vanish from a painted masterpiece. So it will be the aim of the small research laboratory attached to the Asutosh Museum not only to preserve the priceless relics of the past and treasures of art for the enjoyment and inspiration of future generations but incidentally, to find out means of prolonging the life of objects of every-day use in our households.

II. CONFERENCE OF GOVERNMENT AND UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVES

A conference will be held shortly to discuss the powers and functions of the District Magistrates regarding the constitution of Managing Committees of aided High Schools as well as the question of the amendment of the Grant-in-Aid rules for schools. Another subject of discussion at this conference will be the procedure to be adopted in cases of unusual delay in reporting the constitution of Managing Committees. The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, Dr. W. A. Jenkins, D.Sc., I.E.S., and Khan Bahadur Md. Maula Baksh will represent Government at this conference and the University will be represented by the under-mentioned gentlemen :—

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor,

Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., D.LITT., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A.,

The University Inspector of Colleges.

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III. PROPOSED INCLUSION OF LUSHAI AS VERNACULAR FOR I.A. AND I.Sc. EXAMINATIONS

The question of recognising Lushai as a Vernacular for the Intermediate Examination is now under consideration by the University. The matter was first considered by the Board of Studies in Sanskrit Languages in August, 1939, and is now being once more examined in the light of a list of selected works in Lushai suitable for Intermediate Examination which has been prepared in consultation with the Honorary Inspector of Schools in the North and South Lushai Hills and the Head Master of the Shillong High School, Rev. T. E. Pugh, M.A. (Oxon.), and Principal Cameron of the Scottish Church College, Calcutta.

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IV. READERSHIP LECTURES ON "COSMIC RAY"

Dr. H. T. Bhaba, D.Sc., has been appointed a Special University Reader to deliver a course of ten lectures on "Cosmic Ray." The dates of these lectures will be notified to the public through the Press.

V. RESEARCH WORK ON PAPAIN

Our University has accepted the offer of a sum of Rs. 200 from the Eastern Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Ltd., for the purpose of meeting the cost of materials in connexion with research work on papain to be conducted under the guidance of Prof. B. C. Guha of the Department of Applied Chemistry in the University Laboratories.

* * *

VI. INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS ASSOCIATION

The next session of the Indian Science Congress will be held at Benares from January 2nd to January 8th, 1941.

* * *

VII. ALL-INDIA LIBRARY CONFERENCE

The All-India Library Conference was held at Patna from 13th April to 15th April, 1940. Dr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A., D.LITT., PHIL. (Leyden), DIP. LIB. (Lond.), was appointed a representative of the University on the conference.

* * *

VIII. D.P.H. EXAMINATION, PART I

The following is the report of the Board of Examiners for the D.P.H. Examination, Part I, held in February, 1940:

“Of the 31 candidates registered for the D.P.H. Examination, Part I, February, 1940, 27 candidates have passed and 4 have failed.”

* * *

IX. THE ASUTOSH MUSEUM OF INDIAN ART

The Asutosh Museum has in the course of one year nearly trebled its collection either by purchase or by free gift from public-spirited gentlemen. Among the gifts to the Museum, undoubtedly the most noteworthy is that of Mr. Bijay Sing Nahar. He has presented almost the entire collection of his father, the late Mr.

Puran Chand Nahar which used to be known as the "Nahar Museum" valued approximately at forty thousand rupees and numbering more than 1,000 pieces of rare sculpture and paintings.

Mr. Biren Roy of Puri offered for sale his entire collection of Orissan art and antiquities known as "Roy's Museum," at a specially reduced price of Rs. 6,000 only, which the University purchased sometime ago.

The late Dr. Dineschandra Sen presented before his death his valuable personal collection of Bengali and Assamese art to the Museum, which consists of 200 articles including several remarkable old bronze figures, "Pats," "Patras," "Kanthas" and terra-cottas.

Another valuable collection acquired by the Museum at the price of Rs. 1,500 only is that of Mr. Kalidas Dutt of Majilpur. This collection has been obtained from the Sundarban area and possesses both aesthetic and antiquarian interest.

The regional exploration carried on under the auspices of the Calcutta University have brought to light many interesting specimens of the Pala and Sena Schools of Art of which the most attractive is an upright figure of Siva in bronze covered by a Dhyanī Buddha belonging to the 11th century A.D., discovered in Barisal.

The excavation at Bangarh in the District of Dinajpur conducted under Mr. K. G. Goswami, M.A., of our University in winter this year has led to highly promising results. Brick structure of early periods of our history have been exposed along with pillars, wells, drains, etc. Terra-cottas, decorative bricks and architectural stones dating from the Sunga, Kushan, Gupta and Pala periods are among the other objects discovered at Bangarh. Special mention should be made of inscribed clay sealings, gold amulets and punch-marked coins which have been obtained in the course of excavation at Bangarh.

sible for loss of any article ; contributors are, therefore, requested to keep with them copies of their writings before posting. Nor is he responsible for sending back to the authors articles that are not accepted by the Editorial Board, unless they attach sufficient stamp for the purpose.

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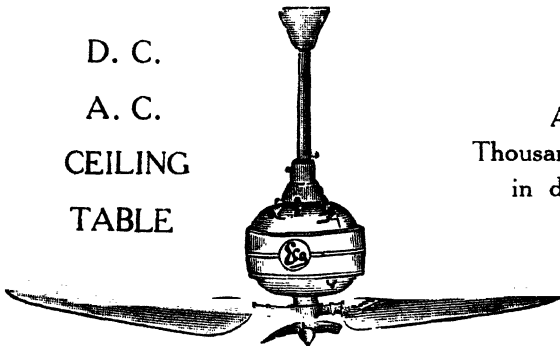
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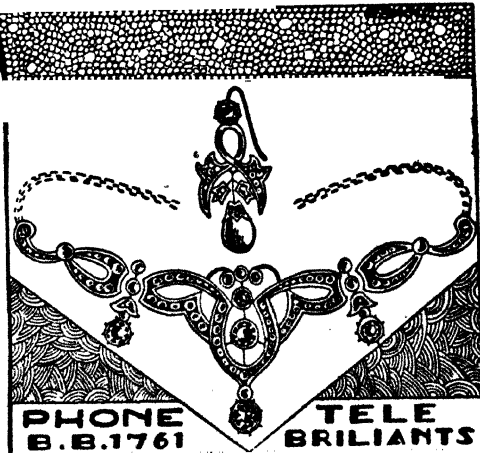
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE, 1940

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES AND UN- EMPLOYMENT

H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

Head of the Department of English, and Fellow, Calcutta University

Member, Legislative Assembly, Bengal

President, All-India Conference of Indian Christians

THE subject of this article must of necessity possess great interest for every Indian who cannot contemplate, except with feelings of very great sorrow, the difficulties under which our people are labouring.

Turning to the question of food, we find that the total production of food amounts in India to 60 to 70 million tons from which we have to deduct, apart from wastage, the quantities necessary for seed, for feeding cattle, and for export. It has been said by those who have made a special study of this matter that these items do not total less than 10 million tons. This leaves about 50 to 60 million tons for our use. In 1931 the total population of India was round about 352 millions. This means less than one pound daily per each head of population. In a speech made recently H.E. the Viceroy stated that by 1941, the population would be round about 400 millions in which case the amount of food available daily per each head of population will be a little more than half a pound.

Sir William Hunter, the Historian of Orissa and of India, who was Director of Statistics in the seventies of the last century, said at that time that in British India alone 40 million people lived and died in a state of half starvation. No one has yet challenged the correctness of this statement. The population has nearly doubled itself since that time but the production of food has not shown any appreciable increase.

Sir George Grierson, another great statistician under the Government, writing 20 years after Sir William Hunter said, " Briefly, all persons in India of the labouring class and 10 per cent of the artisan or cultivating classes or 45 per cent of the total population are insufficiently fed or housed or both. It follows that nearly 100 millions of people in British India are living in extreme poverty."

Dr. H. H. Mann, Director of Agriculture in Bombay, after 20 years' close study and investigation came in 1927 to the conclusion that " the empty stomach was the greatest obstacle to progress in India.....and that all efforts should be concentrated on filling the stomachs of the people." If he was writing to-day, he would have drawn a much darker picture, for, with the reduction in the price of agricultural products, the economic condition of the cultivators has grown worse still.

Sir John Megaw, Surgeon-General of India, estimated only the other day that 39 per cent of the population are well-nourished, leaving 61 per cent insufficiently nourished.

Improved methods of intensive cultivation will have the effect of increasing the total amount of food produced, but this will be possible only when the people adopt them which again will be possible only when they are literate. We all know that after more than 150 years of British rule, the percentage of literacy in India in 1931 was 8.1 only. It is therefore that the Congress has been laying such emphasis on the abolition of illiteracy and propaganda for improved agricultural methods. If this can be carried through to a successful issue all over India, our supply of available food may be increased and a remedy found for the present chronic state of starvation but, even then, there can be no prosperity in the economic sense so long as the masses depend on agriculture as practically the one means of their support.

This has engaged the earnest attention of National India which has spoken through its leader Mahatma Gandhi. His observations on this point are worth quoting. He said, " The bulk of the population

is agricultural and Indian agriculture involves very hard work for certain short periods and almost complete inactivity for the rest of the year. These periods of inactivity are, in the great majority of cases, spent in idleness. But where the cultivator pursues some craft which will employ him and his family at times when they are not required in the fields—a craft in which continuity of employment is not essential the proceeds of that craft are a saving from waste and therefore a clear gain. The most typical of such crafts and the one most widely pursued is the production of homespun cotton cloth for daily use.” This synthesis of agriculture and industry was contrived by Mahatma Gandhi and offers a practical solution of the grinding poverty of our masses so eloquently referred to by that well-known economist Mr. Monohar Lal, at one time an executive member of the Punjab Government, who said, “ It (the life of the masses) is a picture of literal starvation, mental and physical. It can represent the life of no unit.”

India, like the rest of the world, is faced by the problem of unemployment. Various commissions to suggest remedies have been appointed and they have submitted very interesting and learned reports. Among the remedies suggested are the following: services and industries should be Indianised, the age of retirement from Government service should be lowered, compulsory primary education should be introduced in order to absorb the educated unemployed, public works should be started on a large scale and working hours reduced. It has also been proposed that India should be industrialised and that doles should be given to the unemployed.

The one feature common to all these suggestions is that the prevalent unemployment should be met not by providing additional employment but by some contrivance which will help the unemployed at the expense of the employed. So far as the starting of public works on a large scale and the giving of doles are concerned, we should very clearly realise the fact that they have to be paid for and that money for these purposes must, at the last resort, come from taxes levied on our already impoverished motherland.

If it is argued that fresh taxes will be contrived in such a way as to touch the rich only, I would reply by saying that there are limits to the taxable capacity of even the rich and that, going beyond this limit, would merely have the effect of killing the goose that lays the golden egg. From a careful study of the Income Tax Returns

for 1932-33 it appears that out of a total population of 272 million in British India, about 564,134 persons that is about '002 per cent of the population earned Rs. 1,000 or more per year; about 217,171 or about '001 per cent earned less than Rs. 2,000 per year while only 355 people in the whole of India had incomes of rupees one lakh and more. These figures, the accuracy of which has not been challenged from any quarter, are sufficient proof of our low taxable capacity. No reasonable man can hope that much may be expected by taxing the comparatively well-off in our motherland.

As the number of the taxable well-off is limited, it inevitably follows that there cannot be any permanent and satisfactory solution of this pressing problem by depending on this source to finance public works or the giving of doles on a very large scale which only can remove the universal poverty from which India is suffering.

A suggestion put forward time and again is that industrialisation on a large scale along western lines will solve the unemployment problem. I admit freely that, under modern conditions, no sane man can dream of doing without large scale production concerned with the manufacture of the heavy chemicals, of steel and iron and other primary needs of civilised life. But let no one be misled into thinking that, necessary as these factories are for economic self-sufficiency, they will either abolish or even materially diminish unemployment. If that were so, we would not have unemployment on the gigantic scale we see in such highly industrialised and progressive countries as England and America.

Another suggestion is that the standard of living of the masses should be materially raised. It is held that if the wants of the people are increased, there will be a greater demand for all kinds of articles. This must encourage their production and distribution and thus automatically increase the volume of employment. The criticism which suggests itself first is that a higher standard of living presupposes higher income and where is this income to come from in a country where according to the latest estimate the annual *per capita* income is not more than Rs. 50? Our real difficulty is that, as a nation, we cannot afford even a sufficient amount of food for every one of the 400 millions of India. I do not claim to be an economist but it seems to me that any increase in the income should in the first instance be utilised for providing a sufficiency of the bare necessities of life such as food and clothing after which will follow comforts.

There is a still more serious objection to this particular way of solving the problem. Capitalism as a satisfactory economic system is slowly losing its hold on the world. It has had its days of usefulness and to-day we are trying to find out a better and more satisfactory economic system. As in the west, the conflict between capital and labour, whether agricultural or industrial, has already made its appearance in India and it cannot be said with justice that in all cases this conflict is being waged in an unobjectionable way. Supposing that we are able to raise the standard of living of our labourers, its logical result will be that with increased wants, his bargaining power will be reduced. He will be in a less favourable position to either refuse to work or to go on strikes. He will be tied down more firmly than now to his job. I would even go so far as to suggest that this is a device adopted, may be unconsciously, by capitalism to ensure the creation of a docile and permanent labour farce.

Raising the standard of life for the purpose of relieving unemployment by providing fresh avenues of work implies the finding out of new markets or of extending old ones. When we find Italy pocketing Abyssinia and Japan attempting to take China, we have examples of unscrupulous and powerful nations trying to find new markets for their products. Forgetting, for the time being, the injustice and the cruelty involved in such procedure, what we are concerned with is that, if successful, though labour is helped by being provided with work, it is the capitalist who enjoys the most substantial gain. So far as we in India are concerned, we are not in a position to create new markets in this way and I question very much whether India, unless her contact with the predatory nations of the West has radically changed her mentality, would ever dream of doing so. By the second method which I have called extending old markets, I mean the consumption of larger amounts of articles already in use and also of articles not now in use. As stated already, our problem, to quote again the language of Dr. Mann who retired after more than 20 years' service in West India, is that "the empty stomach is the greatest obstacle to progress in India . . . and that all efforts should be concentrated on filling the stomachs of the people."

It therefore follows that if we are to solve our problem of unemployment in this particular way, we have to see that the goods consumed by us are also produced by us. If the adoption of a higher standard of living implies the consumption of articles of comfort and

luxury, it is not we who shall be benefited but those concerned in their production and distribution. Let me make my point clear by an example which must be familiar to every Indian. Before we imported cotton stuff from Lancashire, there was ample work for all our weavers. Now what has happened is that not all our weavers find employment though the population and, along with it, the demand for cloth have gone up. As the result of wearing fine cotton fabrics in place of coarse home-spun, which by the way is an instance of a rise in the standard of living, Lancashire may now boast of a few millionaires. The standard of life of the Lancashire operative has gone up but at our expense. Ample proof is afforded by the broadcast of Winston Churchill who is reported to have said, "My friends, to whom I speak—the working men—let me tell you that India has quite a lot to do with the wage-earners of Great-Britain. If we lost India it would not be a hundred thousand unemployed; it would be more like two million bread-winners, who would be tramping the streets. We have in this island, forty-five millions living at a higher level than the people of any other country. One third of these would have to go down, out, or under, if we ceased to be a great Empire with world-wide connection and trade. That would be the fate of the larger population of Little England."

I have given only one instance of the result of the use of imported articles but many such may be multiplied easily. We have looked on helplessly while handicraft after handicraft has died a natural death. Those following these handicrafts have been compelled to take to agriculture as a means of earning their living and the pressure on land is such that we are faced with the grim spectre of chronic starvation. It was not an Indian but a European who observed that in India there are two bowls of rice for every three individuals.

It therefore follows that every time we buy an imported article, we are exporting our purchasing power, and helping in raising the standard of living of the citizen of some other country and, to that extent, lowering our own standards and assisting in creating further unemployment. It is also a truth, probably a disagreeable truth, that the factory system of production where the work of many hands can be and is performed by a few hands is also responsible for our wide-spread unemployment. This is the only logical argument and the rational justification for the drive to use Swadeshi or home-made articles and, more than that, of comparatively expensive hand-made

articles produced in the rural areas in preference to cheaper Indian factory-made articles with better finish. I acknowledge that this is, from the selfish point of view, loss of money, but the very hard and disagreeable fact of starvation of millions of our countrymen and country-women on account of want of employment stares us in the face. We cannot afford to neglect their interests as we have been doing in the past. We have a responsibility as leaders of thought and have to set an example in our daily lives. Empty promises have been made so often that we have forfeited the confidence of the masses and the only way to regain it is to prove our concern for them by taking effective steps to assist them. One of the best ways of doing this, I contend, is to use extensively the products of cottage industries.

So long I have not given any facts in support of my contention that cottage industries, if properly organised, are a valuable method of combating unemployment. I shall now refer to what has been actually done last year by the All-India Spinners' Association. As is well-known this organisation, with its headquarters at Ahmedabad and branches in every part of India, has undertaken the task of having certified and registered spinners, weavers and artisans all engaged in the production of pure khadi. Last year, this organisation gave regular employment to 2 lakhs 82 thousand spinners who drew as wages Rs. 21 lakhs 55 thousand. The number of certified and registered weavers who were in regular employment was about 19 thousand while the wages drawn by them was about Rs. 12 lakhs. Certified and registered artisans numbered 6 thousand 8 hundred, their wages amounting to Rs. 5 lakhs 65 thousand. Therefore the total number of certified and registered workers employed by this one association only was 3 lakhs 8 thousand and these earned as wages Rs. 39 lakhs 20 thousand. According to the League of Nations, the *per capita* allowance of cloth should not be less than 30 square yards. In India our average consumption is round about 11.3 square yards. These figures are sufficient to prove what a future there is for the khaddar programme of Mahatma Gandhi.

Before I leave this point, I ought to remind my readers that the 3 lakhs 8 thousand workers employed by the All-India Spinners' Association are a part only of those engaged in the manufacture of khaddar. There are many organisations, businessmen, etc., having no connection with this body engaged in making and selling khaddar. I shall only content myself with saying that all people employed both

by the All-India Spinners' Association and by the other organisations would not have found employment but for the impetus given to the movement by our great national leader. After this, who will say that cottage industries are not at least a partial solution of the problem of unemployment? They may not offer handsome amounts to those who follow them but there is little doubt that, if pursued honestly and steadfastly, they can yield a regular and humble income and that is all that can be expected in a poor country like India where the national income, as already proved, is not more than Rs. 50 per head per year.

Every serious student of industrial economics is aware that to-day India is in a position to manufacture all her sugar and match, three-fourths of her cotton stuff, two-thirds of her iron and steel and a large part of her cement and paper and yet she is unable to find employment for more than about $1\frac{1}{2}$ million factory workers. When she has developed her industries sufficiently, she may be able to employ, say, 2 million labourers.

According to the last Census that for 1931, out of a total population of about 352 millions, about $15\frac{1}{2}$ millions were supported by industry. Of these again, only $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions were engaged in 8,143 factories. It thus follows that in 1931 about 14 millions were supported by cottage industries. In 1935, the number of factories had increased by about 700 but the average number of persons employed had increased to the extent of 180,000 only. The mere increase of factory industries therefore cannot and will not absorb all the people who are without work. We would be perfectly safe if we go further and say that in case factories are started for the large scale production of articles which are now being manufactured at home, such factories will never be able to absorb even those who are at present engaged in producing them.

According to recognised authorities, weaving on the handloom stands next to agriculture as regards the number of people who are supported by it and provides occupation for no less than 10 million in India. There was a time when their products had to compete with cotton fabrics manufactured in non-Indian countries only. Of late, the number of cotton mills in India has increased from 250 in 1929-30 to 304 in 1935-36, the latest year for which statistics are available. These give employment to about $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of workers only. When in future India finds herself able to produce all the cotton cloth she

requires in her own mills, she cannot very well give employment to more than an additional lakh and a half or, at most, to two lakhs. Even if every one of the labourers is drawn from the present handloom weavers, it is disquieting to think of the fate of the rest who, if our figures are correct, cannot by any means be less than 7 to 8 millions on the supposition that at least one million among them are engaged in the production of silk, woollen and similar other stuff.

We have thus proved that the slavish imitation of western industrial methods must lead to one result only, *viz.*, large output coupled with the employment of constantly diminishing numbers of labourers with every improvement in that type of industrial efficiency which goes under the name of rationalisation.

Mahatma Gandhi with his insight into the real nature of this vital problem recognised the fact that handloom weaving is followed by a very large number of people who cannot command much capital. At the same time he felt that they had to be provided for somehow not only in order to diminish unemployment but also to diminish the pressure on land. Hence his khaddar programme.

Hitherto reference has been made only to the kind of cottage industry connected with the production of cotton fabrics. But every one familiar with conditions prevailing in rural India is aware that the handicrafts practised even now are nearly as numerous as they were a century ago, the only difficulty being due to competition with factory-made articles. Our artisans are not getting remunerative prices for them. As natural consequence, these are languishing and may ultimately disappear altogether. As proved by the figures quoted already, India is not in a position to allow this. If once cheap power is made available in every part of India, and it may be said parenthetically that efforts to this end are being put forth in nearly every province, it would not be difficult to organise the different cottage industries on improved lines with the help of electrically powered small machines. By doing so the cost of production would be diminished and at the same time the finish improved so that they would be able to compete with their factory-made rivals on equal terms. But it is too much to expect that, at least at the beginning, they can be marketed as cheaply as the products of large factories.

We know that modern rice and flour mills and oil-crushing factories have nearly killed the age-old cottage industries of wheat and rice-milling and oil-crushing added to which is the fact that the white

flour and polished rice produced by them are deprived of certain essential vitamins and mineral salts. All these are adulterated by either unscrupulous mill-owners or the middlemen who stand between the producers and the actual consumers. I have described elsewhere how this problem is being tackled by the All-India Village Industries Association.

Then again, our village blacksmiths used to supply all our requirements in the way of agricultural implements such as spades, pick-axes, crow-bars, hammers, etc., but competition from foreign and Indian firms that have specialised in their manufacture on the factory scale has driven them off the field. These people have taken to agriculture not as cultivators enjoying some kind of right over the land they cultivate but either as tenants-at-will or as landless labourers. I quite appreciate the fact that before the home-made implements can hope to command a large market which will include such large buyers as the Railway, the Public Works and other Government Departments, District Boards, Municipalities, etc., they will have to be standardised, and improved methods and probably machinery used for their manufacture. But this, in my view, does not present insurmountable difficulties.

Certain kinds of cotton, silk and even woollen textiles may be classed under cottage industries and given protection by legislation against mass production by large-scale factories till they are sufficiently developed. If we insist on protection in order to foster the development of industries like iron, textile and sugar, National India finds no reason why cottage industries should not claim protection not only against foreign but also against internal competition from large scale Indian factories.

The question is what form should this protection take in order to discourage competition from Indian and foreign factories. A method which suggests itself immediately is to put some kind of duty or sales tax on the corresponding products of factories and a similar or even a higher amount of custom duty on foreign imports. For instance, it has been suggested that the mills should cater for the well-to-do who use coats, shirts, fine sarees, dhoties and chaddars while the handloom would meet the requirements of poorer people who prefer the coarser varieties of cotton fabrics for their durability. The latter should find a ready market in the rural areas. Mills should not be allowed to use counts below 20. A deterrent sales tax on mill

cloth and high license fee should be imposed on dealers in mill cloth for the purpose of making selling mill-made cotton fabrics unremunerative in the country-side. The situation could probably be met by providing handloom weavers with credit and marketing facilities on equitable terms. Similarly the products of flour, rice and oil mills may have a suitable sales tax laid on them for the encouragement of chakki atta, hand-pounded rice and ghani-oil.

As matters stand at present, I do not see much prospect of the survival of a large majority of our cottage industries unless they are afforded some kind of protection and unless the right kind of organisation is created for ensuring a steady market for their products.

The justification for the adoption of this policy is two-fold. First and foremost, their proper organisation would tend to give regular employment to some of our people while others will be able to utilise profitably the enforced leisure they have now to put up with as agriculturists. So far as the latter are concerned, some of these industries would bring in cash while others like spinning and weaving would enable them to conserve their resources by preventing expenditure on items like clothing.

As for those who will devote their whole time to cottage industries, it has been estimated by no less a person than the Congress Minister of Development of Bihar that if only a dozen cottage industries are started on a province-wide scale under conditions such as those outlined above, they could easily employ 75,000 to 100,000 people. If we add to this number, the people who will supply the raw materials required in the different cottage industries, it is quite likely that another lakh or so will be provided for. Counting their families and dependents such a scheme, if successfully carried out, would imply livelihood provided for at least 5 lakhs and, it should be remembered, that all these people will be drawn from the masses. So far as the more educated people are concerned, we have not taken into account the managers, supervisors, brokers, salesmen and similar other people always connected with the production and sale of such things.

Apart from the employment of people who are now eking out a miserable existence there are certain other important contingent advantages which must not be lost sight of. There will be an increase in the national income. With an increase in the purchasing power, the standard of living which is now miserably low will tend to rise. The starting of these industries will lead to the development

of the resources which are now lying unexplored and unused. They will have the effect of developing the spirit of enterprise, of familiarising our people with modern conditions of life, with new processes and new methods, will give them a wider outlook on life and will open out before them new ways of improving their economic position. In fact, they will tend to communicate the spark of life to the half-starved and intellectually stolid agriculturist of India. This one fact alone of shaking them out of the mental inertia of ages seems to me a sufficient justification for the adoption of this bold and forward policy of encouraging and maintaining our cottage industries.

In August and September, 1938, Madam Chiang Kai-Shek, the brilliant and patriotic helpmate of the Chinese generalissimo, contributed a series of very thought-provoking and interesting articles to the "Spectator" of London. In the course of a discussion on the reconstruction of China after the present war is over, she observed :—

"I should like to see village industry carefully developed wherever it is possible for raw materials to be produced and worked up to supply the daily needs of the people. There will have to be mechanical aid in some cases, but I hope that machinery never will be brought to China to save labour as its first principle and requirement. Machinery should be used to make necessities which hand cannot make, but there it should stop. Nor should cut-throat competition in manufacture be permitted. In that the workmen suffer.

"We have already had a taste of competitive manufacture and we have had a few lessons taught us by the racketeer, the gangster, the misguided labour agitator and his misused unions. Surely we shall be wise enough to profit by all that, and also profit by what has happened in other parts of the world as a result of over-production by labour-saving devices operating upon a large and uncontrolled scale. We have an old proverb which enjoins us to 'take warning by the cart ahead'. It will be criminal of us if we do not. If we emerge safely from the calamities of this war there is one brake that will be put upon us that should have restraining influence upon development of too many large industries. That is the brake of exhausted finance. It will not be easy to plunge into great schemes of factory development and that, to my mind, is a good thing. There is so much to be done by hand, so many hands to do it, that wisdom dictates energetic arrangement of opportunities and possibilities for manual work just as quickly as circumstances will allow."

Up to the present India has been fortunate inasmuch as she is yet safe from war. Let it not be said that, like China, where "there is so much to do by hand and so many hands to do," we needed war in order to learn the very important and essential lesson that our primary attention should be devoted to the encouragement and development of our cottage industries for in spite of whatever capitalist economists may say to the contrary, the political and economic regeneration of our country will be very largely helped by the adoption of this policy. And that is why I am an advocate for the protection of indigenous cottage industries which I regard as the only satisfactory way of assisting in their development and of combating unemployment.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF CREATIVE DISEQUILIBRIUM IN EDUCATION*

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THE EDUCATIONAL REVOLUTION OF THE SWADESHI PERIOD

PROGRESS is not a thing about which one can say: "Thus far and no further." Educational progress, accordingly knows of no last term or finality. The ultimate synthesis or absolute of which certain philosophies in East and West talk *ad nauseam* is the greatest unreality conceivable in human affairs. Discontent, disharmony, disequilibrium and so forth in matters educational as in other spheres have to be accepted as the eternal and universal items in the individual *psyche* as well as in inter-human or societal relations. Every so-called synthesis is in reality a condition of conflict or disequilibrium. And virtually in every instance this disequilibrium is creative and evocative of fresh values and new orientations, in other words, essentially evolutive. Not to be prepared for such evolutive discontent or creative disequilibrium should be treated as the worst disqualification for educational statesmanship or cultural patriotism, nay, for political leadership and social pioneering.

An epoch-making educational revolution was associated in Bengal with the glorious *Swadeshi* movement of 1905-14. it was embodied in the National Council of Education, which is to-day represented chiefly by the College of Engineering and Technology, Jadabpur, near Calcutta. In that *milieu* I formulated through my *Siksha-Vijnan* (Science of Education) Series an "Educational Creed" (*Sikshanushasana*) in ten articles¹ for my use as well as for that of my colleagues in connection with the eleven or twelve "National Schools" established in the Districts of Malda and Dacca.¹ None of the several dozen

* Presidential Address at the Twenty-four Parganas District Teachers' Conference held at Barrackpore in February, 1940.

¹ B. K. Sarkar : *Introduction to the Science of Education* (London, 1918, second edition, Madras 1930); *Siksha-Sopan* (Steps to a University) : A Course of Modern Intellectual Culture adapted to the Requirements of Bengal (Calcutta, 1912).

schools of the National Council system are in existence to-day. But the experiments attempted by those schools have influenced our social life in no small measure. What is significant is that some of the most prominent ideals and dreams of that system have been later incorporated and factually done into life to a considerable extent in the educational institutions run by the Government of Bengal and controlled by the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca.

The *Sikshanushasana* was published first in Bengali and then in English, Hindi and Marathi in 1910. This creed is being reproduced below :

I. GENERAL

1. Aim and criterion of education twofold : the pupil must grow up to be (i) intellectually, a discoverer of truths and a pioneer of learning; (ii) morally, an organizer of institutions and a leader of men.

2. Moral training to be imparted not through lessons culled from moral and religious text-books, but through arrangements by which the student is actually made to develop habits of self-sacrifice and devotion to the interests of others by undertaking the work of philanthropy and social service.

3. To build up character and determine the aim or mission of life, (i) the " design," plan, and personal responsibility of a single guide-philosopher-friend, and (ii) the control of the whole life and career of the student are indispensable. These circumstances provide the pre-condition for true spiritual education.

4. Educational institutions and movements must not be made planks in political, industrial, social or religious agitations and propagandas, but controlled and governed by the science of education based on the rational grounds of sociology.

II. TUTORIAL

1. Even the most elementary course must have a multiplicity of subjects with due inter-relation and co-ordination. Up to a certain stage the training must be encyclopaedic and as comprehensive as possible.

2. The mother-tongue must be the medium of instruction in all subjects and through all standards. And if in India the provincial languages are really inadequate and poor, the educationist must make

it a point to develop and enrich them within the shortest possible time by a system of patronage and endowments on the "protective principle."

3. The sentence, not word, must be the basis of language-training, whether in inflexional or analytical tongues, even in Sanskrit ; and the Inductive Method of proceeding from the known to the unknown, concrete to the abstract, facts and phenomena to general principles, is to be the tutorial method in all branches of learning.

4. Two foreign languages besides English and at least two provincial vernaculars must be made compulsory for all higher culture in India.

III. ORGANISATIONAL

1. Examinations must be daily. The day's work must be furnished and tested during the day. And terms of academic life as well as the system of giving credit should be not by years or months but according to subjects or portions of subjects studied. Steady and constant discipline, both intellectual and moral, is possible only under these conditions.

2. The laboratory and environment of student life must be the whole world of men and things. The day's routine must therefore provide opportunities for self-sacrifice, devotion, recreations, physical culture, sports, excursions, etc., as well as pure intellectual work. There should consequently be no long holidays or periodical vacations except when necessitated by pedagogic interests.

The impacts of the "ideas of 1905" and especially of the "national education movement" on Bengali culture and pedagogics are too obvious to be overlooked.² In the first place, Bengali is today not a mere second language. It has become the official medium of instruction in all the subjects taught in the entire school system of Bengal. An educational war-cry of the *Swadeshi* revolution has thus been rendered into positive law. Secondly, the encyclopædic scientific training for all the classes of a Matric. school on which the "national education movement" placed the greatest emphasis has

² See the *Dawn and the Dawn Society's Magazine* (Calcutta, 1903-1910); edited by Satishchandra Mukerjee, and the Reports of the National Council of Education, Bengal (1906-1910). See also B. K. Sarkar : *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937), pp. 611-643; (*Education and Research in Science*), and *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (second edition, Calcutta, 1939), pp. 82, 806, 826.

been accepted at last by the authorities as the programme for all the schools in the country. Then again, it may be observed, incidentally, that the prosecution of independent researches and original investigations in Indian history and culture on the one hand and in the modern exact sciences on the other was one of the fundamental objectives of the National Council. The entire world of scholarship in Eur-America, Asia and Africa today is aware that this objective of the pioneers of 1905 has not remained a pious wish of a few dreamers and visionaries in Bengal but has been realized in a thoroughly palpable manner throughout the length and breadth of India during the last quarter of a century or so.

THE NEW SOCIAL FORCES

But if in 1940 I were to start again on a career of educational propaganda and pedagogic patriotism it would not do to depend exclusively on those ideas. Nor is it necessary for me to reproduce *in toto* all the ten articles of my Educational Creed of the *Swadeshi* period. The effective advances of Bengal, nay, of all India in education and culture as in politics, economic development and social life have rendered some of those articles superfluous or rather first postulates of the pedagogic apparatus. That creed has to be remade and adjusted to the novel psycho-social pattern or *Gestalt*. Indeed, a somewhat new educational creed requires to be constructed in consonance with the new conditions of life obtaining today. It is on this new creed that the next step in our educational progress will depend.

Several noticeable features of the present social and cultural atmosphere may be singled out. In the first place, the government of the country has come into the hands of the people to no negligible extent. In other words, freedom-in-democracy or democracy-in-freedom is already a part of the people's experiences. The situation which inspired Bengali patriots and educational statesmen during the *Swadeshi* period to embark on establishing schools and colleges independent of Government or University control hardly exists at the present moment. Without much pricks of conscience it should not be unreasonable to declare that practically every school and college in Bengal today that is administered by the Government or submits to the supervision and control of the Universities, is more or less a "national institution" as understood by the *Swadeshi* revolutionists

In regard to this item of Government *vs.* People we must, however, observe as in regard to other items of human progress :

“ I have climbed a height indeed,
But, alas, the highest is yet to come.”

In other words, higher doses of freedom and democracy are to be found in our present demand-sheet. All the same, the patriotism of establishing schools and colleges independent of the Government or the Universities is not likely to flourish on a mentionable scale in the atmosphere of 1940. This consummation,—the swarajification of Government,—partial and halting although, is indeed a tremendous justification of the Bengali nationalistic movements of a generation ago.

In the second place, industrialization and technocracy with which the Bengali *Swadeshi* movement was identified in its economic aspects have made advances in Bengal as elsewhere in India during the last generation.³ Factories, banks, insurance companies, export-import houses and so forth are to be counted among the Bengali enterprises of to-day. Equally noteworthy are the new agricultural methods, the renovated varieties of rice, wheat, sugarcane, etc., and the expansion of industrial crops throughout India. Roads, railways and irrigation works have also felt the urge for expansion and improvement. All this has succeeded in improving to a certain extent the economic condition of the people. New careers and avenues to employment have not failed to make their appearance. The standard of living, health and efficiency has been somewhat rising not only among the middle classes but among peasants and industrial workers as well. These indices of progress in the material line, however slight they be, have justified the activities of the Bengali revolution of 1905-14. That revolution aimed, be it recalled, first, at the assimilation of modern machinery, tools and implements, and secondly at large-scale and intimate contacts with the industrial powers like Japan, U.S.A., Great Britain, Germany and France, both in business concerns and institutions of technical learning.

Thirdly, it is worth while to note that during the first decade or two of the present century Bengali culture, especially in its modern aspects, was in the main man-made. The evolution of the *Swadeshi*

³ B. K. Sarkar : *Economic Development*, 2 Vols. (Madras and Calcutta, second edition 1938.)

movement has in its natural course engendered the class-consciousness of creative woman, both Hindu and Mussalman. Today the civilization of modern Bengal is marked by gradually increasing doses of constructive feminism. The Bengali woman, indeed the entire womanhood of India, is at present in evidence as much in social service and politics, as in journalism, fine arts, sports, education and what not. The schools, the colleges and the Universities have therefore been adapting themselves more and more to the requirements of girls and young women. The social transformation implied in this impact of the female sex on the culture of Young Bengal constitutes a fundamental *differentium* between 1940 and 1905-14. And this bids fair to grow in intensity, variety and quantity as a social force. The alleged functional distinction between man and woman is going to be a thing of the past in Bengal and in the rest of India as in other parts of the modern world. Occupational equality between the sexes, i.e., the masculinization of woman in the vocations of life is tending to become a reality of Bengal's as of the entire world's societal structure.

Last but not the least is to be mentioned the self-conscious manhood of the peasants in the villages on the one hand as of the workingmen in the industrial areas on the other. The "ideas of 1905" were hardly cognisant of the peasant and the working classes. It is chiefly during the last two decades that the economic, political and cultural requirements and demands of these two classes have forced themselves upon the Bengali (and all-Indian) *Swadeshi* revolution. Very little, however, has yet been accomplished in order to meet the wants of these two classes. But no planning of any sort in India today and tomorrow can be of any worth which fails to respond adequately to the cry from these newly awakened masses. Bengali culture cannot any longer be treated as the culture exclusively of the Bengali intellectual, *bhadralok* or other bourgeois-minded classes. For, Bengal has already been growing into the fatherland of the teeming millions comprising as they do the peasants and the industrial proletariat.⁴

These four sets of social forces in the Bengali as in the All-Indian culture-complex call for a fresh re-making of educational visions. Situated as we are in 1940 we cannot but indulge in a profound discontent and engender a disequilibrium in our educational and

⁴ P. K. Mukherjee : *Labour Legislation in British India* (Calcutta, second edition, 1939); B. K. Sarkar : *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics* (Calcutta, 1936).

cultural perspectives, in our socio-economic relations and in political norms. The cry for more freedom, more democracy, more socialism, more sex-equality, more technocracy, more industrialization, more careers, more food, more health, more culture—no matter under what slogans—has got to be embodied in new educational creeds.

THE RE-MAKING OF THE EDUCATIONAL CREED

Some amount of political freedom or democracy, be it stressed, has already been achieved. Industrialization and technocratic modernization have also been consummated to a certain extent. Feminism and equalization between the sexes is likewise somewhat of a social reality. No less noteworthy is the emergence of peasants and workingmen as self-conscious social forces. It is on the platform of these achievements and consummations,—howsoever elementary and small,—that the educational creed will have to be re-made. Creative disequilibrium is called upon today to forge a new educational creed furnished with its novel orientations and urges. An educational creed such as may somewhat satisfy the new *élan de la vie* and stimulate the present socio-cultural *Gestalt* is being formulated in the following statement in twelve articles, which is to be taken not as an alternative but as a supplement to the *Sikshanushasana* of the *Swadeshi* period.

I. *Re. STUDENTS*

1. The Health Examination of boys and girls ought to be one of the functions of every educational institution. The Department of public Health will have to co-operate with the school authorities in the matter of providing for the doctors and dentists and their clinics.

2. Physical Exercise and Military Training will have to be provided for in every school for boys or girls. A full-time instructor for these subjects as well as a well-equipped gymnasium are to be treated as indispensable necessities at each institution. The Municipalities and Union Boards ought to be interested in the maintenance of this department of the schools in their respective jurisdictions.

3. Training in Tools and Implements adapted to the local arts and crafts, old and new, including farming, as well as to the domestic requirements is to be imparted to both boys and girls without distinction of caste, creed or parental occupation and income. The provision

of a competent teacher of tools as well as a workshop at each school should be one of the charges on the budgets of the local business houses, industrial establishments, banking institutions, etc. The Industries Department of the Government ought also to be interested in this item.

4. Tiffin ought to be supplied to boys and girls by every school. A small fee may be charged if and when necessary.

II. *Re. TEACHING STAFF*

1. Minimum Wage principles ought to be adopted at every school in regard to the payments for the teaching staff. The salaries will have to be constantly adjusted to the local prices and rents.

2. Shorter Hours should be regarded as indispensable for teachers in the interest of their teaching efficiency as well as physical strength and health.

3. Decent Conditions of work ought to be promoted in the school atmosphere. The rights and obligations of the different members of the teaching staff *vis-à-vis* one another as well as *vis-à-vis* the members of the governing bodies should be definitely laid down and normally acted upon in the daily round of duties.

4. Trade Unions of industrial workers should be the models in spirit to be followed by the teachers' associations with a view to the realization of the above and other objects in a smooth and systematic manner.

III. *Re. SOCIETY*

1. The Social Service rendered by teaching (primary, secondary, collegiate or university) as a function, vocation, calling or profession is neither higher nor lower than that by cultivation, cooking, unskilled or skilled work in plantations, mines or factories, fine arts, literary activities, scientific research, journalism, legal or medical practice, clerical labour, and public administration or other liberal services, high or low.

2. Educational conscription should be enforced by every collegian—male or female,—as a moral discipline upon himself or herself. This should take the form of at least one year's service to the cause of primary education for boys and girls in one's neighbourhood. The success of Bengal's campaign against illiteracy or movement for adult

education will depend substantially on this kind of self-denying ordinance and constructive patriotism.

3. Industrial and Commercial Establishments ought to reserve some *Ishwar-Vritti* (gifts to God) in their regular budgets in order to help forward the school funds for laboratory, workshop, museum, radio, film, excursions, etc. The scholars turned out of the schools are the future workingmen, engineers, clerks, etc., of these business houses. In the interest of their own efficiency industrial and commercial establishments should therefore make it a point to render financial support to the educational institutions especially in their departments of tools, implements and apparatus.

4. The Government's Health, Industry and Finance Departments will have to co-operate substantially with the Education Department and the Universities in regard to the co-ordination and rationalization of the country's educational welfare, comprising as it ultimately must, the scheme of universal free education. It is already too late in the day for the Government Departments to plead the paucity of funds whenever this problem of the vital interests of the teeming millions comes up for consideration. They will be compelled more and more to recognize that the very first charge on the public finances is just the education, health and efficiency services for these millions before which all other items of public administration ought to retire into the background.

The new Educational Creed will have to equip the masses and classes of Bengal for greater freedom and democracy. It ought to be conducive to the promotion of industrialization and technocracy on a much more extensive scale than at present available. Larger doses of equality between the sexes as regards vocation and legal rights are to be among the objectives of this reconstructed creed. And finally, this educational planning should be capable of expanding the effective power and augmenting the material and cultural happiness of the peasants and the workers. These are the fundamental considerations in the sociology of the next step in India's educational advance.

SELF-DIRECTION *vs.* STATE INITIATIVE

It has been observed before that some doses of freedom and democracy are being enjoyed by the people. The government of the country has become the people's affair in certain proportions. The socio-political pattern of India has been moving peopleward. This is

a desirable consummation both from the educational and other stand-points.

But I am not one of those who would like to depend for every item in a planning, economic, cultural, pedagogic or otherwise, exclusively or preponderantly upon state initiative or state control.⁵ Those, however, who believe in *étatisme*, i.e., in appealing to the state or utilizing the state machinery in season and out of season are at liberty to do so.

To me the basic foundation of freedom, democracy and socialism, in education and culture as in politics, is self-help, self-direction, individual initiative and individual creativeness. Creative individualism is the life-blood of my man as a moral agent. In regard to the new educational creed promulgated today, therefore, as in regard to the old of a generation ago I call upon everybody who is anybody in the country not to look to state aid in the first instance or in the second instance, but to energize independently and strive individually as often and as long as possible without support from the governmental authorities.

It is chiefly in individual exertions and independent strivings that the bed-rock of moral and spiritual values like education, freedom, democracy, or socialism can be firmly established. For all pedagogic patriots, i.e., self-sacrificing workers in the field of educational advance, then, my watchword for quite a long time is to be: "Struggle forward, individually by all means, collectively if possible, through hindrances, difficulties, failures, and disappointments." Today, as in 1905, Bengal wants once again "Pioneers, O Pioneers!" —to develop whose preparatory reform activities the state may be induced subsequently to exercise its final rôle.

⁵ S. C. Dutt : *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought* (Calcutta, 1934).

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CENTRAL BANKING AND THEIR LESSONS FOR INDIA—II

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IV

ANOTHER significant trend to be observed in recent Central Banking legislation is the extensive authorisation of Central Banks to undertake open market operations. In the pre-war days, it is well known, the Bank of England engaged in few operations which can be termed "open-market" to-day. Open market operations in the modern sense were practically unknown. The practice of "selling consols spot and buying for the account" was never very frequent and was hardly an important addition to the Banks' armoury. The Reichsbank of Germany was the only other Central Bank which undertook operations bearing resemblance to the modern open market operations. Although the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 had permitted open market operations, yet they came to be developed as a systematic policy only since 1923. It was only in the post-war years that open market operations came to assume their significance and the Bank of England and the Federal Reserve System began to place greater reliance upon this particular method of credit control. In the Continent the scope of open market operations was considerably restricted even in the post-war years and the French observers did not hesitate to describe such operations as an "Anglo-Saxon vice."¹ Indeed a large number of the older Central Banks were still prohibited by law from undertaking open market purchases and sales of Government bonds, treasury bills and similar securities for their own account. The Central Banks in Holland, Norway, Belgium, France and Germany were notable instances in point. In the post-depression years the statutes of several old Central Banks were modified so as to

¹ Parker Willis: *The Theory and Practice of Central Banking with particular reference to the Federal Reserve System.*

enable them to engage in open market operations while in the case of the newly established Central Banks provisions were made in their statutes in many cases for powers to undertake such operations.

It is only in recent years that the question of open market operations as a method of credit control has been receiving attention in countries outside England and the United States. The Reichsbank of Germany was the first among the older Central Banks to be endowed with the power of open market operations. In October, 1933, it was authorised to buy and sell certain specified securities. Though purchase and sale of bank acceptances had been included under the discount business of the Bank and had been a part of its regular business, purchase and sale of Government bonds was denied to it as a control device because such transactions were definitely restricted under the charter of 1924.¹ It was not permitted to purchase Government bonds on its own account; it could purchase a limited amount for the investment of its pension funds. But this amount was too small to be of any significance. The purchase of Reich short-term treasury bills had also been prohibited by the same charter. By an amendment of the charter in 1926, the Reichsbank was permitted to discount, buy and sell such bills of not more than three months, currency up to the amount of 400 million RM.; but the Reichsbank made no use of this privilege until 1928. At any rate the total amount of short-term treasury bills permitted was too small relatively to the total amount of money outstanding to be of any use for quantitative control of the money market. Deprived of its major prop, viz., open market operations, the discount policy of the Reichsbank became in its hands a blunt and inefficient weapon of credit control.² The new Law of the Reichsbank promulgated on June 15, 1939, has definitely envisaged open market policy as an instrument of central banking control for it has empowered the Reichsbank to buy and sell, in order to regulate the money market, fixed interest-bearing securities which are admitted to official trading on the stock exchanges as well as treasury bills which are due within one year from the date of purchase.³ By an amendment to its statutes on February 6, 1935, the Bank of Poland was authorised to buy for its own account public securities

¹ Northrop : *Central Policies of the Reichsbank*, p. 35.

² Northrop : *Central Policies of the Reichsbank*, pp. 268-69.

³ Sec. 13 (1) Reichsbank Law of June 15, 1939, *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, September, 1939, p. 738.

and mortgage bonds quoted on the Warsaw stock Exchange up to 150 million zł.¹ By an amendment to the statutes in 1939, the maximum was raised to 200 million.² By a law of 30th June, 1936, the Norges Bank (Norway) was empowered to carry on open market operations. Under the provisions of the Law of 22nd February, 1937, the Nederlandsche Bank was given the power to engage in open market operations. The operations were to consist in the buying and selling of bills accepted by banks or bankers established within the Netherlands and of treasury bills, the latter to be bought from third parties.³ The Swedish Law of March, 1937, authorised the Riksbank to undertake open market operations by stipulating that the Riksbank might obtain short-term Government securities from the National Debt office with a view to selling them in order to withdraw surplus funds from the market.³ When the statutes of the Belgium National Bank were reformed by the Royal decree of July 23, 1937, the Bank was authorised to engage in open market operations so that it might fulfil its function as a regulator of the market. The technique was new to the market and certain precautions were taken so that it might not be diverted from its legitimate money market purposes. Thus the maximum amount of short-term and medium securities that the Bank might buy was fixed at 500 million B francs, the total value of such bills not to exceed 200 million B francs for more than 12 consecutive months; that of long-term Government securities was fixed at 1,000 million B francs, the securities having been issued at least two years before and quoted on the Bourse. In addition to the securities which may be purchased by way of open market policy and in addition to those which are held by Law of December 27, 1930 and July 19, 1932, the Bank may buy public securities to an amount corresponding to its capital surplus and amortisation accounts.⁴ When the charter of the National Bank of Hungary was prolonged to 1963 in June 1938, a number of changes were made in its statutes. The most important of the new provisions was authorisation to undertake open market operations. The total amounts which could be employed for such purposes were restricted as in the case of the Belgian Bank.⁵

¹ Sixth Annual Report, B.I.S.

² Ninth Annual Report, B.I.S., p. 121.

³ Money and Banking, (League of Nations), 1937-38, Vol. I, p. 86.

⁴ Federal Reserve Bulletin, October 1937, pp. 1008-06.

⁵ Ninth Annual Report, B.I.S., p. 119.

A decree dated June 17, 1938, authorised the Bank of France to undertake open market operations. "In order to influence the volume of credit and to regulate the money market, the Bank of France was authorised in addition to the operations enumerated in Art. 106 of the codification decree of December 31, 1936, to buy in the open market within the limits and under the conditions fixed by the General Council negotiable short-term public bills and private bills eligible for discount and to re-sell without endorsement the bills previously acquired. Under no circumstances shall these operations be carried out for the benefit of the public treasury or the issuing bodies."¹ At the time of the currency reform of 1928, the Bank of France had already certain powers of the nature of open market operations. The Bank was authorised by Art. 9 of the convention of June 23 between the Government and the Bank to purchase bills and short-term paper for account of foreign banks of issue.² By Art. 3 of the convention entered into the same day between the Caisse Autonome Amortissement (Autonomous Amortization Office) and the Bank, the latter was permitted to sell in its discretion on the market and re-purchase before maturity bills of the Caisse Autonome which had been delivered to the Bank in exchange for treasury notes. From the constant performance of such operations the Bank was able to gather the experience necessary for carrying open market operations. Capital movements that affected the Paris market in recent years amply demonstrated the need of a more effective power of intervention. To that end the powers of the Bank were extended. It is expected that the new methods would reinforce its discount policy.

In several other countries the adoption of open market operations is under active consideration. In Switzerland two proposals were recently put forward with a view to the introduction of open market operations. The Governor of the National Bank in its annual general meeting of March, 1937, urged a revision of the statutes to enable the Bank to buy bills, treasury bills and securities admitted to re-discount. The Commission for Economic Legislation has also recommended the introduction of open market practice.³

¹ *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, August, 1938, pp. 650-65.

² *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, August, 1928, pp. 573-75.

³ Speech of the President of the National Bank to the General Meeting of Shareholders March 12, 1938 (*Money and Banking*, 1937-38, Vol. I, p. 86 footnote).

The power to undertake open market operations has been granted not only to a number of older central banks which had not enjoyed such privileges before but has also been provided for in the statutes of several newly created Banks. In the Argentine, New Zealand, Canada and India, such powers were included in the statutes of the Banks from the beginning.

In some of these countries the necessary conditions which have made open market operations so successful in the London and American money markets were present but in others they were not. The absence of a wide and active market for Government securities in several countries has caused such operations to be practically of limited significance. Thus we find that the Commonwealth Bank of Australia has not been able to use its open market powers owing to the fact that the market for Government securities was rather narrow.¹ As we shall see, in the next section, the same factor has also stood in the way of the Indian Reserve Bank's utilisation of open market operations as an effective method of credit control. The development of an open market for Government securities is essential for strengthening the power of the Central Banks to regulate credit. The Royal Commission on Australian Banking urged the establishment of an open market for treasury bills in Australia so that the Commonwealth Bank might more effectively control credit.² It is well worth while for the Central Banks of those countries where the money markets are either ill-organised or non-existent to explore the feasibility of adopting new and hitherto untried methods of credit control rather than habitually relying on the traditional devices.

Speaking of untried instruments of credit control, one is reminded of the remarkable tendency for recent legislation to add to the armoury of central banks an absolutely new and hitherto unknown weapon of credit control in the shape of *the variable reserve ratio*.

It was Mr. Keynes who first proposed the introduction of this feature into the ideal central banking system of the future. Though revolutionary, some such power, he urged, should be given to the central banks. So far as the British system was concerned, he wanted the Bank of England to have the power to vary the pres-

¹ Report of the Royal Commission on Australian Banking, August, 1937, p. 217.

² Report of the Royal Commission on Australian Banking, August, 1937, p. 234.

cribed proportions of cash reserves to deposits to a figure between 10 and 20% for demand deposits and to a figure between 0 and 6% for time deposits.¹ The same technique was recommended for use by the Bank of England by the Macmillan Committee who urged the view that a statutory provision of minimum cash ratios was unnecessary. The Bank should represent to the joint-stock banks the cash percentages which it thought appropriate for the moment on the understanding that the latter should vary their cash ratios in accordance with the ideas of the Central Banks.²

The first country to adopt this new instrument of monetary control was the United States of America. Power to change the statutory reserve requirements of member banks was for the first time conferred upon the Federal Reserve Board by the so-called Thomas Amendment included in an Act of Congress approved on May 12, 1933. It was clarified and modified in the Banking Act of 1935. Partly as a result of open market operations and partly as a result of the continuous gold inflows, the excess reserves of the member banks had grown to unprecedented proportions. It was calculated that 50 billion dollars would be the amount of additional credit that could be created on the basis of the surplus reserves. If account were taken of further gold imports and the large amounts which the Reserve Banks and the Treasury could add to the huge reserves held by the member banks, astronomical figures would indeed be obtained.³ In the Banking Act of 1935, it was laid down that the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System upon the affirmative vote of not less than four of its members in order to prevent injurious credit expansion or contraction might by regulation change the requirements as to reserves to be maintained against demand or time deposits or both by member banks. But the amount of the reserves required to be maintained by any such member bank as a result of any such change should not be less than the amount of the reserves required to be maintained by any such member bank on the date of enactment of the Banking Act of 1935 nor more than twice such amount. Between the summer of 1936 and the early months of 1937 the Board of Governors increased the reserve requirements of the

¹ J. M. Keynes: *A Treatise on Money*, Vol. II, pp. 76-77.

² Report of the Macmillan Committee, para 360.

³ Article by H. H. Preston "The Banking Act of 1935." *Journal of Political Economy*, December, 1935.

member banks by the full amount permissible under law. In April, 1938, reserve requirements were reduced by 1-8 or to approximately those obtaining in March and April, 1937.¹

In New Zealand when the Reserve Bank Act of November, 1933, was amended by the Act of April 8, 1936, the Governor of the Reserve Bank acting with the authority of the Minister of Finance was empowered to alter the reserve ratios of trading banks from time to time as a means of maintaining effective control over the credit situation. The minimum ratios of 7% and 3% against sight and time liabilities respectively fixed by the Act of November, 1933, set the lower limit to the scope of variation.² In Belgium the Banking Commission which was authorised to fix cash ratios has reserved the right to vary the ratios as occasion demands.³ In Australia the Royal Commission on Banking in their Report of August 27, 1937, recommended that the Commonwealth Bank Board should be empowered by Parliament to require with the consent of the Treasurer all trading banks to maintain a certain percentage of their deposits with the Commonwealth Bank and also to raise and lower the percentage from time to time within the limit fixed by the consent of the Treasurer.⁴

It may also be noted in this connection that in Sweden the Rikstag passed an enabling Act in June, 1937, empowering the Government until February 28, 1938, to authorise the Riksbank at its request to require all joint-stock banks with own funds in excess of 5 million kronor to hold their compulsory reserve of 25% against sight liabilities only in the form of till money, balances with itself and sight claims on foreign banks and to *prescribe at will the minimum proportion of balances with itself to total reserves*.⁵

Dr. J. C. Sinha in a recent publication has clearly demonstrated that none of the traditional weapons of credit control can be effectively wielded by the Indian Reserve Bank.⁶ Credit rationing would be out of the question in India for any attempt by the Reserve Bank to ration credit would make it liable to the charge of favouritism in its present position of strength and respectability. Moral persuasion

¹ *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, November, 1938, p. 960.

² *The Bankers Magazine*, April, 1939. Article by H. R. Randersson. Also *Money and Banking*, Vol. II (League of Nations), 1937-38, p. 20.

³ *Money and Banking*, Vol. I (League of Nations), 1937-38, p. 99.

⁴ *Report of the Royal Commission on Australian Banking*, August, 1937, p. 223.

⁵ *Money and Banking* (League of Nations), Vol. II, 1937-38, p. 165.

⁶ J. C. Sinha : *Indian Currency during the last Decade*, Lecture X.

cannot be expected to produce any useful result in India unless the Reserve Bank were to attain the status of the Bank of England or the Federal Reserve Bank. Discount-rate policy of the Reserve Bank is blunt for all practical purposes owing to the existence of the indigenous bankers outside the fold of organised Banking. Open market policy upon which habitual reliance has been placed by central banks in England and U.S.A. would be of much too limited value on account of the absence of a wide and well organised market for Government securities in India. Large sales cannot be effected without considering their repercussion on the credit of the Government. If the Reserve Bank of India with a view to checking incipient boom conditions were to sell Government securities to any extent, the price of Government stocks would decline and rates of interest rise to the possible embarrassment of the Government. It will be recalled that the Commonwealth Bank of Australia has not been able to use its powers to undertake open market operations owing to the same difficulties of a narrow market for Government securities.¹ Keynes has rightly pointed out that the effectiveness of open market operations is dependent on the power of the Central banks to have their portfolios stocked with an adequate supply of "ammunition" in the shape of open market securities available for sale. The existence of an inadequacy of "ammunition" in the case of the Indian Reserve Bank points to the examination of the possibility of utilising the variable reserve ratio as an instrument of credit control. The statutory provision for the maintenance of legal minimum reserves with the Central Bank on the part of the scheduled banks provides an excellent opportunity for the former to regulate the credit situation by altering the reserve ratio. If the Reserve Bank were given the power to vary the percentages, a distinct forward step in the direction of credit control would be taken. It will go straight to the root of the matter, as Keynes says, instead of relying on indirect and roundabout influences.² In a country, as Sayers has pointed out, where extensive open market operations by the Central Bank are subject to great difficulties, mere existence of the weapon of reserve variation would add enormously to the influence of the central bank.³

The variable reserve ratio is a new and hitherto untried instrument of central bank policy and would have to be employed very

¹ Report of the Royal Commission on Australian Banking, August, 1937, p. 217.

² J. M. Keynes : *A Treatise on Money* Vol. II, pp. 76, 77.

³ R. Sayers : *Modern Banking*, p. 135, p. 295.

cautiously. It has some limitations but we believe they have been exaggerated by its opponents who would still cling to the traditional weapons. The main charge against this device is that it would introduce an element of uncertainty into the credit structure. "Sharp and sudden increases in reserve requirements could easily provoke a credit panic and result in excessive liquidation of bank credit."¹ But an increase in ratio may be made in such a manner as not to produce a shock.² The Reserve Bank of India may proceed very cautiously and by stages. The increments may be made step by step and to avoid shock and misunderstanding announcements may be made in advance how far the Bank proposed to go.³ A higher differential advance may be applied against time deposits relatively to demand deposits. Again, lower differentials may be employed against the demand deposits of mofussil banks as against City Banks.

The traditional theory underlying member bank reserve balances was that their primary function was to impart liquidity to the banks. The theory was challenged for the first time in 1931 in the Report of the Federal Reserve Board's Committee on bank reserves. The Committee denied that liquidity was the primary function of the legal reserve balances of the member banks. Their primary functions were first to furnish resources to the Reserve Banks and secondly to limit and control the rate of credit expansion. The new conception is that reserve requirements of commercial banks serve primarily not as a means of preserving their liquidity but as a medium through which a contractionist or expansionist pressure can be exerted on the credit situation. The conception has generally been accepted in the United States where it has become the principal instrument of monetary policy with the Federal Reserve authorities in recent years.⁴ It is, as Mr. Goodbar says, "a battery of the most improved type" that a Central Bank can add to its arsenal⁵ and its adoption by the Reserve Bank of India will considerably strengthen its power to regulate the credit situation.

¹ Kemmeyer : *The A. B. C. of the Federal Reserve System* (1936), p. 243.

² Cf. 4 p. 248. "The reserve ratios may be varied with due notices and in small degrees." Keynes, Vol. II, pp. 76-77.

³ L. L. Watkins' Article—"The Variable Reserve Ratio," *Journal of Political Economy* June, 1938, pp. 372-73.

⁴ *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, November 1938, Article "The History of Reserve Requirements," p. 958.

⁵ Goodbar : *Managing Peoples' Money*, p. 442.

VI

The extension of the scope of discounts and advances is a remarkable feature of recent central banking legislation. The traditional requirements relating to eligibility have been considerably relaxed and paper which would have been frowned upon by central bankers in the post-war years as lacking in security and liquidity have been declared eligible. Central banks have also been empowered to accept new types of securities as collateral for advances. But perhaps the most striking development in this connection has been the authorisation of central banks to grant direct industrial credit.

Treasury bills and various kinds of special bills have been admitted for rediscount with the Bank of France. In pursuance of the general principles adopted by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, in the new regulations on discount and advances of 1st October, 1937, finance paper, construction loan notes and consumers' paper were made eligible for discount.

It is significant that the old provisions requiring the use of the proceeds of eligible paper 'in the first instance' "for the purpose of producing, purchasing and carrying or working goods" find no place in the new regulations. It will undoubtedly have the effect of rendering a large amount of paper of commission merchants and finance companies eligible for discount. The recent provisions relating to the type of securities acceptable to the Federal Reserve Banks as collateral for advances appear to be more interesting. The Glass-Steagall Act of February 27, 1932, had added two new sections to the Federal Reserve Act, viz., Secs. 10-a and 10-b under which member banks singly or in groups of five or more could borrow from the Reserve Banks on other security than that heretofore defined as eligible for discount. Such loans were to be made at a rate at least 1% above bank rate. Previously mere eligibility would not have admitted a paper as collateral for a loan; it would have to be in addition acceptable. The Glass Steagall Act for the first time made it possible for member banks to borrow on any sound asset,—on acceptable, if ineligible, paper, and did away with the distinction between "eligibility" and "acceptability" which had been painfully built up in the years after the last Great War.¹ The Act was intended

¹ S. E. Harris : *Twenty Years of Federal Reserve Policy*, Vol. II. p. 695.

to be an emergency measure to be in force for only one year and facilities under its terms could be obtained only under exceptional circumstances. With slight changes, the Act was made a permanent feature by the Banking Act of August 23, 1935, when the emergency clause was also removed.

Ever since the last Great War a remarkable change has been taking place slowly and imperceptibly in the attitude of Central Banks regarding their relationship to business emergencies. The post-war shortage of industrial capital and the incidence of the last depression on several industries led Central Banks to undertake many functions which were entirely out of harmony with the traditional principles of central banking. They had to conceive it as a part of their duty to the community to preserve business from the consequences of its own blunders and even to make direct loans to industry in the event of need. In several countries there arose an insistent demand that central banks should make a permanent practice of lending to industry.¹

The outstanding example of a central bank associating itself closely with industry and even taking a financial interest in an industrial financing company is that of the Bank of England when it organised the Bankers' Industrial Development Company in 1930. In a country which is the traditional home of orthodox banking, such a departure from the recognised canons of central banking must be highly significant. It may indeed be argued that it was "an abnormal effort for an abnormal occasion"—a step of an unusual character prompted by a desire to give a helping hand in the promotion of the general welfare of the country.² But such a step would hardly have been taken by central bankers in the pre-war or in the early post-war years.

The establishment of the Bankers' Industrial Development Company under the auspices of the Bank of England has not been the only instance of the association of the Central Bank of the country with industry. During the period 1922-30 the Bank of England had already become associated with a number of industrial reorganisation schemes. The Lancashire Cotton Corporation was the result of the initiative of Mr. Montagu Norman and received the direct financial

¹ P. Willis; *Theory and Practice of Central Banking with special reference to the Federal Reserve System*, Ch. III.

² Minutes of Evidence, Committee on Finance and Industry, Vol. II, pp. 294-55.
Also S. K. Basu : *Industrial Finance in India*, p. 60.

support of the Bank. The armament firm of Armstrong & Co., Ltd., and the steel firm of William Beardmore & Co., Ltd., received generous assistance from the Bank in connection with their reorganisation schemes.¹ In more recent years the Bank of England is found to have associated itself with the "Credit for Industry, Ltd." a specialist institution for financing small and middle-sized industries, through the United Dominions Trust. The Bank had become the largest shareholder of the U.D.T. by the acquisition in 1930 of 250,000 'B' shares of £1 each and it was under the aegis of the U.D.T. that the "Credit for Industry" was founded.²

In the years after the depression this tendency for central banks to furnish industrial credit has been particularly striking. Indeed in some countries provisions were even made in the statutes of central banks authorising them to make direct loans to industry. The Federal Reserve Bank Act of June 19, 1934, is perhaps the most important piece of legislation in this respect. Under its terms the Federal Reserve Banks have been empowered to discount or buy from "any bank, trust company, mortgage company, credit corporation for industry or other financing institute" obligations maturing within five years entered into for the purpose of advances to commercial and industrial enterprises. The financing institution must itself advance at least 20% of the working capital or must be responsible for at least the same percentage for any loss suffered by the Federal Reserve Bank. In exceptional circumstances, the Federal Reserve Banks may make direct working capital advances to established private industries. The aggregate amount of credit that may be outstanding at any time is limited to the combined reserves of the Federal Reserve Banks plus amounts paid to the Bank by the Treasury for this purpose.³ By December 29, 1937, the total applications received in this connection amounted to 363 million dollars of which 151 million were approved. The industrial advances of the Federal Reserve Banks outstanding totalled 14 million, 39 million, 25 million, 18 million and 16 million at the end of 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937 and 1938, respectively.⁴

The Reserve Bank of New Zealand was empowered by the Amendment Act of April 8, 1936, to grant accommodation by way of over-

¹ See the present writer's *Industrial Finance in India*, p. 49, pp. 5-6, 5-7, p. 60.

² S. K. Basu : *Industrial Finance in India*, p. 62.

³ Money and Banking (League of Nations), 1937-38. Vol. II, p. 20.

Money and Banking, 1938-39, Vol. II, p. 188.

⁴ Money and Banking, 1937-38, Vol. II, Table VIII, p. 200. Also Vol. I. fn. p. 85.

draft to the Government and to official organisations to finance the purchase and marketing of New Zealand produce, with no defined limits to the total of Government overdrafts. These provisions were used under the Primary Produce Marketing Act of July, 1936, by virtue of which the Government became the sole exporter of dairy produce and the Reserve Bank the sole bank financing its export.¹ A distinct forward step towards unorthodox methods of central banking was taken when in March, 1938, a plan was put forward to involve the Reserve Bank in an ambitious scheme of Government steel production. A bill was introduced for establishing an iron and steel industry as a state monopoly and authorising the Reserve Bank to finance the project by investing in it a sum not exceeding £5 million.² The Bank of Italy was authorised by Art. 99 of the Law of March 16, 1936 "as a special measure to carry out discounting operations during a period of three years with a view to supplying the extraordinary credit needs of certain branches of national production." Since 1933 the Bank has been making advances to the Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale set up by the Decree of January, 1933, the second section of which took over the accounts of the Istituto di Liquidazioni and the industrial participations of credit institutions. The Istituto di Liquidazioni itself was established in 1926 to take over from the "Sezione autonoma del consorzio per Sorvenzioni Su valori industriale" the frozen assets of the Banco di Sconto and other institutions.³

The Reserve Bank of India, however, is inclined to follow strictly the orthodox canons of central banking. In the recent Statutory Report published by the Bank, the highly conservative attitude it has taken up in relation to agricultural financing is based upon the pre-war traditional conception of the functions of a central bank. The activities of the Reserve Bank in this direction have fallen far short of the expectations and have naturally come under a fire of criticism. Caution, no doubt, is necessary but admittedly there is considerable force in some of these criticisms. As Prof. J. P. Niyogi in a recent lecture has pointed out, the Reserve Bank has failed to distinguish between one Indian province and another and between areas in which co-operation has proved a success and in which it has not. In its zeal to define its rôle of a strictly orthodox central banker, it has unfortu-

¹ *Money and Banking* (League of Nations, 1937-38, Vol. II, p. 20.

² *The Bankers' Magazine*, April, 1938, p. 621.

³ *Money and Banking* (League of Nations), 1938-39, Vol. II, p. 109.

nately grouped the good and the bad co-operative banks together under one category. There are certainly many banks which would satisfy the most rigorous tests that the Reserve Bank may choose to employ. Moreover, there is at least one very important direction in which the Reserve Bank may without much risk extend its activities—viz., in the development of marketing credit.

When the Bank's position with regard to agricultural finance has been so conservative, it is idle to expect that it will agree to dabble in industrial financing. But the tonic of the present war is likely to develop many new industries as well as to call for re-organisation and extension in many of the old-established industries. In the near future the demand for industrial capital, particularly for development, extension and modernisation would be greater than it has ever been before. The Reserve Bank, in the words of the Governor of the Bank of England, may take a step of an unusual character prompted for the general welfare of the country with a view to give a helping hand. It may at least help in the establishment of a specialist Institution for financing industries as the Bank of Finland did in connection with the starting of the Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland. The Finnish Mortgage Bank was the outcome of the negotiations that took place between the Bank of Finland and the largest joint-stock banks and the leaders of Finnish industry for the purpose of establishing a specialist institution for financing the industries of the country.¹

(Concluded)

¹ S. K. Basu, *Industrial Finance in India*, p. 322.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE: ITS IMPORTANCE AND PRACTICABILITY

SAROJENDRANATH ROY, M.Sc.

THE age we are living in is an age of problems. Not that problems did not exist before, but it is a fact beyond any question that the problems were never so numerous nor so acute as they happen to be at present. Our country too has to face today a variety of problems, social, political, economical, industrial, etc. Each of them, however, is found to run into the other in such a chaotic way that a proper solution of them becomes itself a problem. Every one of them deserves consideration and is being attended to by competent persons. But, unfortunately, the attempts made by these persons to arrive at solutions have not met with the degree of success that was expected of them. When the country is thus already overcharged with problems, it may seem pedantic on my part to attempt to draw the attention of the public to another new problem. The problem, however, let it be mentioned, is not my own creation—it is one which is emerging out of the demands of the society and the conditions of the country. Secondly, it is not a wholly new problem: it began to make its presence felt since the adoption of the ideas of industrialization and industrial reforms in our country. Besides, in the strict sense of the term no problem can ever be an entirely new one, it is only newly discovered and the credit goes to the man who discovers it. Lastly, it is a problem which has created newer problems. It will thus be seen that, like that of a middleman, my task is only to establish a connection between the problem on the one hand and those interested in the welfare of the society on the other. I feel convinced that the chaotic condition of the country, will be replaced by a more orderly system, if the leaders of the society as also of the different industrial concerns, exert themselves a little and give sufficient weight and consideration to the various aspects of this particular problem.

The problem that I have been referring to above, and which seems to me to be the pivot round which other problems turn, is the problem of Vocational Guidance. It is the most important

and urgent problem in these days of unemployment and is related to all the vital activities of the country. Everyone will bear me out when I say that no two men possess the same kind and the same degrees of physical and psychical attributes. Indeed the differences are so obvious that he who runs may read them. We fully appreciate also that the occupations and activities through which the life of a nation is manifested, and, in fact, to one or other of which every member of any human organisation must necessarily devote himself, are of a variegated character. It must further be noted that the occupations differ among themselves a good deal as regards the demands that they make upon the physical and psychical qualities of the individuals. This implies that there are limitations and specifications not only in the sphere of occupational requirements but also in the cases of men entering into particular vocations. In order that connections between men on the one side and occupations on the other be made well established, well-coördinated and effective, a careful study of both the man and the occupation is not only justified but is absolutely necessary. If the occupational life of a man be fettered with inconsistencies, imperfections and pitfalls, that will not only lead to utter misery of himself, but will cause an enormous burden to the society, of which he is a member. It would be admitted that one of the fundamental elements contributing to the happiness of man is a well-chosen and suitable vocation in which he feels quite at home. But what a random method is generally pursued in our country by men, even by men of immense responsibilities and high reputation, when the question of proper placement of individuals arise ! I need not go into details about the policies that are usually adopted by our countrymen, but it may be said at once that these generally prove to be of no avail, and instead of helping the individuals in their struggle for life act as hindrances in the path of national progress. What a pitiable situation it is, to find a highly intelligent youth rotting in the post of a mechanic, or a feeble-minded person placed in a responsible job, as a result of improper assessment of their respective characteristics. The aim of Vocational Guidance is just to prevent these catastrophes and to see that individuals are placed in professions that are proper for them.

Vocational guidance is even more an art than a science. Few persons are entirely suitable for any particular job and many persons are not suitable for any job at all. "Everybody has a genius for

some one job if only he can find out what it is," runs the popular belief. But there is nothing substantial in favour of such an extreme contention. On the other hand, there is always some element of compromise in the choice of a vocation. Exact fits can never be expected. The youth has to try to adjust himself to his job and to adapt the job to himself. It must not be thought, of course, that this effort of adaptation is essential for success in a vocation. If the individual peculiarities tally with the vocational demands, the efforts are mostly spontaneous and become easily effective. If they do not, there is a certain limit within which the efforts of adjustment may be successful. When the discrepancies between the vocational requirements and the capacities of a man are, however, too great, no amount of effort on the part of the individual will enable him to carry on the duties of the profession with any reasonable degree of success. That is why the first and foremost function of Vocational Guidance is to dissuade young persons from taking up jobs for which they are judged to be quite unsuitable and to find jobs in which they may adjust themselves.

I have already stated that the life of a vocational misfit is a tragedy. The sentiment of self-regard, which is one of the fundamental sentiments in one's character, is greatly disturbed in cases of such misfits. His personality does not find full expression at all, and there are marked inconsistencies in and between the piecemeal expressions that are noticed. These and other resultant factors, such as anxiety, worriedness, etc., make him always live a life of high tension and perturbation. Besides this, the extent of financial loss which the misfits cause each year to industry, commerce and other manifold establishments, by their wastefulness, mistakes and lack of stability, is an amount beyond any estimate.

There is common agreement that every preventive and curative step should be taken which might lead to a reduction in the number of vocational misfits. This leads to the question which gives the psychologists most concern is whether reliable and valid psychological methods are available. To this I would reply in the affirmative with some reservations. The reservations are due to the fact that many of the existing methods and tests are still in the stage of transition and are, therefore, subject to modifications and further improvements. Some compare the present state of vocational psychology with that of the science of medicine, a hundred years ago,

when many oddities and absurdities were passed for knowledge and wisdom. There is undoubtedly some basis for such comparison. In spite of drawbacks, however, the value of the methods is testified by the reports of the follow-up investigations which are published periodically by the Vocational Guidance department of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, at London, the first scientific organisation of its kind in the world. The department claims that its guidance has been proved to be successful in about 80% of cases.

Not only at London, but in many other Western countries, the importance of the problem of Vocational Guidance has of late been duly recognised and some of the Universities are attempting to arrive at a practical solution of the problem, by establishing Vocational Guidance bureaux. Russia even has not failed to grasp the importance of the problem and so she has started work on vocational psychology in her psychological laboratories. But, unfortunately, she is perhaps the only country, the details of whose activities in this branch of study do not reach those who are interested in the problem. In the East, in the University at Tokyo, Japan, applications of vocational psychology have been reported to be current. In India, the Psychology department of the University of Calcutta has made a bold venture in her attempt for promoting research in this particular line of investigation, and it is expected that there will soon be a number of similar research centres in other universities of the country.

In collaboration with the above department in Calcutta, the problem of applying the methods of vocational psychology to a large number of schoolboys of Bengal (and, if possible, of other parts of India too), who are in urgent need of proper guidance, can be tackled with relative ease. But if the methods are to be employed extensively which is one of the aims of this department to do, a wide range of coöperation is needed. Along with the department the responsibility is to be shared by the State, the Corporation and by the industrial and other employment organisations, without which it will not be possible to make any progress at all. If, under such a happy conglomeration of circumstances, different organisations are started for the purpose of extensive application of these methods, it can easily be imagined that the demands on the Psychology Department of the University will be an ever-increasing one. It is likely that the departmental staff will not then be able to cope with the demands. It would be in the fitness of things, if the members of the Teaching

profession be called upon to shoulder the greater part of the task of applying these methods. The appreciation of the fact that the teachers may be of great service in this matter, has already led hundreds of teachers to seek some training in Vocational Guidance methods from the National Institute, which has at present attained a state of great advancement.

Let me now present some details about the procedure usually adopted by a psychologist, when he is approached for giving Vocational Guidance. The first thing necessary is to have a complete picture of the candidate's physical and psychological make-up, as also that of the environment in which he (or she as the case may be) has been brought up and is living at present. In order to have such a picture, proper tests are to be administered, and also the coöperation of the parents, teachers and medical men, is to be sought after. The following seven-point scheme as advocated by the National Institute, will prove to be valuable in studying a child desiring Vocational Guidance :—

(a) Home circumstances of the candidate: Information regarding home conditions is to be obtained principally from an interview with the parents at their residence, supplemented by various queries to the child. The object of this is to have a picture of the environmental influence to which the boy had been subjected in the past and is so at the present. In this connection the financial and social conditions of the family, occupations of the father and other members of the family, etc., are to be noted down.

(b) His physical characteristics: He should be examined by a physician in order to ascertain the efficiency and deficiency of his bodily apparatus. This is necessary because some occupations demand a high degree of physical fitness and an individual lacking in that should be kept out of those occupations and be advised otherwise.

(c) His attainments: To have an information about the boy whether he participates in work, games and other activities, his leisure pursuits, etc.; not only the boy is to be questioned, but the help of the parents and teachers also should be resorted to.

(d) His level of intelligence: Proper tests are to be administered for ascertainment of this.

(e) His special aptitudes: Tests are to be used.

(f) His interests: From tests and interviews.

(g) **His temperament :** By application of tests and studying test behaviours.

So much as regards the study of the boy is concerned. The next task, which is as important as the study of the boy, is a careful analysis of the occupations available in our country. The vocational psychologist should analyse the different occupations in respect of their requirements—physical, psychological and others of temperamental origin. For this he should first of all prepare a provisional analysis of the various vocations, and then, after consultations and discussions with the professionals and other employment officers, will come to a more or less final decision about the requirements of the professions. These officers and professionals are expected to possess knowledge about the requirements of the vocations (as also of the degree of the requirements) with which they themselves are concerned. This analysis may be further made accurate by investigating the follow-up records of those who have been already advised. The aim of the vocational psychologist achieves fulfilment when he gives guidance in the light of these two studies—study of the boy on the one hand and vocational requirements on the other.

This would lead us to suspect whether everyone is suitable for becoming a vocational psychologist. The lay belief that only the capacity of administration and scoring of test results, is sufficient qualification of a vocational psychologist, is inadmissible. It is only a fractional part of the psychologist's qualification. Mere collection of results by the application of tests is absolutely valueless, unless they are properly interpreted, in the light of information already gathered about the boy as also of the occupation. Interpretation of results is the main function of a qualified vocational psychologist. Some of the essential functions that a qualified vocational psychologist is expected to execute may be summed up as follows:—

(i) He must have knowledge about occupational requirements and opportunities.

(ii) He will collect data about the boy seeking guidance (by interviews and written reports) from parents or guardian, doctor and teacher.

(iii) He will add to these data other information about the boy, by making proper use of tests for general intelligence and special aptitudes, and by planned interviews.

(iv) He will then interpret all the data available in the light of his general knowledge of occupational requirements and opportunities.

(v) He should undertake the task of making suggestions and finding suitable openings to candidates, and would also keep in touch with different employment organisations and coöperate with them in similar tasks. It would be profitable, for example, for the psychologist as also for the Information and Appointments Bureau of the Calcutta University, if they coöperate with each other. The other day, I found, in the columns of a newspaper, about the successful achievement of several graduates who, on the recommendation of the Bureau, got appointment in a well-reputed industrial firm of Calcutta. It is no doubt a notable chapter in the life of the Bureau and a pleasure to all concerned, but what I like to point out in this connection is that more satisfactory results will be forthcoming if the recommendations of candidates by the Bureau are based on a more rigid and scientific procedure.

(vi) He should instruct young people in appropriate methods of applying for posts.

(vii) He should keep a ' follow-up ' record of those he advises, by obtaining regular reports from the candidates themselves as regards their satisfaction or otherwise, as also from the employers regarding the candidates' nature of work.

It can well be realised, therefore, of what tremendous significance and national importance the problem of Vocational Guidance is. I, in my humble way, have tried to show how the practical solution of the problem can be brought about with relative ease. Before I conclude, I would like to point out some of the difficulties which will be encountered by the enthusiasts who will take up the problem in right earnest. There will be difficulties *sui generis* to the problem itself. From academic standpoint these are quite natural and, so, ought to be expected. But there will also be difficulties other than these which are sometimes unexpected. They result from the impressions and the attitudes which the problem will create in the public mind. These difficulties have also to be confronted and tackled tactfully with the same degree of earnestness as in the case of former ones. It may be argued that the second type of difficulties is quite natural in all social problems, and as such may be expected in this problem too, which is

fundamentally a social problem. A slight reflection will make it clear, however, that the role which is to be played by the public in connection with this problem, is more important than in any other social problem. I, therefore, appeal once more to the public bodies to realise the gravity of the situation and to do their utmost, so that the problem may not be shelved and the aim of Vocational Guidance frustrated right at the start.

THE SILK INDUSTRY OF BENGAL*

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WHAT is silk—What is commonly known as silk is the product of a worm which is completely domesticated and requires to be nursed indoors and fed with mulberry leaf. When fully grown and mature the worms spin cocoons from which the silk thread is unravelled by a process called reeling. Tasar and Muga silks are produced by worms which are wild in nature and have to be left on various forest trees to feed at will. Eri silk is obtained from a worm which too is completely domesticated and feeds on castor leaves. As regards quality, universality of use and amenability to large production, mulberry silk is the best and most suitable and this silk is practically the only one which is of importance to Bengal as constituted at present. The western parts of Bankura and Birbhum districts grow a little tasar which flourishes in Chotanagpur and in parts of Orissa and Central Provinces. The districts of Bogra, Rungpur and Mymensingh grow a little eri whose home is Assam. The other large silk producing areas in India are Mysore and Kashmir. There are small productions in Madras, Assam and the Punjab.

SUBSTITUTES OF SILK AND COMPETITION APPREHENDED FROM THEM

According to the accepted theory the process of production and utilisation of silk by man was first discovered by a Chinese princess who afterwards became queen, with the name of Si-Sing-Chi (the enlightened one) and ever since known as the "Goddess of the Silk-worm." The knowledge was kept a close secret by China for many centuries and in early times fabrics woven with this queen of fibres fetched their own weight of gold in Roman markets. The wizard of science set about finding substitutes for this beautiful and costly fibre and succeeded in producing from vegetable or wood cellulose what is well known as artificial or art silk rivalling the natural silk in appearance to such an extent that it is even now passed off as real silk to

* A lecture at the Rotary Club, Calcutta.

persons not acquainted with its nature. In advanced countries the use of the word silk has therefore been prohibited by law in the case of fabrics woven with this synthetic stuff and the word rayon has been adopted for it. Markings are enforced to indicate mixtures of cotton and rayon, wool and rayon, silk and rayon and so on. Attempts have been continued to find out other artificial fibres. A kind of rayon from sugar has been produced and named sakatine. In Italy a synthetic or artificial wool fibre known as "lanital" has been produced from casein of milk. "Vinyon" is a new synthetic textile fibre patented in U. S. A. and formed by spinning a solution of vinylite resin into filaments and claimed to be water resistant, water-proof and non-conductive of electricity. Properties even exceeding those for which the natural silk is prized are claimed for another new synthetic fibre in U.S.A, named "Nylon." Both vinyon and Nylon are derived ultimately from coal, salt, air and water. Rayon has so far been a rival of natural silk. Owing to its deceptive appearance and ignorance of consumers it created such a confusion that international propaganda had to be organised in Europe and America at great cost in order to enlighten people as to the nature of silk and rayon. Experience in use has also enabled consumers to find out the difference. Matters have improved much and rayon is now accepted as a distinct textile fibre like cotton, flax, silk and wool. The position was correctly described by the President of the Silk Association of Great Britain and Ireland in the Annual dinner on the 27th March, 1935 when he said that "silk and rayon are sister industries and not fighting each other. They are both fighting for the use of beautiful fabrics of light weight and I think they are expanding at the expense of cotton, wool, linen and other fibres."

The growth of the rayon industry has been phenomenal. The world production of rayon fibres was only 50,000 lbs. in 1928. By 1924-25 it equalled that of silk, viz., 85 million lbs. Ten years later in 1934-35 rayon mounted to 835 million lbs. while silk was 195 million lbs. In 1937-38 silk suffered a setback being 121 million lbs, while rayon rose to 1,822 million lbs. and in 1939 it is estimated at 2,150 million lbs. (The figures are taken from "Industrial Fibres" published by the Imperial Economic Committee, London.) This growth has been possible owing to availability of the raw material, viz., wood in abundance, manufacture in factories in mass scale and cheap price. Expansion has been further helped by the discovery of the process of

converting rayon filament into what is known as staple fibre. Rayon filaments are cut into lengths of from about half to five inches similar to those of cotton, wool or schappe and capable of being spun by themselves as well as in mixtures with cotton, silk and wool. Fabrics are thus produced which simulate woollen, worsted and cotton textures in wide ranges and varieties. Rayon filament fibres and staple fibres are at present produced almost in equal proportions. They together formed in 1937-38 about $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the world's total production of all industrial fibres together, viz., cotton, wool, rayon flax and silk and equalled both flax and wool. Rayon, therefore, forms a major fibre at present. In India its nature and position have not been correctly understood. While almost all other countries have undertaken its production such as U. S. A., Canada, Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Italy, Poland, Japan and others, India has attempted no production but on the other hand taken steps to keep it out by tariff walls which have been demanded not only as a protection for natural silk but also by the cotton mill industry. In spite of the tariff however the import into India in 1937-38 of rayon yarn was about 32 million lbs. and of rayon fabrics about 90 million yards, the two together being valued at 487 lakhs of rupees. About 99 per cent of the rayon fabrics came from Japan while the principal suppliers of the yarn were Japan and Italy, Great Britain getting a small share. Within the last few years mills with 60,000 looms and described as silk mills have been set up in different parts of India for weaving rayon which however is wholly imported. There is a great scope of rayon production in India and if cheap rayon yarn is made available the hand loom weavers of both cotton and silk will benefit as both can weave it on their looms. Rayon and its fabrics have come to stay and the sooner they are accepted the better. They meet a new demand. If properly organised they will not compete with silk. Rayon fabrics require to be marked and no one who wants silk will go in for them. As regards competition with cotton nothing can stop it. If India does not produce rayon it will be imported and used. Japan, the largest producer of silk and one of the largest producers of cotton fabrics, was also the largest producer of rayon in 1938. The relationship of rayon with silk will further be evident from the fact that in 1939-40 the Japan Government is giving a subsidy of £300,000 to sericulturists in order to increase production of silk. In India in spite of the large imports mentioned above of rayon and rayon goods the following average annual import

figures of raw silk and silk goods in two five years periods one ending 1913-14 when there was no rayon and Burma was included, and the other ending 1937-38 when there was rayon and Burma was excluded, show that rayon has not affected the use of silk.

Imports of	Period ending 1913-14	Period ending 1937-38
Raw silk	2,520,000 lbs.	2,300,000 lbs. (2,535,000 lbs. in 1937-38)
Silk piece goods	25,253,000 yds.	33,712,000 yds.
Mixed silk goods	6,418,000 yds.	9,058,000 yds.

Production in India was about the same in the two periods.

The present annual production of raw silk in India is estimated at 1,500,000 lbs. Therefore there is a vast scope of development of the silk industry in order to meet the demand within the country itself. Besides there are two outlets for the products of the industry. One is of raw silk for countries where silk weaving is practised but no production is possible and the other of woven fabrics. In the case of both two things are required to be ensured, *viz.*, standardisation of quality and organisation for large supply of standardised quality. If these two can be arranged and maintained there is no bar to progress and expansion of the industry.

THE NATURE OF THE SILK INDUSTRY

The industry is divisible into two distinct parts, *viz.*, production and utilisation. Production or sericulture proper is a rural home industry. Along with agricultural crops cultivators grow some mulberry and when leaves are available rear worms in their houses with the leaves and mainly with the labour of the family members. The cocoons when formed are sold off for utilisation. The first process in utilisation is reeling, a capitalistic industry, for which buildings have to be erected, cocoons purchased, machinery set up, labour engaged and the product, *viz.*, raw silk marketed. Uniformity in thickness and other qualities of raw silk desired and demanded cannot be ensured unless reeling is arranged to be carried out under supervision on a large scale in a central place. Reeling therefore to be successful must be a factory industry. The second stage in utilisation is weaving of raw silk into fabrics. In Bengal silk weaving has been almost wholly a cottage industry in the hands of weavers who work at their own home on hand looms. Cocoon production, reeling and weaving are the three

successive stages of the industry which require to be attended to at the same time and co-ordinated.

Rearing of worms for cocoon production is dependent on suitable climatic conditions and is therefore not possible in all countries. For economic reasons again this is carried out and is the best subsidiary industry in countries with a poor peasantry. Reeling for obvious reasons is best carried out where cocoons are produced. Reeling factories have therefore to be located in rural areas and they employ a large number of the rural population. Weaving can be carried out in any country. The largest silk weaving industry consuming about two-thirds of the world's available supply of raw silk is in U. S. A. which produces no raw silk, but takes its supply from Japan and also from China and Italy.

What requires to be emphasised is the interdependence of the three stages of the industry. Reeling depends on utilisation of raw silk by weaving and on the other hand on the supply of cocoons. The larger the demand for raw silk the larger the reeling and the larger the reeling the larger the demand for cocoons and necessarily for expansion of mulberry cultivation and rearing of worms. The existence of a reeling industry is the most important factor and essential. It affords the only outlet for cocoons. Under the existing conditions in Bengal cocoons cannot be stored for a long time and become practically useless unless reeled off. The cocoon-growers are therefore very sensitive to existence or non-existence of a reeling industry. The greatest blow fell on the silk industry in Bengal when the European reeling concerns wound up their business gradually and finally about twenty years ago. They performed the role of financiers, industrialists and marketers of raw silk. Their withdrawal led to contraction of the cocoon-growing industry. Still many Bengali reeling factories mostly small and only a few large ones but all owned by private individuals continued. The depression which commenced about 1930 causing precipitate fall in prices involved most of them in heavy losses and caused them to stop work. The cocoon-growing industry therefore contracted further. The decade just closing has seen a crisis for the industry. Even the Japanese industry could not evade the effects of depression. But the Japanese Government very wisely came to the help of the reeling industry, fixed a minimum price at which Government would purchase and stock raw silk and would not sell the stock unless the market rose to a stipulated maximum price. The Govern-

ment was prepared to and did meet losses which however owing to subsequent rise in price did not amount to what was apprehended. The reeling industry was thus saved. For want of similar attention and help in Bengal the industry became wholly disorganised.

The history of the silk industry in all countries shows similar fluctuations in the past. It expands with high and contracts with low prices. A period of high prices seems now to have commenced.

Cocoon-growing being the occupation of ordinary cultivators has to meet competition of money crops like jute and sugarcane but has peculiarities of its own which enable it to survive. It gives occupation to family members in their leisure time and fetches ready money four to five times in the year. If properly organised it will never disappear from Bengal but on the other hand will be of great benefit to the rural population. The industry, especially its first stage, is in the hands of people who are not able to appreciate the necessity for and adopt measures of improvement without State help. The success and progress of the industry wherever achieved have been proportionate to the amount of state help received. The wonderful success of the Japanese industry is due mainly to the fostering care of the Government who do not grudge the expense in the interest of the rural population.

THE INDUSTRY IN BENGAL

The industry in all its stages has been in existence in Bengal from very ancient times. Authentic history about it is available from the time of the East India Company who undertook measures to improve it, established reeling factories and exported raw silk as well as silk fabrics. When they threw open the trade and ceased export on their own account many European concerns opened reeling factories in the interior of rearing districts. In the sixties of the last century the Bengal industry was in a flourishing condition. About the seventies of the same century China and Japan entered the world's market with raw silk of a better quality and this marked the commencement of the downfall of the Bengal industry. Although the first to be introduced into the world's market Bengal silk has now disappeared from it and had to recede even from other provinces of India and in Bengal itself. I shall briefly relate the causes for this downfall and also point out how there is hope of revival and what the Government is doing for revival. Time will not permit me to go into details.

THE CAUSES OF DOWNFALL

The primary causes of the downfall of the raw silk industry was

(1) the poor quality of Bengal cocoons, the raw silk from which could not compete in yield as well as in quality with that from better cocoons produced in Japan and China.

Other contributory causes were

(2) inefficient reeling machinery and methods,

(3) absence of grading of raw silk,

(4) absence of an organisation to check unfair practices of mixing inferior raw silk with the quality stipulated for.

Fabrics too suffered on account of poor quality of raw silk and there was no grading and standardisation for them.

The quality of cocoons is connected with the race of worms. The quality of food, *i.e.*, mulberry leaf, has also a great influence on the health of the worm and necessarily on the cocoon produced by it. The Japan Government set up elaborate research organisations to bring about and maintain improvements in races of worms and mulberry and also in reeling machinery and methods. Raw silk was graded and all raw silk for export was subjected to examination and test and certification. Similar measures were adopted in the case of fabrics also. The result has been world-wide expansion of Japanese raw silk and silk goods.

HOPE OF REVIVAL OF THE BENGAL INDUSTRY AND MEASURES
ADOPTED FOR IT

Within the last three years the following measures have been adopted in Bengal, *viz.*,

(1) introduction of two hybrid races of worms producing cocoons with much larger silk content and much larger filament than the indigenous races. Even under the best conditions about 20,000 or more cocoons of the old indigenous races are required to produce one seer (2 lbs.) of raw silk while about 10,000 to 12,000 cocoons of the new races gives the same yield ;

(2) introduction of better reeling machinery and methods ; and

(3) establishment of a raw silk conditioning house for testing and grading raw silk.

The results obtained within this short period have been very hopeful and the type of raw silk produced have convinced rearers, reelers and consumers of raw silk of sure chances of revival of the Bengal industry. The recent rise in price of raw silk has created an enthusiasm among them and if this rise is maintained there is every hope of revival.

Research has been undertaken with a view to securing more improved races of worms suitable for Bengal conditions, improved cocoons, improved mulberry and improved methods of growing mulberry. A method of grafted mulberry has already been evolved ensuring increased yield of leaves with high food value. Investigation has also been undertaken for the control of diseases of worms. The organisation for production and supply to rearers of disease-free eggs of silkworms has been strengthened and schemes for its further improvement are under consideration. Schemes are also under consideration for spread of sericultural education among the rearers and for facilities of training of staff. The Sericultural Research and Training Institute which is expected to be started soon will play a great part in the revival of the industry. In the organisation so far effected of research and disease-free seed production help has been received from various sources. The Government of India in addition to giving tariff protection which, however, did prove quite adequate at the time, has made annual monetary grants to Bengal to the extent of about Rs. 49,000, the Calcutta University has given free laboratory accommodation to research officers, free land for growing mulberry, free use of costly apparatus and permission to heads of Zoological, Botanical, Chemical and Biochemical departments of the University College of Science to help the research officers when necessary. The heads of these departments have been rendering help ungrudgingly. A private gentleman, Mr. Haridas Mazumdar, has made a free gift of building and land worth about Rs. 10,000 at Narayanpur, Dum Dum, where the mulberry research station has been organised.

For the improvement of silk weaving industry a scheme has been sanctioned for raising the existing Silk Weaving School at Berhampore into a Silk Technological Institute, among the functions of which the following are included, *viz.*, helping the silk weavers to produce standardised goods and goods of up-to-date improved types on a large scale and finishing, testing and certifying the goods as to standard. In order to resuscitate the reeling industry a scheme is under considera-

tion for establishment of large factories by the formation of a silk syndicate. Several small reeling concerns are now fitting up the new machinery and following the new methods introduced. But without large scale factories revival cannot be quick.

With the reorganisation indicated above, with continuous research with properly trained staff and with vigilance and timely help where necessary on the part of the Government, the industry is expected to be revived in the immediate future and is possible to be maintained in a permanent state as in Japan.

THE RESERVE BANK'S PROPOSALS FOR AN INDIAN ACT

DR. BIRENDRANATH GANGULI, M.A., PH.D.

THE immediate objective of banking legislation in India should be to strengthen the weakest links in the chain of Indian banking, viz., the non-scheduled banks whose capital resources do not reach the five-lakh limit prescribed for the second schedule of the Reserve Bank. There were operating in British India on the 31st December, 1938, approximately 1421 companies of the category of non-scheduled banks. Of these 988 were registered in Bengal, 252 in Madras, 52 in Assam, 40 in the U. P., 36 in the Punjab and 26 in Bombay. Under the existing Companies Act a banking company has been defined as one which carries on as its *principal business* the accepting of deposits of money on current or otherwise, subject to withdrawal by cheque, draft or order notwithstanding that it engages in addition in any or all of certain specified forms of business. The result of this new interpretation has been that a large number of companies, particularly in Bengal, have maintained that deposit banking is not their principal business and their contention has been upheld by the courts. Thus as non-banking companies they have succeeded in evading compliance with the provisions of Section 277 in spite of the fact that deposit banking is an important side-line of their business, if not their principal business. Moreover, under Section 277G (I) a company registered prior to the 15th January, 1937, may continue to use the words 'bank,' 'banker' or 'banking' as part of its name without complying with the special provisions relating to banking companies. Thus the net result has been that companies undertaking deposit banking among other forms of business have been evading the law by being recognised as non-banking companies, while many of the banking companies, properly so-called, have been outside the purview of the special provisions of the company law relating to banking companies. The extent of evasion is realized from the fact that out of 1421 companies which might be considered as doing banking business, only 626 were submitting reserve returns in December, 1938. In December, 1937, the total paid-up capital and reserves of these banks amounted to about

Rs. 2 crores, which gives an average of Rs. 25,000 per institution. It is quite clear that these are small institutions run on an uneconomic scale which are particularly vulnerable and require control and regulation in the interests of the depositors. There is no doubt that such evasion should be prevented and that it should be possible to protect the small depositor by ensuring a minimum standard of efficiency and integrity in the conduct of banking business. When a bank fails to meet its liabilities the economic loss should not be estimated only in terms of the deposits and paid-up capital lost ; the full measure of the loss can only be computed when we take account of the loss of credit or confidence which undermines the habit of depositing money with the banks and prevents the nation from mobilising, liquifying and augmenting her capital resources. From this point of view a bank is almost a public utility concern which has to be controlled and regulated in the public interest.

It is no less necessary to regulate and control the activities of the larger non-scheduled banks. The debt legislation passed by some of the Provincial Governments seeks to control the money-lending practices not only of the individual money-lenders but also of the non-scheduled banks. The latter have been trying to evade the law by somehow reaching the five-lakh limit so as to be recognised as scheduled banks. This has increased the difficulties of the Reserve Bank, because such banks have been continuing their money-lending practices and refusing to modernise their methods and keep proper accounts.

The proposed scheme of banking legislation seeks to tighten up the law by laying down a clear and definite definition of banking. It suggested that banking should mean "the accepting of deposits on current account or otherwise subject to withdrawal by cheque." Here a bank is taken to mean a cheque-paying bank—the criterion is not whether deposit banking is the principal business or not. The criterion suggested is easy to apply, but the framers of the law must make sure whether there are methods of withdrawing current account deposits and saving deposits which may not be tantamount to ' withdrawal by cheque ' according to the definition of a cheque given in Section 6 of the Negotiable Instruments Act of 1881. Under the proposed scheme the co-operative banks are excluded from the operations of the Bank Act. There is no doubt that co-operative banks are as vulnerable as the non-scheduled banks, and in any case, the exemption

to be enjoyed by them is bound to lead to unsound development of co-operative central banking by encouraging money-lending practices. The hands of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies should be strengthened by putting co-operative central banks on a par with the non-scheduled banks. Unless this is done the Reserve Bank will never be able to link itself with co-operative agricultural finance. It is obvious that co-ordination of Central and Provincial legislation is essential in this sphere of economic planning.

In Section 4 of the draft bill there is an attempt to limit the activities of a bank by specifying certain forms of business to be permitted to a bank, while elasticity is provided by vesting the Central Government with the power to specify, by notification in the *Gazette of India*, any other business in addition to forms of business laid down by law. From the economic point of view one would take exception to two forms of business to be permitted to a banking company. Company promotion and providing industrial finance directly or by under-writing industrial issues, or through the instrumentality of syndicates (Sub-section 6 of Section 4) are undoubtedly fruitful causes of financial instability and bank failures. If it is considered necessary that institutions going by the name of banks should not undertake other forms of business and that they should be forced to give up money-lending practices, there is no reason why they should be allowed to embroil themselves in industrial finance. It is far better to confine deposit banking to short-term finance, which means liquidity and safety of deposits, than to encourage the combination of banking with trading and industrial finance and then to ensure the safety of deposits by statutory safeguards. The sub-section 6 should, therefore, be deleted and sub-section 4 should be suitably re-drafted so as to permit the participation of banks only in state and municipal loans. Similarly one would take exception to sub-section 7 of Section 4. It is high time that restrictions were imposed on granting loans on the security of real estate and on investments in real property. The premises held by a bank for its own use must, however, be exempted subject to the condition that the value of such property shall not exceed 20 p.c. of its capital and 50 p.c. of its reserve. If it is impossible to prohibit loans on the security of real estate there should at least be a provision in the bill to the effect that a bank may not acquire real estate (excepting premises) except as a result of fore-closure and it must be sold so soon as it is possible to do so without loss.

The sub-section 16 of Section 4 should be subject to certain essential provisos. It is necessary to ensure that only *bonafide* mergers meant to secure a broader basis of banking business are allowed. Otherwise there may be mergers of actually or potentially insolvent banking companies, or mergers of essentially money-lending banking companies may be formed for the purpose of some how reaching the five-lakh limit and being counted as scheduled banks.

When we look to the capital structure of the non-scheduled banks we are convinced that most of them lack adequate capitalization. Of 1084 banks in the category B as many as 850 have paid-up capital and reserves of Rs. 20,000 or less. Of 236 banks in the category A, which are bigger in scale, as many as 200 have paid-up capital and reserves of Rs. 2 lakhs and less. Now the fairly large number of banks in the category B is explained by the fact that the Companies Act has prescribed a minimum paid-up capital of Rs. 50,000 only for banks incorporated after the 15th January, 1937. It is urgently necessary that these banks should expand their capital structure at least up to the minimum prescribed by the Companies Act. But the question is whether the statutory minimum itself is too low. The Board of the Reserve Bank have proposed that a banking company should be permitted to commence business if it has a minimum paid-up capital and reserve of Rs. 1 lakh. If the bank does business at Calcutta or Bombay the minimum should be Rs. 5 lakhs, and if it does business at places with a population of over 1 lakh, it should be not less than Rs. 2 lakhs. On the other hand, a bank should not be allowed to operate outside the province or state in which it has its principal place of business unless the minimum is at least Rs. 20 lakhs. "These will all be subject to the over-riding minimum of Rs. 20 lakhs." One wonders if these provisions will not be too drastic and will not seriously cripple and discourage small-scale banking enterprise in regions where banking facilities are inadequate and where banking has to struggle against the small average turn-over of business and the insecurity of its basis. As things are, it cannot be said that smaller banks have been obtaining an inadequately large proportion of loanable funds from deposits as compared to the amount obtained from paid-up capital and reserves. While the percentage of paid-up capital and reserves to deposits is 6 per cent in the case of British joint-stock banks and 13 per cent in the case of Indian scheduled banks it is 20·9 in the case of the

non-scheduled banks of the category A and 23·11 per cent in the case of those in the category B.

The minimum capital requirements based on population are hardly exacting in comparison with the minimum requirement of Rs. 1 lakh in the case of smaller banks. I would propose that, in addition to capital requirements on the basis of population, every bank must have a paid-up capital and reserve equal to 10 per cent of its deposits up to Rs. 50 lakhs and 5 per cent of its deposits in excess of this. Such a provision would make due allowance for the increasing turn-over of capital in the case of larger banks situated in the bigger commercial and industrial centres and for the increasing economies of large-scale banking operations in respect of the area served and the type of industry financed. Moreover, I suppose that if a suggestion like this is adopted, banks will tend to adjust themselves to a proper scale of operations according to local conditions. It is necessary, however, to ensure that paid-up capital and reserves do not carry losses or doubtful, frozen and encumbered assets. It may be considered whether they should be held in the form of Government securities, or at least may not be held in certain kinds of long term assets. On the other hand, forcing the pace of expansion of capital structure in the manner proposed will not be in the best interests of Indian banking.

It is proposed that the subscribed capital of a bank should not be less than half of its authorised capital and that its paid-up capital should not be less than half its subscribed capital. I think that the fact that 50 per cent of the subscribed capital has been paid up should be assured by the money being temporarily deposited with the Reserve Bank. There is a safeguard like this in the Canadian banking legislation. I would very much like to see a bank starting with a clean slate without a part of its paid-up capital or even its unpaid capital already encumbered or mortgaged. I feel the safeguard suggested above is necessary in the interests of the depositors.

In this context I would venture to make a few suggestions relating to the responsibilities of share-holders and directors of banking companies. I am convinced that the responsibilities of share-holders and directors of banking companies should stand on a special footing. On the lines of the Canadian legislation I would suggest that shares should be held subject to what is known as double liability, i.e., in the event of the bank's assets being insufficient to repay its debts, a

share-holder should be liable for the deficiency to the extent of an amount equal to the per value of his shares in addition to any amount unpaid on such shares. I feel that the responsibilities of the directors should be more strictly defined by law. I may suggest that directors should be made personally responsible if dividends are declared impairing the capital. They should be made personally responsible for loss due to proved negligence or evil intent. They should be liable for the repayment of credits granted to officials and to persons and companies connected with the bank unless certain conditions are complied with before the loans are granted. They should not be allowed to manage or direct finance companies of the managing agency type.

The Section 9 of the draft bill provides that out of the declared profits of each year and before any dividend is declared a sum equal to not less than 20 per cent of such profits shall be transferred to the reserve fund until the amount of such fund is equal to the paid-up capital. This section is satisfactory so far as it goes, but I would insist that no division of profits in any shape exceeding 6 per cent per annum should be permitted unless the reserve fund equals 50 per cent of the paid-up capital.

We shall consider next the demand liabilities and time liabilities of the non-scheduled banks in relation to the cash reserves maintained by them. Under Section 227 L of the Companies Act non-scheduled banks are required to maintain cash reserves which should in no case fall below 5 per cent of their demand liabilities and $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of their time liabilities. The non-scheduled banks have not only been complying with the statutory minimum but also showing an excess of cash over the statutory minimum. But it is the analysis of the nature of liabilities that reveals the real character of small-scale joint-stock banking in India. Time liabilities constitute about 78 per cent of the total liabilities in the case of the non-scheduled banks of the category A and about 41 per cent in the case of the banks of the category B. Time liabilities are more than twice the demand liabilities in all provinces, except Bombay, Sindh and N. W. F. P., the proportion being still higher in Bengal, Madras and the Punjab. The proportion of average demand liabilities per bank to time liabilities is one to three, whereas in the case of the scheduled banks the proportion is roughly the same. The conclusion that emerges is that a large number of non-scheduled banks are really money-lending institutions

specialising in long-term deposits. Moreover, while in Britain 20 to 21 per cent of the deposits is invested in money at call and in bills including Treasury Bills, only 6 per cent is so invested in Indian scheduled banks and none in the Indian non-scheduled banks. Again while 30 per cent of deposits in Britain is invested in marketable securities, shares, etc., and 50 per cent is so invested by the scheduled banks in India, the amount of such investments is only 20·6 per cent in the case of the non-scheduled banks of the category A and as low as 10·8 per cent in the case of those of the category B. The contrast appears in very bold relief when we compare the extent of loans and advances. The percentage of loans and advances to deposits is 40 in the case of British banks and Indian scheduled banks, while the non-scheduled banks of the category A invest as much as 83·7 per cent and those of the category B as much as 96·9 per cent of their deposits in loans and advances. It must also be noted that these two classes of banks invest 6·7 and 3·1 per cent respectively in immovable property. The general impression that we gather is that non-scheduled banks generally utilise most of their funds in loans and advances and have very small investments in gilt-edged securities. A considerable portion of their loans is unsecured, bill business is not favoured, advances to directors loom large (in some cases 50 per cent) and the incidence of bad, doubtful and decreed debts also appears to be heavy in some cases. The compulsory liquidation proceedings regarding the Benares Bank recently revealed to us the danger spots in Indian joint-stock banking. It appears that the liabilities of this bank on fixed deposit, current and savings bank accounts were about Rs. 75 lakhs. Of this sum Rs. 23 lakhs representing current accounts and savings bank deposits were withdrawable on demand, a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs on fixed deposits was overdue, and the whole of the balance amounting to Rs. 40 lakhs was due within a period of about two years from May, 1939. In addition to other current liabilities the bank was indebted to its employees' provident fund to the extent of about Rs. 98,000 which was secured by Government securities of the face value of Rs. 25,000 only. On the other hand, on May, 1939, the liquid assets of the bank amounted to *barely* Rs. 3 lakhs, while it had outstanding loans against its own fixed deposit account or other tangible securities to the extent of Rs. 10 lakhs, and other outstanding loans of Rs. 67 lakhs. Nothing reveals more clearly the frozen character of the bank's assets and the hopelessly low proportion of liquid assets.

Hence in view of the fact that the minimum cash reserve laid down by law is not enough to ensure 'general liquidity,' which means the ability of a bank to meet exceptional demand and not merely the normal demand for the withdrawal of deposits, it is necessary to provide for a minimum degree of general liquidity. It is intended to achieve this aim by Section II of the draft bill which runs as follows: "every banking company shall within two years after the commencement of this Act maintain in cash or unencumbered approved securities valued at a price not exceeding the market price an amount which shall not at the close of the business on any day, be less than 30 p.c. of its time and demand liabilities in India and Burma"..... "provided that a balance maintained by a scheduled bank with the Reserve Bank under the provisions of section 42 of the Reserve Bank of India Act shall be deemed to be cash for the purposes of this section." It is also provided that banking companies must maintain 75 p. c. of their British Indian liabilities in the form of assets in British India.

It is necessary to estimate critically the practical utility of Section 10 (which embodies Section 227L of the existing Companies Act) and Section II of the draft bill which provides for a minimum liquidity of assets. The utility of Section 10 is very limited. There is no definition of 'cash' anywhere. It may be interpreted to mean either a balance with the Reserve Bank or coin and notes, and may be held in either or both forms, or alternatively a given percentage may be kept in the form of coin and notes and the rest as a balance with the Central Bank. In many countries cash has been taken to mean readily realizable assets and is kept in a more varied and less liquid form. In India for want of a statutory definition of 'cash,' the cash reserve very often consists of encumbered assets. This fact has been recognised by the framers of the draft bill, and that is why Section II provides for a minimum general reserve which shall be unencumbered and ensure the general liquidity of a bank. From this point of view I do not think that Section 10 will serve any useful purpose. Secondly, the strict enforcement of a statutory cash reserve leads to the paradoxical result that in times of crisis the immobilized cash reserves (unless released by suspending the law) increase the illiquidity of the banking system. Thirdly, as the Committee on Bank Reserves of the Federal Reserve System pointed out, the cash reserve should be related not to the mere volumes of time and demand liabilities but

to the velocity of circulation of demand deposits: other things being equal, a bank requires a higher margin of cash when its deposits have a higher rate of turn-over. Hence the distinction between time and demand liabilities should be abolished. If the statutory provision as regards cash has to be retained I think that Section 10 should be so amended as to require a bank to keep a cash reserve of 5 p. c. of its net deposit liabilities plus, say, 50 p. c. of the average daily withdrawal of deposits. This is a suggestion of the Committee on Bank Reserves which should be carefully considered. Moreover, if this Section is not to remain a dead-letter a clear definition of 'cash' is indispensable.

While I support Section II I must make my position absolutely clear. It appears from statistics that the non-scheduled banks are mainly money-lending institutions with a predominance of time liabilities, so that liquidity of assets is not necessary to the same extent as in the case of the larger commercial banks with a predominance of demand liabilities. As Wagner says, "a bank should only give the same kind of credits as it accepts." From this point of view the banking business of the non-scheduled banks easily lends itself to long-term investments on the one hand and comparatively low liquidity of assets on the other. Hence, as things are, it is the weaker among the scheduled banks situated on the border-line (the case of the Benares Bank is a glaring instance in point) that require liquidity of assets much more than the small non-scheduled banks. One cannot but feel in the face of facts that Section II will be onerous for small banks as reducing their chances of making profits. But still one may welcome Section II because it is necessary to compel the non-scheduled banks (or as many of them as possible) to switch over from time liabilities to demand liabilities, give up their money-lending practices and evolve into full-fledged commercial banks.

We shall discuss now how defaults are to be penalised. The suggestion is that the defaulting party shall be liable to a fine not exceeding Rs. 500 for every day during which the default continues. In addition the Reserve Bank shall demand compliance with regulations within one calendar month from the date of such demand, after which, if the company fails to comply with the law, the Reserve Bank shall apply to the court for compulsory liquidation. There is no doubt that the existing provision for penalties under sub-sections (3) and (4) of Section 42 of the Reserve Bank of India Act is inadequate for ensuring

a proper enforcement of obligations.¹ With reference to the Benares Bank case Mr. Justice Braund recently observed that "it was common ground that the bank had failed to maintain this deposit and has preferred to pay penalties and penal interest. The bank seemed to have construed the Act as giving it an option either to make statutory deposit or to pay statutory penalties. This could only be described as an evasion of the Act." Hence it is necessary, as the Board of the Reserve Bank have suggested, that there should be a provision for an application for compulsory liquidation on the initiative of the Reserve Bank.

Rapidity of liquidation is also an essential line of reform. The existing provisions for calling meetings of creditors, appointing advisory committees and granting moratorium very often have the effect of delaying proceedings, making them unnecessarily expensive and ultimately injuring the interests of creditors. A moratorium should be granted only when the court is convinced that a bank has a reasonable chance of meeting its liabilities to the full in the near future, and, in any case, the moratorium should be granted only for a period of three or four months. In the Benares Bank case the High Court decided, in spite of the wishes of the general body of creditors, that a moratorium should not be granted because there could be nothing "more improper in the circumstances than to place the bank in a position to receive new money from depositors and out of it to pay off its old depositors." A genuine reconstruction scheme should, of course, be examined sympathetically by the courts, but a moratorium in many cases may be a hindrance rather than a help. It is also desirable that the Reserve Bank should be statutorily vested with the duty of official liquidator.

Banking regulation and control are ineffective without proper supervision and inspection. I do not agree with the Board of the Reserve Bank in thinking that we can safely rely on the development of responsible audit and accounting and hope for the best. It is necessary to create a Government department of inspection under the control of a superintending officer. This is absolutely essential if the proposed legislation is to have a reasonable chance of success. The function of the Inspectorate should be to ensure that proper banking

¹ By Section 42 of the Act every scheduled bank is required to maintain with the Reserve Bank a deposit equal to 5 p. c. of its demand liabilities and 2 p. c. of its time liabilities.

practices were being observed, and particularly to detect at an early stage transactions detrimental to the interests of depositors and share-holders, and by inspiring fear of detection and publicity, to prevent them. I do not think, as the Board of the Reserve Bank seem to imagine, that the responsibility of the Inspectorate will be a very heavy one in actual practice. It may, of course, be provided that the final appeal in cases of infringement shall lie with the courts. But there is no doubt that in the vast majority of cases banks will avoid the lime-light of publicity and will be extremely reluctant to appeal against the decisions of the Inspectorate. We should hesitate to throw the responsibility of inspection and control upon the Reserve Bank because the Reserve Bank should be in the position of a colleague in relation to commercial banks at any rate in the present stage of its development. It should, however, be provided that the Inspectorate should work in liaison and collaboration with the Reserve Bank.

It should be noted that the draft bill does not contain any provision for controlling the activities of indigenous and private bankers. Under the existing conditions they are not amenable to such control and regulation as will bring them within the sphere of influence of the Reserve Bank by conferring on them the right of direct discount. The Reserve Bank can establish contact with them only through the system of intermediate credit, *i.e.*, through banks or *Shroffs* who will endorse indigenous paper and guarantee the loans made by the Reserve Bank. It would be presumed that the object of the proposed Indian Bank Act is not merely to protect the interests of the depositors but also to guide banking along right lines and thus enable the Reserve Bank to play a more active part in mobilising and augmenting the capital resources of the country by establishing a more intimate contact with the Indian banking system. When eventually this object is attained or is in the process of being attained, indigenous and private bankers will adapt themselves to the changing conditions and become more amenable to control and regulation. Already sharp money-lending practices are at a discount as the result of Provincial debt legislation, and if the Reserve Bank succeeds in establishing contact with co-operative finance the way will be clear for further progress along this line.

RADHANATH RAY: THE HIGH PRIEST IN MODERN ORIYA LITERATURE

PRIYARANJAN SEN, M.A., P.R.S.

THE modern age in Oriya literature bears the name and impress of one who, in spite of the engrossing duties that public service entailed on him, persisted in serving the literature of his province with a sincere devotion and remarkable tenacity, succeeding at last in lifting it out of its accustomed ways and bringing to it the glory and freshness of a new life. This remarkable achievement was possible because he had the gifts requisite for the work: his name was Radhanath Ray.

In considering the western influence in Oriya literature the most important figure before us is that of his. For more than forty years he shone in the firmament of the literature of his country, and the literature of to-day owes a good deal to his practice and principles. He was an educationist and the author of geographical treatises like *Bhūgola* (written jointly with Sivanarayana Nayaka and published from Balasore, 1877-78), and *Bhūgola-Sāra-Sangraha* (jointly with Bhimcharana Panda and published from Balasore, 1878). He had translated *Meghadūtam* into Oriya in 1874. Blumhardt also mentions a book of verses, *Kavitāvalī*, by Madhusudan Rao and Radhanath in 1876, published from Balasore. Next year we find *Kshetra-tattva* or a treatise on geometry, mensuration and surveying, jointly by Radhanath Ray and Shivanarayan Nayak, issued from Balasore in 1877. His *Ādarsa Prasnāvalī* was published in 1876 from Balasore, and the 2nd edition in 1878 (Blumhardt's Catalogue). But the important thing about him is not text-books made to order but creative writings of a high order. It is therefore necessary to treat his works in detail, and to dwell on specific instances of the influences of the times manifested in his writings.

If we put side by side an entire poem or a few lines from the Typical Selections from Oriya Literature, Vol. I, published by the Calcutta University, that is, any poem in the early and medieval period of Oriya literature, and some lines of Radhanath's *Mahāyātrā* we find at once a very great change. Though the words and the script are

the same yet there is an advance or enlargement of ideas and thoughts, accompanied by new powers and forms of expression. Let us consider the invocation of Radhanath's poem :

Pankajabāsini devi, utkala bhārati
Sārāḷe, ki kale, kaha. kurucuḍāmaṇi,
Sunile yekāḷe vīra vārtāvahamukhe
Prabhāse yādabamkara, etc.

We at once perceive that we have left far behind us the simple verse machinery of the *Koili* poems, the vast background of the *Ramayan* as well as the complex prosody and the gorgeous imagery, sometimes reflected through verbal jugglery of the *chhāndas*. In short, we have come to a measure, blank verse (or verse without rhyme), which was at first regarded with suspicion as foreign to the spirit of Indian languages. Strange as it may now seem, it was persistently believed that our national poetry could not be dissociated from the jingling of rhyme because as a nation we are musically disposed. It was Michael Madhusudan Datta of Bengal who first showed that the new form hallowed by Milton in English literature was quite capable of being adapted to the needs of the vernaculars of India and Radhanath followed in his wake and wrote blank verse in Oriya. Madhusudan Rao, Radhanath's life-long friend in literature and other matters, pointed out his friend's contribution in this respect in the preface that he wrote to the poem:—"Utkala kāvyare amitrachhandara prabartare ehi prathama shubhaprayāsa. Ethipurve bangiya kāvīvara sri Māikel Madhusūdan Datta bangalā padyara unnati au niyama ālochanā kari ethi ruchiku pravartita karithile—Kavi Rādhānāthanka chhanda annakaṇṇasi utkaliya lekhaka ehi chhāndara yathāyatha prayoga bishayare dakkhatā dekhāi pārināhānti."

"This is the first happy attempt to introduce blank verse in Oriya poems. Before this, the Bengali poet, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, introduced it to Bengali after carefully weighing the nature and laws of Bengali poetry.....Excepting the poet Radhanath, no other Oriya writer has been able to show a capacity for correctly using this measure."

Apart from the measure, what strikes us at the very outset is that the dedication in the first few lines is addressed not to any orthodox deity in an orthodox fashion but to an orthodox deity, the goddess Sārāḷa, in a new fashion, which reminds one of Milton's devout

prayer to the heavenly Muse in the third book of the *Paradise Lost* to help him in his winged flight.

In the third place, in this narrative poem we are plunged directly into the action of the story, and this is also a new feature for which we might go to Homer or even to Milton, both of whom began their books with their important characters in a critical stage and unthreading the narrative informed their readers about the particulars of the gods or persons they were describing.

In the *Mahāyātrā* the poet was trying his hand at epic composition; not an epic in the sense of the Sanskrit Mahakavyas, nor might the term be applied to the *Rāmāyan* and the *Mahābhārat*, nor can we extend the term to include the purāṇas which contained materials for numerous epics. We shall discuss the matter so that the distinctive features of the new form which Radhanath wanted to introduce may appear in all its implications. When we consider everything, we have to conclude that it was unfortunate for Radhanath to have broken off before he came to the end, but it must be said that it was a remarkable attempt in spite of its obvious incompleteness.

The Sanskrit Puranas are lengthy compositions, purporting to be the chronicles of the world, so to speak. They contain germs of many epics, we find in them many epic ideas and situations which can be developed later on into full-fledged epic poems. Their canvas is vast, their characters are numerous, their grandeur is too grand even for epic representation in their entirety, we can break them piecemeal and then present the fragments to successive poets for exercising their talents upon. The Sanskrit *Rāmāyan* and the *Mahābhārat* are also lengthy compositions and serve in an equal measure as source books for epics. They contemplate recording the history of many important families but their aim is comparatively restricted to one definite and individual dynasty. The *Mahākāvyas*, again, have to conform to certain characteristics: there must be a hero, well-born, generous, and with his antagonist almost of the same calibre: there should be pleasant descriptions of hills and dales, mountains and groves, the seasons, etc.; there should be a fixed number of cantos, and the style and metre should not be monotonously uniform but there should be provision for a little variety. Let us however consider how the *Mahāyātrā* fares in relation to these rules. There is at least no variety of metre because it is in blank verse throughout. Of descriptions, to be sure, it has enough, and the hero's antagonist is not yet

to be seen sketched or outlined but we must remember that the work is an unfinished product, at the same time there is no scope for such a creation. The new note that may be detected and that increases the worth of the book is the patriotic motive and the patriotism of the sort is a tendency developed in us through our contact with the west. Along with this, there is a conscious modelling on literary products of Europe, on Virgil and Milton in particular, and in this modelling it is quite possible Radhanath's intimate acquaintance with the works of Michael Madhusudan, the Bengali Poet, may have helped a good deal.

An important feature of the poem is the place occupied by Orissa. There has been a new orientation in her physical geography.

Thus in the second canto the poet with consummate skill makes the Pandavas turn to Orissa in course of their 'final journey', which latter incident explains the title of the poem. His motive is to use his gifts in describing the topography of the country and extol its beauties and glories. The fire-god who receives the homage of the Pandavas lives in secret in the Nilachala and the lakes Saroh and Chilika are but remnants of the ocean which receded at the order of the ocean god, after it had flowed into the shore when the Sudarsan Chakra sank down into the sea. Hence more importance attaches to Chakratirtha at Puri, and the name of the country itself receives a new interpretation. It may be a digression, but at the same time it is proper to observe here, that Radhanath's poem Chilika is composed in couplets which are sometimes non-stop verses and the poem is in itself a new type, due to western models; a topographical poem in its entirety, full of minute touches of description, with an independent interest of its own.

The whole of the third canto consists of poetic descriptions of Orissa: the coast of the Mahanadi flowing in the east, the mount Kapilas and the mount Malyavanta, all hoary with time and threaded by streams. The fire-god takes the Pandavas round the different territories acting as their guide. Even such ordinary place-names as *Tangi* are idealised by a legendary touch and an air of popular philology. What is remarkable in these descriptions, in which the poet frequently indulges recurring again and again to the historical and natural grandeur of the land, is an attempt at reconstructing the Pauranic legends, at associating every inch of Orissa with something hallowed in history or religion. It seems that Radhanath studied Utkal pretty much in the same way as Scott studied Scotland, the *motif* of poetry

is directly or indirectly patriotic, and the result is to be seen in details of workmanship.

In the next canto (the fourth) we are introduced to the Kaliyuga which has just begun, and which could be visualised by the Pandavas because of their pure nature :

Sattvagunojjvala eka tumbhara locane
Bhātiba se divya jyoti.

“ Only before your eyes, bright with the virtue of truthfulness,
Will flash that divine light.”

Before them lay the assembly of gods—Dharma, Satya, Nyaya, Tapah, Sama, Daya, Saucha, Titiksha, Arjaba, Padmalaya, Saraswati—all these are described in a concrete form and a vivid manner with the additional statement of a prophecy that these gods will disappear, and India the land of Bharat, will pass through very rough times. It might be pointed out in this connection that in this metaphorical description of the gods and goddesses Radhanath does not take his stand on legendary history but his basis is a new puritan philosophy which is more or less made free by western influence and in which Dharma, Sāhasa, Satya, Nyāya, Tapah, Saucha, Titikshā, and Arjaba are decked out in human form in characteristic poses. Such free handling of the divine assembly cannot be wholly attributed to a thoroughly conservative temperament, and Radhanath in his poetic craftsmanship certainly looks away far from inherited literary tradition. This view is confirmed by the figures of Lust and Anger, Avarice and Illusion, Pride and Murder, Jealousy and Falsehood, Deception, Faction and Sloth that are next introduced, and it is to be remembered that the stage is always confined to Bharata on which there is a free ‘fight resulting in the overthrow of Dharma and the victory of Kali. Let us conclude an account of this canto with its last five lines which remind the reader of the Bengali poet Hemchandra’s recurring note on India’s moral degradation at the present day, though the natural phenomena of the country continue to be the same as before :

sehi des’a, sehi giri, sehi nadanadi
nagara, nagari, tirtha, āsramadi kari,
sarve thile purvapari, mānabe kebala
nāmare mānabe rahi, pasu thāru hīna
hoi jibi jugadharme bharata mandale.

“ The same country, the same hills, rivers and streams the same,
Cities and towns, holy places and hermitages,

Everything shall continue as before, man only
 Worse than a beast, human only in semblance,
 —A strange result of the time-spirit in the land of Bharata."

Western influence on the remaining cantos of the poem is mainly contained in a new appeal to patriotism which modifies the tone of court poetry. In the tribute of praise justly offered by the poet to Ramchandra Bhanja, the Chief of Mayurbhanja State, which begins the fifth canto, a puritanic note is heard. There is something new in poetry when praise is given to sexual restraint and beneficent rule of the Chief, far removed from the half-adulatory, half-amatory verses associated with the poet's homage to things, and though the ideal of Ramchandra, the hero of the Ramayana, may be brought forward as the possible source of this eulogy (whence this similarity in name) one would like to trace it to our newly awakened idea of responsible government. Western or eastern, this portion is however merely dedicatory. In the main body of this canto we find Yudhisthira very much perturbed over the ills of Bharatabhumi. He feels like one whose own house has suddenly caught fire :

Daive jebe dekhe banhi atumancha tale
 gruhapati, kātara se huai jesane.....

"When perchance the master of the house,
 Descries fire beneath the eaves, grief seizes
 His heart, similarly....."

Eagerly he asks the Fire-God with tears in his eyes :

.....Prabhū, trikāla darasi
 tuṁbhe jenu, kaha mote kirupe bhārate
 ghatiba e mahānārtha sujalā. suphalā
 e sasyasyāmalā dharā parahāte dei
 parapadānata ki he hebe āryyasute ?

"Lord, all the time and all the space
 Stands revealed to our gaze ; tell me how
 This calamity will fall on India. This country,
 Of beautiful streams and herbage, will the Aryan line
 Give it up to others and live as slaves ? "

The reply that Agni gives to this query shows with what avidity the poet must have imbibed the knowledge of Indian History from western sources. He would trace all the evils of India, including her political servitude, to the loss of her spiritual fire which went out

just as Brahminism rose and snuffed the soul out of her by laying over a huge burden of rituals and ceremonies. The whole world seemed to be couped up within the four corners of India, untouchability spread like a curse and a pestilence, and Lust and Sloth and Jealousy made the land an easy prey to designing foes. Radhanath attacks the educational system built on the aphorism of Chanakya—*slokarūpe sikhāibe ehi bhīru nīti*—"this cowardly temper will be taught through slokas"—and he also looks askance at the different provinces on account of their provincialism—*ākhyāye pruthaka mātra, rakte sarve eke*—"separate only in name, equal in blood they are all."

As has been already said, besides the *Mahāyātrā*, Radhanath wrote a number of small romances,* all in the manner of Byron's verse tales. *Kedār-Gourī*, *Chandrabhāgā*, *Nandikeswarī*, *Ushā* and *Pārvatī*, these five form a class by themselves. Of these, the first is a simple tale of love between two young people, boy and girl, that grew and lived side by side, and it is most pathetic in its tragic end. The two lovers made an appointment but there was a tiger lurking near the *rendezvous*, resulting in a misunderstanding and consequent consecutive suicide by both. There is hardly any room for doubt that Chaucer's *Pyramus and Thisbe* (*Legend of Good Women*) acted as the model to this denouement, though there are many fine touches throughout the poem, illustrating the poet's art and originality and the susceptibility of an Oriental. As it happens, the name is taken from a well-known spring at Bhubaneswar, which is described in the poem as the *rendezvous*, whence the name. The originality of the poet is amply borne out by many lines of Eastern imagery and local description; the reader may be at random referred to the calf-love between the boy and the girl, their beauty which had made each suited for the other, their resolution to go out into the world in the disguise of a monk and a nun, professing love (*Premer sannyāsī sannyāsini*); the appearance of the girl first on the spot and her fright at the sight of a tiger dripping the blood of a stag just killed; the subsequent advent of Kedar who commits suicide, under a mistake, Gouri following suit.

So powerful and popular has been the poem of Radhanath that it has at once sunk into the mass mind; a stranger visiting Bhubaneswar may be regaled with the version of the name of the spring as

* Paramahansa Acharyya's articles in the *Utkala Sahitya*.

Radhanath gives it ; questions into the proper place may elicit the fact that what Radhanath wrote about it was wholly his own version. Pandit Artaballabh Mahanty utters a timely warning which might be interpreted into a censure, about such ways of misleading the public mind and changing legends.

Chandrabhāgā is another verse-tale. In it the heroine is the daughter of a sage named Sumanya. Her beauty attracts the sun-god who follows her with entreaties and solicitations but she does not relent, does not slacken her steps and she runs away from him in mortal terror. The god is, however, hot in pursuit and at last she is swallowed up by the sea. The discomfiture of the god is prompted by Kāma-deva (Cupid) who, reviled by him in contemptuous terms for his prowess, is ever on the watch, and shoots two arrows at the pair,—the arrow at the sun-god calculated to inspire love, and that at the maiden to inspire hatred. The denouement synchronises with the sudden ruin that overtakes the temple at Konarak, which thus acts as the *deux-ex-machina*, once so popular with a school of dramatists and novelists in Europe. In this instance also it should be carefully investigated how far the poet has invented and how far he has built on foundations already in existence. To one not acquainted with the local tradition it is very tempting to identify the story with the legend of “the God pursuing, the maiden hid,”—the story of Daphne and Appollo, rendered memorable in so many classical references. While Daphne was changed into a laurel tree at her urgent entreaties, the Indian girl's importunate pleadings to her mother resulted in her being changed into a small stream absorbed into the sea. As usual, Radhanath's local touches have made the poem into a new thing altogether by his numerous references to the religious faith and historical incidents of Orissa. The name of the poem is taken from a river that flows by Konarak and that has to be crossed by visitors from Puri to the now ruined, but most beautiful, temple dedicated to the sun-god. Radhanath has thus excellently woven together the local legend and its western counterpart so that the borrowing, as in all other cases where he is the maker, seems so natural.

Radhanath's *Pārvatī* * has been likewise compared to classical works and Shakespearean dramas ; the Iliad has been mentioned as having prompted the idea, and it has been discussed how far Parvati

approximates to Aeschylus or Shakespeare. Radhanath may have borrowed from both; the ghost and the Ophelia incident may have been taken from Hamlet, and the Kanchuki from the watch of Aeschylus. But Radhanath takes for the basis of his work a description of some local customs and an account of the Economic Geography of the land. The incest—a father's passion for his own daughter on whom he begot a son—points to Shelley's *Cenci* as a possible ideal. The son was killed and the hungry mother starved to death with dark hints as to her having been made to feast on the corpse of her son. There is also the supernatural element, the tragic ghost of the much tried mother appearing before her mother for revealing everything in connection with the crime.

In considering Radhanath's Yayati-Keshari in connection with the western influence we notice the following which will be of interest if we remember the plot and treatment of a similar subject in Shakespeare's Cymbeline :

- (1) A step-mother's aversion for the step-children.
- (2) The twins, specially the sister Bimalā, habitated to the male dress and manly pursuits.
- (3) Chance meeting at the temple.
- (4) The prince takes a fancy to Bimalā in male attire but is disillusioned.
- (5) Supernatural aid—the disguise and the night in the cave with Lalita.
- (6) The secret gets out and the discovery of the intrigue.
- (7) Yayati is charged and sentenced to death by the king.
- (8) Yayati prefers death in a combat with seven best warriors because he is a Kshatriya.
- (9) Divine intervention by dreams.
- (10) Happy conclusion.
- (11) Though *Sringar ras* or erotic sentiment prevails in Radhanath's Yayati-Keshari, yet it is not so extreme as it is in Upendra Bhanja, it suits our modern taste and our modern taste means a good deal of the influence of western taste.

USHA

The story of Usha is not by itself a direct imitation or a grafting of any western story or legend on a liberal scale, but it seems to have been taken largely from one of the annals of Rajasthan

compiled by Tod. In a country where primitive conditions exist, where hunting is a chief pastime, it is nothing surprising that a prince like Jayanta should come across a girl like Usha equally proficient in hunting and marksmanship: only this Usha must not be a princess but an ordinary village maiden though when her parentage will be examined, her noble birth will be evident to all. This is the way in which Tod has taken his story from local sources. The race item of the story has been taken from Greek legends; compare "Atalanta's Race," when the same artifice was used to get rid of a superior rival. Neither the hunt nor the race can, with any shadow of reality, be associated with a princess of Orissa. The very idea is preposterous, but Radhanath in his usual way has created a new legend altogether, giving it a local colouring and associating it with local names and traditions so that it seems to be a thoroughly original poem; for this, again, the constructive genius of Radhanath is responsible.

NANDIKESWARI

The story of the poem Nandikeswari has come to close grips with history; no longer are we troubled with legends and legendary accounts but with the dim beginnings of history where our tread is firmer and surer; but when we examine the poem, there is an astonishing similarity between the Oriya poem and Lord Byron's *Siege of Corinth* both as regards subject-matter and the measure of the verse. Surely the motive in the Oriya poem is not the same as in the English; Chodaganga is the conqueror, and his primary motive is the conquest of the country, not securing the hand of any lady, however rich and beautiful. Both the poems end with a sense of tragedy; but while Alp in *The Siege of Corinth* is a human being given to love and hate, with whom all is fair in love and war, Chodaganga is a being of a superior order,—at least superior to the 'folly' of love.

VENISANHAR

The inspiration was eastern but the form of expression was a western influence. Radhanath like all true sons of mother India followed the original Mahabharat in picking out the theme of his poem Venisanhar. But the mode of expression was western. He was of the times and acted according to the demands of his age. The modern age wanted to see the same old story of Mahabharat from a new angle

of vision and Radhanath supplied his *Venisanhar* to suit the new taste.

Radhanath had been the pioneer also in modern Oriya Kathā-Sāhitya. His *Young Italian* (*itāliya yuvā*) was first published in the *Utkal Durpun*, a Balasore paper, in 1877. He was the forerunner in this of Ramshankar, Jagamohan, Phakirmohan and others, whose novels and dramas have made notable contribution to modern Oriya literature. Ramshankar's *Kāncikaverī* (a drama) and *Vivāsini*, (a novel) Jagamohan's *Bābāji* (a farce) and Fakirmohan's *Revatī* (a story), all appeared after 1881.

Radhanath has been silent these thirty three years almost : his voice has stopped through death. The impulse which he roused in the literature of Orissa has not found an equally fertile soil, but may be seen in the verses of some of his younger contemporaries like Sadhucharan Roy, Nandakisore Bal, Chintamani Mahanty. Sadhucharan died young, but he had shown sufficient promise of poetic worth before his death, and had received encouragement from the senior poet ; Nandakisore distinguished himself in historical and nature poetry, and Chintamani still lives, to offer model and guidance to younger generations. Poetry is cultivated, and still prevailing, along western lines of culture, but the rosy dawn has faded away and along with it the promise of infinite greatness, or more properly, grandeur.

Radhanath's life has not yet been published : it is in the press and under the excellent supervision of his gifted son. It should prove a compendium of useful knowledge for the Orissa of his times. The publication of his biography, suitably documented, should introduce the romantic emergence of modern Oriya literature out of nebulous conditions into clear outlines, at the same time that it will give valuable information to all students of modern Indian literature.

A SPIRITUAL VISION

A REVIEW OF *THE LIFE DIVINE** BY SRI AUROBINDO

MAHENDRANATH SIRCAR

“**A**S Life and Mind have been released in Matter, so too must in their time these greater powers of concealed God-head emerge from the involution and the supreme Light descend into us from above.” This is the concrete promise given at the end of the *Life Divine* by Sri Aurobindo. In this book he gives the philosophy of life and spirit and with the insight of a seer sketches a new spiritual fulfilment and consummation. The structure breathes a life all its own and is a piece of artistic creation, philosophic thinking, and profound spirituality. Its organic character is evenly maintained ; the creation is inspired by a vision and sanctified by a consecrated life. Naturally, here is much more than intellectual philosophy and every page of the book carries the impress of thought oozing out of the fountain of spirit and of expression inspired by the spirit of poesy.

Thought and spirituality are not two distinct concepts, for the spirit is the only reality : and therefore, the life which spirit inspires is also that which sanctifies thought. Thought puts in a system what spirit realises in its two-fold adventure of self-explication and self-integration. Spirit exhibits its creative adventure and novelty in its concentrated expression through mind, life and matter. The graded universes in creation represent the descent of spirit from its transcendence into inconscient matter through mind and life. Behind this creative expression is the consciousness-will which is the supreme reality. Sri Aurobindo believes in Integral Existence, and does not dissect it into partial orders and study them in sections, like the psychic relativist or the realist. In these partial truths, he throws a light from a deeper insight which does neither reject matter nor accept the conclusion of materialistic monism or the unconscious creative vitalism. In matter he sees the descent of spirit. It is imperfect and incom-

plete expression of it. "Matter expresses itself as eventually a form of some unknown force. Life too, that yet unfathomed mystery, reveals itself as an obscure energy imprisoned in material formulations." They represent the display of the primordial spirit energy in its graded expression. They are the objectification of will in the process of self-evolution. Matter and Life create bondage so long as we do not see the grand drama that is being played in the heart of existence behind their external crust. The adventures of the creative spirit can be felt if the mechanical vision is displaced by the spiritual insight. Matter is a temporary and apparent obscuration of spirit, in order that spirit can transcend it and display its formative function even in the lowest order of existence. "Matter is substance of the one conscious being phenomenally divided within itself by the action of a universal Mind." The occult insight reveals the creative force of spirit behind the physical and the vital universe and naturally the Upanishadic affirmation goes that Brahman is Annam and Prana. With the occult vision, the author has a more positive and affirmative attitude regarding the cosmic manifestation and naturally sees the continuity of the play through the subtler and wider ranges of existence in the mental, the over-mental and the supra-mental. The continuity comes up to the transcendent divine beyond the creative rhythm in its own dignity of poise. Naturally it is not possible to accept the revolt of spirit against matter or to give consent to the 'nihil' of Buddhism. Reality is omnipresent in all graded universes wherein throughout extends the marriage of Spirit and Matter. Matter reveals itself to the realising thought and subtilised senses as the figure and body of spirit. Spirit reveals itself as the consenting agent, as the sole truth of the essence of matter. Matter is the external vesture that spirit takes up for its concrete expression through the different layers of existence. The higher ascents give us the more luminous vision of matter for the better and more effective expression of spirit. Thus Matter and Spirit are reconciled in the creative plane. This sets aside the long-standing conflict between Prakriti and Purusha and the limitation of Spirit by Matter. "The transcendent, the supra-cosmic is free in itself beyond Time and Space and beyond the conceptual opposites of finite and infinite. In cosmos it uses its liberty of self-expression." Limitation there is, but this limitation is self-imposed, for the novelty in the creative adventure of Spirit. The process of self-evolution and self-

explication is followed by the simultaneous process of self-involution and self-integration. They run concurrently. Without this there would have been the immersion of Spirit in Matter. Maya or Ignorance cannot work in complete opposition to self-revealing process. There is still the twilight of Spirit which sheds its soft lustre. Nowhere the spirit loses its self-reference and this makes the higher evolution possible. The light looms large in the centre of being; there is, therefore, an inherent urge in all the grades of existence to absorb more and more this light in order that the life can have more elasticity and radiant expression. The obscurity of matter is removed. The limitation of a divided consciousness and power is withdrawn. The urge of evolution is to realise the radiant self by throwing away the limitations of matter, by assimilating the light of spirit. This becomes clearly evident with the first awakening of the occult insight. It exhibits the luminous matter which instead of obscuring spirit becomes its helpmate in its expression and movement.

There is an incessant urge in evolution to get access into the finer orders of existence than matter, life and mind. The emergent next to mind is Supermind, beyond that is the Divine existence, consciousness and bliss. These are involved in the triple forces of the lower order. Evolution makes manifest what is potential. The potential is the more powerful, because it is more true and subtle, its actual is realised when the insight is developed. There is always the consenting knowledge and deciding force behind which uplifts the evolution to still subtler grades, and maintains all along the luminous thread of intimate connections between all of them. Evolution does not mean the sudden emergence of any thing completely new but the unfolding, or better, the appearance of the subtler, the wider and the more comprehensive existence. The next step in emergence is supermind. It is a great promise. The emergence of the supermind into our consciousness will be a momentous event as it will fundamentally change the truth and the value of mentalised knowledge. Our being is a seat of refraction of the divine existence in inverted order of ascent and descent of the following principles: Existence, consciousness, bliss, supermind, mind, psyche, life and matter.

. The divine descends from the pure existence through consciousness, force, bliss and the creative medium of supermind into the world of mind,* psyche, life and matter. The meeting-place of the divine

Saccidananda with the world of mind, life and matter is the Supermind. The veil of ignorance separates the supra-mental from the mental and the lower order. The rending of the veil is the condition of the divine life in humanity, it then makes possible the divine inpouring and divine fusion. The divine force is still in play in the lower orders, but the higher evolution keeps pace with the conscious inpouring from the supermind, when matter and life will yield their obscurities, mind its stumblings through divided visions and lame understanding.

"The liberation of the individual soul from its limitation is the keynote of the definitive divine action" and the emergence of the supermind is in a sense the emergence of the self-awareness of the individual as one with the divine. This is the supreme conquest of spirit over the confinement of the senses and the body. When the individual attains self-awareness and identity, "the liberated soul extends its perception of unity horizontally as well as vertically." The liberated soul is not lost in the transcendence, but gains in being both intensively and extensively in order that it can now reflect the cosmic spirit not only in the cosmic knowledge, but in the expansive orbit of being, feeling the intimate touch with each and everything and finally reviving and inviting them to the joyous existence in its widest commonalty spread. Man stands in intimate relation to the universe, and in this ascent to the higher evolution this relation becomes a matter of direct perception. He can influence the evolution of the human race by establishing the identity of spirit and imparting the force of spirit. This liberation is not the realisation of spirit as distinct from matter, life and mind. It is really the spiritualisation of the vehicles of spirit in order that spirit can enjoy its complete freedom in the order of expression just as it enjoys perpetually its freedom in transcendence. True freedom will be an existence in perfect harmony in the different parts of our composite being as well as in our relation with the universal or cosmic self. The constant influx of spirit-energy will fill our being, establishing a correspondence between the universal life-force with our life, the cosmic ideation with our ideation, the universal bliss with our bliss. Man will wake into the pulse of the cosmic and the supra-cosmic life, consciousness and being. The dualism of being and non-being, Purusha and Prakriti, knowledge and ignorance, life and death is not the fixed order of things. If it is, the proper attitude is to deny and transcend the dualism in Nirvana.

Sri Aurobindo thinks this dualism is the sequence to the divided vision which the mind of man unquestioningly accepts without probing deeper. The finer truth is that these are phases of the contraries which are reconciled in the higher vision of the Absolute, not only in thinking, but in actual life. With the fuller and the profounder view the limited vision of ego and its dualities melt away showing the path to the supreme fulfilment of life and not only to escape from life. This ego-construction is not possible to be set aside so long as the root of life is not discovered in the Absolute and the self-opening of the individual is not complete. The Absolute is not the eternal repose, wideness and silence. It is not the bare a-conceptual potentiality ; it has in it the perpetual urge for a creative expression. Consciousness is always associated with Will. Consciousness-Will is, as Sri Aurobindo puts it, is the ultimate reality. The old idea of force or energy as material is being discarded by science and philosophy. The ultimate reality is Siva-Sakti. Being and becoming, rest and impulsion, equilibrium and activity, status and dynamis represent the two aspects of an all-integral existence and to take note only of one of these is to court a partial philosophy. "The real is behind all that exists, it expresses itself intermediately in an ideal which is a harmonised truth of itself ; the ideal throws out a phenomenal reality of variable conscious-being, which inevitably drawn towards its only essential Reality tries at least to recover it." The integral truth is thus a spiral-like existence, exhibiting innumerable varieties, all linked up in an indivisible unity. The upward ascent makes exhibition of this integrity, the downward descent presents the reality in divisions and parts. Intellect dissects what is integral and cannot vouchsafe what is beyond mind, "throned in the luminous vast of illimitable self-vision." Intermediate between the transcendent one and the mutative many, there is the supermental wideness and effulgence which can reflect the transcendent existence and show the luminous link of connection between the supreme light of consciousness and its dim mental reflections. Mind is identical in essence with supermind and conceals in it the potentiality of supermind. Between the transcendent Truth-consciousness and the supra-mental Truth-consciousness there is this difference that in the Transcendent, idea and meaning, consciousness and will, bliss and consciousness, are not in the least differentiated ; in the supermind they exhibit their differential expression while maintaining their complete concord and integrity. "The supermind starts from

from unity, not division ; it is primarily comprehensive, differentiation is only its secondary act." The whole movement in the supermind is unitary and harmonious. It is not the synthesis of mind, the mental synthesis does never emerge into the direct vision of the all-comprehensive harmony with the total setting of existence in it. This all-comprehensiveness is the character of the supra-mental knowledge. Supra-mental knowledge is not like the mental knowledge analytically divided or relationally separate. Knowledge is knowledge by identity ; not overriding distinctions but seeing them integrally in the total setting. " Mind in its essence is a consciousness which measures, limits, cuts out forms of things from the indivisible whole and contains them as if each were a part integer." Mind depicts what is otherwise integral and whole. Philosophy which has its basis on mind naturally creates divisions and antinomies and cannot rise above them by its inherent limitation. The depicting tendency of the mind is checked by the supermind which is never devoid of the infinite extension of existence and which returns to self-vision and self-expanse lost to the mind. Because of this delimiting function of the mind, the self loses its integral vision of the supermind and its identity with it. Philosophy restores this metaphysical fall and reinstates the supermental wisdom which oversteps the mental vision of studying facts in their individual setting apart from the cosmic togetherness. The supra-mental knowledge mirrors the essential unity of things, the indivisibility of space, time and energy, and the divided appearances. The existence of supermind is a logical necessity, for the world which is an extension in space and time and not the working out of a blind force governed by a mechanical necessity, cannot be accommodated in the spaceless and timeless absolute. In its first movement it necessarily finds a place in Saccidananda "proceeding out of its primal poise or rather upon it as a base and in it as a continent, into a movement which is its form of energy and instrument of cosmic creation." In second poise of the supermind the divine realises itself as a stable conscious-self, and at the same time would realise itself as a concentration of conscious-self, supporting the individual play and upholding its differentiation from the other play of the movement—the same everywhere in soul-essence but varying in soul-form. This differentiation is practical, but not essential. In the third poise the supermind does not stand behind the movement but projects itself into it and is

involved in it. Here the unity is dominant. It is a dualism in unity, between the individual divine and its universal source. This does not make the unity prior to the multiplicity. "The eternal recurrence of the manifestation in Time is a proof that the divine multiplicity is an eternal fact of the supermind beyond Time no less than the divine unity."

The aspiring soul impelled by the secret urge of the everlasting unity and wideness of knowledge and being of the supermind attains redemption from the limited life of nature. But there must be and is the natural distinction between the one that has known the fall and the one that is redeemed. Such a soul would be "pure and infinite self-existence in its being: in its becoming it would be a free play of immortal life uninvaded by death, unclouded by ignorance." "It would be a pure and unlimited consciousness in its energy, poised in an eternal and luminous tranquillity as its foundation, yet able to play freely with forms of knowledge and forms of conscious power, tranquil, unaffected by stumblings of mental error and misprision of our striving will." It will live consciously, unerringly and simultaneously in the two terms of the eternal existence, the poles of the one and the many. It would be aware in itself of the self-concentration and the self-expansion of the infinite. The divine soul does never lose its awareness and its self-reference to the Infinite, and is a kind unique by itself, enjoying its own poise in the comprehensive and all-embracing harmony. Its knowledge and will will move in rhythm with the Supreme Will, for it represents the vaster movement in itself without reference to the restricting nature. Its love and delight are the ecstasy of the supreme bliss. The Divine Soul in its complete unison in nature and being represents the type of fulfilment and perfection to which finite souls aspire.

The synthetic scheme is fully borne out when it is shown that the supermind is involved in life, with its basis in matter. The vital or life-impulse is not a force by itself or the primal force of the creation; it is "the dynamic play of the universal force, a force in which mental consciousness and nervous vitality are in the same form or at least in their principle always inherent and therefore they appear and organise themselves in our world as the form of matter." This life-force is everywhere, in all stages of being. The higher stages hold the secret to the lower.

There is the law of continuity working throughout the whole

existence which represents a hierarchy, all breathing the same life and moving with the same vital force. Mind-energy, life-energy and material energy are different dynamisms of the one cosmic force. "This conscious force, the Chit-Tapas of the Vedanta manifests itself as nervous energy full of sub-mental sensation in the plant." In the process of the emergence, the continuity is never disturbed and the lower order differs from the higher in concentration and limitation. The evolutionary urge is an urge to put off this limitation and philosophic wisdom consists in reading the whole creative structure in the light of a spiritual synthesis. Death and incapacity are possible because of the individuation of power and life. When the connection of the supreme source of life is kept up and the reinforcement continually taking place, they can be prevented. If the story of life in its descent is interesting, the adventure of life in its ascent is stimulating and inspiring, for here the promise is given of the revision of man's present state of existence and of assimilation of the supra-mental light and force. In the economy of existence life and consciousness do not stand still and move for a finer, more extensive expression, and for consciously enjoying their birth-right in spirit and immortality. Here is the true meaning of evolution. And naturally the human being cannot rest satisfied with his mental achievement and progress and must discover his true being not in mind, but in the next higher ascent in the supermind. The evolution of life through the sub-conscious and the conscious must be completed in the super-conscious. There is continuity between these stages of unfolding. The evolution of the next stages has a natural effect upon the prior stages, otherwise the formative development becomes difficult or almost impossible. The lower contains the seedling of the higher and superior life and fulfilment. Supermind is, therefore, only a natural expression in the evolutionary urge and development.

The emergence of the supermind is preceded by subtler unfolding of the higher mind, illumined mind, infinite mind, and overmind. These are the subtler expressions and formations of consciousness. Sri Aurobindo in his inimitable language compares "the action of the Higher Mind to a composed and steady sunshine, the energy of the Illumined Mind beyond it to an overpowering of massive lightnings of flaming sun-staff." Beyond still is the action of the Intuitive mind which reveals "a greater power of Truth-force and Truth-vision, Truth-thought, Truth-sense, Truth-action." At

the source of this intuitive Truth-vision, there is the Overmind that covers the whole lower range of Knowledge-ignorance and at the same time connects with the greater Truth-consciousness (the Supermind) while concealing it from our vision by the brilliance of its golden veil. To the occult vision the over-mental soul is an actuality which "collects and divides the supreme knowledge and the cosmic ignorance. The Overmind is the delegate of the Supermind to the Ignorance. The Supermind transmits to Overmind all its realities, but it formulates them according "to the awareness of things which is still the vision of Truth and get at the same time a first presence of ignorance." The complete integral vision of the Supermind may be there, but the emphasis on aspects and their independent action endowing them with individualities and distinctions, makes the over-mental knowledge, intuitions and activity distinct from the knowledge, intuition and activity of the supermind. In the supermind the Divine Personality and the Impersonality, the one and the many, the multiplicity of the godheads are all integrated as a piece of mosaic structure; in the overmind they are distincts, each a condition of separate action and development. The over-mental presentation is defective in the sense that it loses the corner-stone of the dynamic integrity of Being. The over-mental differences are not irreconcilables, they are correlatives. In the Supermind they are elements in the totality, breathing its life, enjoying its harmony and reflecting the ingress of the whole. The supra-mental vision is, therefore, the highest spiritual realisation, for it does not suffer the least incompleteness and presents Truth-consciousness in its integrity in the cosmic and the super-cosmic existence. It does not suffer from the over-mental Maya, the Maya of knowledge, yet a power which "has made the Ignorance possible, even inevitable." If each principle released into action must follow its independent expression and realisation, the principle of separateness and distinctness must assert itself. This is inevitable, for the overmind cannot rise above this limitation and appraise the still subtler course of movement in the super-mental setting. The ascent up to the over-mental soul is not considered enough, the final flowering of life emerges when the thin golden veil is withdrawn presenting the supreme Supra-mental light.

Intensive interest from the standpoint of the practical or applied spiritualism is created when the indications are given to trace out our relation to higher range of consciousness specially with supermind

to effect a divine transformation of our being. The supermind is not a new thing. It is the Vijnana of the Vedas, the Sadvidya of the Tantras. But what is unique in Sri Aurobindo's yoga is, his attempt to draw and establish the supra-mental force in the lower orders of existence. This part of his teaching is extremely delicate but most stimulating. Delicate it is, because it requires the intimate acquaintance with the psychic being. The psyché is a luminous existence directly connecting the higher ranges of our being with the lower. When it comes to the front, our inner being becomes transparently clear, throwing the purifying light even on the subconscious being. The secret to the access to the supra-mental is to establish a direct connection between the subconscious and the superconscious. Transformation becomes possible when the shining lights of the higher reaches of consciousness are reflected on the subconscious mind, the subconscious life, and the subconscious physique. The darkness and the ignorance which prevail in this part of being are removed by the light cast from above.

The emergence of the psyche is indicated by its silent and soft flame, with its pleasing and delicate vibrations through all the parts of being. This is the entrance to the path. If the psychic flame is kept up burning, the deeper currents of spirit emerging from the higher heights of existence possess us. The individual soul can open to the hidden diviner ranges of our being, can receive and reflect their light and power. But another, a spiritual transformation from above, is needed for us to possess our self in its universality and transcendence. By itself the psychic being at a certain stage might be content to create a formation of truth, good and beauty, and make that its station; at a further stage it might become passively subject to the world-self, a mirror of universal existence, consciousness, power, delight but not their full participant or possessor. The movement in spiritual life takes diverse course and expression with the variety of experience revealed to the psychic. It may lead to the static calmness, losing the individuality in the source, it can turn back from nature to the silent divine and supreme spiritual immobility, as it may be aware of the eternal companion and elect to live in divine concord and fellowship. These are the great achievements of the spiritual lives in the past, but a greater fulfilment is envisaged in the Life Divine in the higher experience of the supermind Truth-consciousness, where the opposites of the divine silence, and the divine dynamis are inte-

grated in the richest totality. Only after the descent of the supermind the supreme blessedness of spirit's movement as well as the spirit's silence is realised. Now arises the possibility of the spirit's descent into the world and of spiritualising the total movement of our being. With its perfect unity of truth-knowledge and truth-will it can establish in the outer as in the inner existence of the harmony of spirits, and can turn the values of ignorance into the values of knowledge.

Psychicisation, intuitivisation, over-mentalisation are the invariable accessories to super-mentalisation, when peace, light, bliss and power, fill us and move us. A divine life in manifestation is only "possible as the high result and ransom of our present life and ignorance. It is the inevitable outcome of nature's evolutionary endeavour and its final fruition."

The work as a whole presents the metaphysical as well as the spiritual conception of Sri Aurobindo. The metaphysical chapters are thought-provoking. He always refers to the unknown and unknowable as the background of the whole existence. It is the metaphysical Absolute beyond all contraries of thought. It cannot be categorised in any way either as being or non-being or as static or dynamic. This is significant. This is the spirit of the absolutistic Vedanta which characterises the Real as supra-conceptual. Though Sri Aurobindo has emphasised dynamic spirituality and the evolution of the world-process out of the primordial Sakti, still his metaphysical scheme has the appearance of accepting the nature of Reality as beyond categories of thought.

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, LONDON, 1937-38

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The Report on the work of Education Department, London, for the year 1937-38 has recently been published. During this period the number of Indian students pursuing full courses at universities and colleges was 1,566 including 114 women students. Deputy High Commissioner for India remarks that the economic side of this exodus is not without significance. Assuming that the average annual cost of each student is from £250 to £300, the aggregate amount involved is not far short of half a million pounds or more than 66 lacs of rupees a year. It is, therefore, a matter of important national concern that India should derive the maximum benefit from this expenditure which is being incurred on the education of her students in the West. In quite a number of cases youngmen are being still allowed to leave India apparently with little or no idea of the exact purpose in mind or of the advantage or utility of the proposed study or training abroad and its reasonable prospect of leading to suitable employment. Many are eventually obliged to return to India disgruntled and embittered with no qualification for employment of any kind and often without the ability or desire to resume contact with the family life and the interests of their own people. Having regard to the expensive education in the West it is important if undue wastage is to be avoided, parents and guardians should consider seriously in consultation with Educational authorities in India and in England whether any real advantage would be gained by sending their children or wards abroad for further study. Things have however been gradually improving and it is satisfactory to note that in recent years there has been a notable increase in the number of Post-Graduate students as shown below :—

Year.	No.
1933-34	468
1934-35	486
1935-36	624
1936-37	662
1937-38	724

Post-Graduate students are better fitted for pursuing specialised courses of study which are not available in India and, generally speaking, they come to England after having proved their merit and capacity in India. The time which they have to spend here is comparatively short and the money spent on their education is also likely to be of considerable benefit to India.

The largest number of full time students was in the Faculty of Medicine in which 470 students were registered while Arts (including Education and Law) comes next with 385. Engineering and Technology

follow with 262 students and Pure Science and Economics with 169, 107 students, respectively. Agriculture had 94 students and 79 were studying various unclassified subjects. In addition to the full time students there were 212 others including 9 women in occasional courses in the different faculties.

Of the seven universities, *viz.*, Cambridge, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Oxford, Edinburgh, Glasgow, the largest number was in the University of London. Out of 357 applications to the University of Cambridge only 45 were admitted and it is interesting to note that 4 students were awarded the Ph.D. degree, 2 the M.Sc., 1 the M.Litt., and no less than 5 students obtained first class in the Tripos examination. The newly introduced course for the diploma in journalism for the London University covering a period of academic years is now held at King's College, London, and there were a few applicants for this course. It is noteworthy to remark that applicants who have not already had journalistic experience or who have shown no aptitude for the work or no prospect in the suitable employment in that direction are not encouraged to join this course. The Local Adviser to the Indian students at Manchester reports that the work progress of the Indian students at Manchester have been generally satisfactory. For the University of Oxford, 72 Indian students were in residence during the year including 9 women and 18 I.C.S. probationers. Five students obtained the degree of D.Phil. and one B.Litt., while 2 obtained first class Honours in their final degree examinations. There were 174 students at Edinburgh of which 58 were in medical studies. The total number of students at the University of Glasgow was 24 and their progress was fairly satisfactory.

For the professional and practical training one finds more than half joining the M.B.B.S. degree of the London University. For students already possessing Indian medical qualifications registrable in United Kingdom desiring to take the final examination for the diplomas of L.R.C.P., M.R.C.P., awarded by the Examining Board in England, a period of 6 months of hospital clinical practice is usually found desirable and since the facilities for such are difficult to obtain in London the students usually go over to Edinburgh and other provincial universities. The West London Hospital, formerly a post-graduate school, has now been recognised for the clinical portion of the London University M.B.B.S. courses and specially the women students have availed themselves of this new arrangement.

For the Engineering and Technology Section 146 students were admitted in the different works for practical training in the following subjects:—

Civil and Municipal Engineering	...	18
Electrical Engineering	...	49
Mechanical Engineering	...	34
Railway Engineering	...	5
Railway Traffic	...	7
Aviation	...	10
Printing	...	1
Various other subjects	...	21
Total		146

The Director-General, Indian Stores Department, actually helps the office in securing practical training in the different works for the students. He, however, remarks that a number of applicants submit an extensive programme of short periods to be spent at a number of works and he is of opinion that no real benefit could be derived by such schemes. The value derived from a comparatively lengthy stay in one works must be greater than that obtained from a series of casual visits and experience has shown that firms are not prepared as a general rule to regard such applicants as genuine students. It is however noteworthy to remark that majority of the students placed under training have given every satisfaction to their temporary employers.

The total number of Government scholars and other students under the supervision of the department was 160.

Three Royal Navy Cadets undergoing practical training at H. M. Dockyard, Portsmouth, satisfactorily completed the training and were appointed as Engineer Sub-Lieutenants in the Royal Indian Navy.

During the period under review the committee received £80 in small subscription and £200 from Indian revenues and £57-3-6 as interests and investments and £325-6-0 as repayments from previous recipients of loans. The committee helped 39 students with loans amounting to £586-7-6.

In the general observation, it is stated that there has been marked and progressive improvement in the general standard of Indian students who come to England to continue or to supplement their education. The various Heads of the departments, and teachers at the various universities and colleges, testify that the average run of the students during the last few years was decidedly better. In addition to nearly 250 students who obtained first degrees and diplomas (in many cases with first class Honours) at practically every university throughout Great Britain, noteworthy success in the post-graduate section is to be recorded. Three students gained the high degree of Doctor of Science, well over 50 the Doctorate in Philosophy (Ph.D.), 18 the degree of Master of Science, 6 the degree of Master of Arts and 10 the Master of Education. 5 Indian candidates secured first class in the Cambridge Tripos Examination including Wranglership. In Medicine and Surgery no less than 15 obtained the Fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons, England (F.R.C.S.) and 7 including one woman the Membership of the Royal College of Physicians (M.R.C.P.), at Edinburgh; 15 students qualified for the F.R.C.S.(E) and 5 for the M.R.C.P.(E). 119 Indian doctors including 17 women doctors obtained post-graduate medical diplomas in various branches.

In the corporate and athletic life of their universities the part played by Indian students is indeed highly satisfactory. Though the gaining of academic degrees and qualifications may be the most important of their objectives, there is much of great value to be gained from active participation in the social and corporate life, in the debating halls, in the common room, or on the playing fields where they can freely meet and mix with their fellow students.

It is gratifying to note that the number of women students attending full time courses is gradually on the increase and there were 114 women students during the year under survey. The department has deputed a woman officer to look into the conveniences and other educational arrangements of these students.

Lastly, one has to remark about the international crisis which arose towards the end of the period covered by this report and just before the

opening of the current academic session when large number of students had newly arrived from India and there was considerable difficulty regarding their studies. The department tried its best to alleviate the worry and anxieties which inevitably arose not only among the students themselves but amongst their parents and people in India.

There are nine appendices supplying the various figures relating to the expenses, educational activities and educational successes of the students in the different branches of their studies.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad]

University for Assam

The appointment of Dr. S. K. Bhuyan of the Assam Education Service as a Special Officer in connection with the establishment of a University for Assam, is now gazetted. Dr. Bhuyan will draw up plans for the proposed university.

Employment Adviser's Scheme : Provision for Educated Young Men

The Employment Adviser to the Government of Bengal has, in co-operation with the various firms, factories and mills in Bengal, been able to work out a scheme whereby a few educated young men can start in a number of industries and trades as apprentices and then after a satisfactory period of training, get permanent employment therein.

Candidates are to apply on the prescribed form to be obtained from the office of the Employment Adviser by post (a stamped and addressed envelope must be enclosed). Only non-graduates (preferably matriculates and under-graduates) who are between 17 and 24 years of age are eligible to apply. Candidates must have good physique and must be prepared to do work involving heavy manual labour. They must also be prepared to work as ordinary mechanics, mistris and operatives.

When candidates have filled in the prescribed form, the Employment Adviser will call such candidates as appear *prima facie* suitable for an interview at his office at 8, Clive Street, Clive Buildings, Calcutta. As regards candidates from the mofussil he will arrange to interview them at the nearest district headquarters. Names will be entered on the Registers of the Employment Adviser's Office only if candidates are found suitable in all respects.

Gandhiji's View on Higher Education

A recent interview which the Director of Public Instruction, Assam, had with Mahatma Gandhi is now officially announced.

It is stated that in course of the interview Gandhiji emphasised the need for Provincial Governments making higher education self-supporting in order to provide funds for primary education.

Muslim Education

The necessity for a Muhammadan Education Conference to examine the present educational condition of the Muhammadan community and to advise on any new programme for pushing the cause of education

amongst the community is stressed by Khan Sahib Ataur Rahman, Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Muhammadan Education, in his department report for the last year.

In secondary schools, the Muhammadan rate of progress in education during the year was 6.1 per cent. against the general rate of 6.0. If Madrasahs, which were secondary, were taken into consideration the rate will be still higher. In primary schools the speed is as high as 8.1 per cent., the general speed being 6.0 per cent.

Training of Ladies in Co-operative Movement

A novel feature of the programme of expansion of the co-operative movement in the U. P. is the refresher course for lady supervisors of Co-operative Societies now being conducted at the Women's Institute, Lucknow.

The course is conducted in collaboration with the Co-operative Department and is not confined to instruction in co-operation alone. Subjects like domestic economy and child welfare, adult education, etc., are included in the curriculum.

Expert officers of the Co-operative Department and outsiders deliver lectures regularly on their own special subjects.

Muslim Education Committee

The Kamal Yar Jung Muslim Education Committee left for Wardha where they met Mahatma Gandhi and also saw the School of Basic Education, Wardha.

Interviewed, Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, said that the Committee intended to see the Wardha scheme of education functioning in the place of its origin. He added much had been said against the Wardha scheme, specially by C. P. Muslims and the Committee discussed with local leading Muslims their grievances relating to the scheme but the Committee could make definite pronouncements thereon only after they had studied the scheme at close quarters and for which they were going to Wardha. They also intended to discuss with Mahatma Gandhi the Muslims' anti-scheme in the light of the questionnaire issued by the Committee and the information collected so far.

The Committee, after visiting various places in South India, is expected to conclude the tour by the end of June.

Digambar Jain College

The foundation stone of the Digambar Jain Intermediate College was laid at Baraut in Meerut by Mr. Tansukhrai Jain of Delhi before a large gathering.

This is the first college of Digambar Jains in India. The All-India Digambar Jain Parishad has extended its patronage to the college and appealed to the Jains all over India for funds for the college. Nearly Rs. 9,000 have already been collected including Rs. 1,000 from Mr. Tansukhrai Jain, and contributions promised amount to Rs. 7,000 so far.

Miscellany

HEALTH CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN JUGOSLAVIA

The Yugoslav health co-operative societies, which have been copied in various other countries, have made further progress in the last few years. At the end of 1938 there were 184 such societies in the country, 125 of which had in all 65,586 members. The report of the Union of Health Co-operative Societies for the year 1938-1939 shows that the societies are engaged in a great variety of activities.

During the year under review, the 95 medical practitioners employed by the societies attended 186,187 persons. The societies continued their fight against social diseases, such as tuberculosis, venereal disease, and malaria (10,230 malaria patients were treated), and against infantile mortality (2,780 infants, 2,505 children between 1 and 7 years of age and 6,043 children of school age were given treatment in the societies' dispensaries).

The societies run 25 "health houses," in 21 of which there are sick rooms. Four co-operative societies are equipped with radioscopic apparatus. The 69 chemists' shops run by the societies sold drugs and medical requisites to the value of 2,625,000 dinars.

The health co-operative societies are not merely concerned with curative medicine but also do a great deal in the way of *prophylaxis, education, improvement of hygienic conditions*, etc. The centres of these activities are the "health houses." Medical advice for pregnant and nursing mothers was provided free of charge by 31 societies; 1,714 pregnant women and 3,297 infants were examined and 827 mothers consulted the co-operative societies' doctors during the year.

Recently the Union of Health Co-operative Societies organised courses on child care, which were held at the co-operative societies and lasted one week. During 1938-39, 375 women attended the courses. Further, the nurses in charge of the courses visited and gave advice to 471 women.

The co-operative societies' doctors are also responsible for medical inspection in rural elementary schools. During 1938, 18,631 school-children were examined.

During the year under review, the Union of Health Co-operative Societies organised a *travelling dental clinic*, which visited all the societies.

The activities of the *juvenile and women's sections* continued. The programme, theoretical and practical, of the juvenile sections includes general co-operative training, hygiene, and the improvement of crops and of stock raising. This technical and sanitary progress is encouraged by competitions for which prizes are given, organised either by individual sections or between all the sections. The juvenile sections contribute to the welfare of the community: they provide new kinds of food to supplement the deficiencies of the peasants' diet, which is usually too monotonous and

too poor in quality; new sources of income for the peasant household; and for the village and its homes the equipment they lack.

The women's sections play much the same part with regard to women's occupations as the juvenile sections do with regard to those of young persons. Courses are organised for women and girls on general health questions, certain agricultural work (vegetable and flower gardening, poultry keeping), and household work. As the juvenile sections share in the sanitary improvement of the village, so the women's sections help by seeing that houses are clean and well-kept, contributions paid regularly and courses, meetings, etc., regularly attended.

Since 1934 the health co-operative societies have been undertaking the organisation of *veterinary services*. The programme of these services is similar and in some respects supplementary to that of the societies themselves: prompt care for sick animals at the lowest possible cost, collective measures to prevent disease, improvement of breeds, etc.

The veterinary sections organised by a certain number of co-operative societies have carried on such propaganda and educational work, in which the co-operative stock breeding societies have collaborated since 1936. The number of veterinary sections increased from 14 in 1934-35 to 105 in 1938-39, and the number of their veterinary surgeons from 4 to 37. A great many animals are vaccinated every year (1,597 pigs in 1934-35; 59,335 in 1938-39). The serum and medical supplies are largely produced in laboratories owned by the co-operative societies.

In May, 1938, 14 health co-operative societies and stock breeding co-operative societies set up the first veterinary co-operative society at Sabac, with 1,575 individual members. In spite of difficulties caused by an epidemic of foot and mouth disease, the society has been successful. It covers 37 villages. Its veterinary surgeons have given 20 lectures and have thus from the very outset set about educating the farmers by teaching them modern methods of stock raising.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE SIXTEENTH DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKEJEE

The sixteenth death anniversary of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was commemorated on the 25th May, 1940. As usual, all the departments of the University observed the Asutosh Day.

A morning service was held on the day at the foot of Sir Asutosh's statue, Chowringhee Square, Calcutta, which opened with songs sung by Mr. S. K. Chatterjee and the students of the Asutosh College. Sir M. N. Mukherji conducted the prayer. Many eminent citizens attended the function.

In the afternoon there was a meeting in the Darbhanga Building, Calcutta University. The statue of Sir Asutosh at the head of the marble stairs was heavily garlanded and incense was burned in large quantities. Sanskrit hymns were recited by MM. Pramathanath Tarkabhushan for the

repose of the departed Soul. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan made a short speech in which he recalled his first meeting with the late Sir Asutosh and the great services he had rendered in the cause of his country and of the Bengali language. Sir Sarvapalli spoke of him as a nation builder whose help and guidance would have been of the utmost importance if he were spared to leave the country at this critical hour of its history.

Kirtan songs were sung by Sj. Ratneswar Mukherjee and his party by way of concluding the proceedings.

This meeting was attended by large numbers of University teachers and by members of the general public.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Speeches and Addresses by Sir John Anderson, 1932-37. Edited by B. Roy.

The book contains only a selection of the hundreds of speeches made by Sir John Anderson during the tenure of his office as Governor of Bengal from April, 1932 to November, 1937. When Sir John assumed charge of Bengal there were, in addition to the menace of terrorism, slump in the price of agricultural products, unemployment, and stringent finances. The first of these led to shrinkage of credit while the Meston Award was depriving Bengal of its legitimate share of the proceeds of the jute export duty. The system of education was also found to be defective as it was no longer a passport to remunerative employment. We do not, however, agree with the opinion that terrorism was exclusively due to the last factor, for political discontent too played its part in encouraging its appearance. The addresses included in this volume indicate the reaction of Sir John Anderson to these diverse problems.

No one can deny Sir John Anderson the possession of administrative ability of a high order or refuse to give him credit for the successful way in which he handled the situation. Bengal owes a deep debt of gratitude to him for the way in which he fought the Government of India and wrested from unwilling hands part of Bengal's dues in the shape of a larger fraction of the Jute Export duty. Nor should Bengal forget the facilities for the practical training he provided for detenus so that after their release they would not experience much difficulty in earning a living.

As is to be expected, Sir John's pronouncements on terrorism are very often blunt and not always just, for the circumstances were such that his views could not but be coloured by the reports he had before him—a disadvantage shared by all who, by reason of the position they hold, are precluded from coming into intimate contact with Indian life in all its multifarious aspects. Added to it there is the inescapable language difficulty which must always stand as a barrier between the Governor and the governed. But even after granting all these drawbacks every fair-minded man must admit that Sir John handled the situation according to his honest convictions and carried through his ideas in spite of the unpopularity which was unavoidable under the circumstances.

The one criticism levelled against Sir John Anderson was that he was occasionally harsher than was actually necessary. The public has no access to the documents which led to the adoption of these measures and criticism of this type we do not, therefore, consider fair.

We commend the book to those who are desirous of familiarising themselves with a critical period in the history of Bengal.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

The Problem of Minorities or Communal Representation in India.—By K. B. Krishna. Published by George Allen and Unwin. Pp. 359. Price ₹5s. 1939.

The book under review was submitted to the Harvard University in partial fulfilment of its requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy to which Degree the author has been most deservedly admitted.

It is very difficult to write about contemporary affairs without taking sides ; but, then, it is always impossible to write about anything without putting oneself down on paper. But what accounts for and excuses the apparently personal reflections in this book is that the complexity and intricacy of modern political problems are making political science immensely practical. So when the author says that "the demand for the abolition of communal representation is inseparable from a demand for independence," the reader should not think that he is going beyond the limits of an academic discourse. The very nature of the problem the author has taken up necessitates such observations without which the author could not have made himself clear.

The study of the origin and history of the minority problem which is profusely documented is really illuminating and the author has made it abundantly clear that the minority problem "is a part of the general struggle for Indian social economy represented by the professional and industrialist classes and their allies, not of the entire social economy, but part of it, against British imperialism and amongst themselves." The findings of ethnology have been brought to bear upon the question whereby the author has very ably exposed the bogey of "linguistic" or "religious" minority. The book is indeed the fruit of extensive study and much thinking.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Elements of Indian Company Law.—By Sohrab R. Davar, Barrister-at-law. Butterworths. Third Edition.

Mr. Davar is well-known as a writer of books on Mercantile Law, and his ability and experience received recognition by his inclusion as a member in the Committee appointed by the Government of India for Companies Act Amendment, 1936. Owing to some of the drastic amendments made by the Amendment Act of 1936, a clear and connected statement of the law as it stands, compared with the law it replaces, has been rendered somewhat difficult, but Mr. Davar has made ample use of his opportunities to present a lucid analysis of the amended law, which makes the present edition of the book very helpful for the students of the Indian Universities for whom it is primarily intended. The main characteristic of Mr. Davar's book is the practical application of law, which is always kept before the reader's eye, and, accordingly, those who have to deal in actual practice with the many problems of the Indian Company Law, will also find the book very useful for reference. The style of the book is attractive and the get-up excellent.

SURES CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

Inside India.—By Madam Halidè Edib. Published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin. Pp. 378. 7s. 6d.

We can say about a foreigner's account of a country what Asquith said about biography—that it is not made, but it happens. Indeed, the success of both is determined more by a unique concurrence of circumstances than by the powers of individual pens. Unwholesome partisanship which is sometimes inevitable in such a book may be excused by a brilliancy of

execution just as impartiality of outlook may come very near to insipidity. Halidè Edib's "Inside India," which is a happy combination of the keen sensibility of an artist, the discerning eye of a social thinker and the broad sympathy of a lover of humanity, strangely keeps itself above criticism. The book may not be unimpugnable to some, but it surely disarms all. The truth is that she does not set down anything in malice and nothing extenuates, although her delicate sensitiveness and excellent style save the book from the dullness of excessive accuracy. The book is indeed not so much a verdict as a picture, not so much a thoughtful tract as an impassioned narrative. The author talks about Indian politics but then she also describes the Indian folk. In her reflections on such grave problems as Hindoo-Muslim Unity, Satyagraha or Untouchability she is neither dogmatic nor vainly speculative. She only looks and wonders, upbraids nothing but falsehood and upholds nothing but truth. But not a few would fail to catch the message behind her brilliant portraits.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Rabindra Nath Tagore: His Personality and Work.—By Professor V. Lesny. Translated by Guy McKeever Phillips with a Foreword by C. F. Andrews. Published by George Allen and Unwin, London. 8s. 6d. net.

Prof. Lesny came out to India and lived at Santiniketan for a pretty long time and learned Bengali. He had thus an opportunity of studying Tagore's Works in original, and acquired first-hand knowledge of the Poet by an intimate contact with the Poet himself.

Thus equipped, Prof. Lesny ventured on his arduous task. He has tried to enter into the spirit of Tagore's personality and work with the humility of a seeker after truth. Unlike Edward Thompson, Prof. Lesny has adopted the method of a faithful chronicler and every page of this volume of 288 pages bears an eloquent impress of his close acquaintance with almost all the published writings of the poet ending with "Patraput" (published in 1937).

In his rather rapid survey of the literary work of Rabindranath, the author has given his readers, those of the West in particular, a glimpse into the versatility of the Poet's genius as a poet, a playwright, an essayist, a novelist, a short story and charade writer, a philologist, a musical composer and a painter, and also an idea of his national and international activities. He has also attempted to give an idea of the Poet's varied contributions in the spheres of philosophy, religion, politics, education and culture, and of his indefatigable energy in connection with the welfare of humanity.

For those who wish to have an idea of the greatness of Rabindranath through the medium of English, this handbook will be invaluable. In his exposition of the bewildering variety of the Poet's activities, Prof. Lesny has brought his critical insight and artistic appreciation to bear on his work and he has thus been able to do justice to a great personality who is rightly regarded as one of the most magnificent figures in world history at the present time. The author's treatment of the subject even to the minutest detail is inspired by a rare sympathy for a subject which is in many respects alien to the Western mind. This accounts for the success of his sketch. The difficulties of his self-imposed task did not stand in the way of his forming a true estimate of the Indian mind with all its mystic subtleties and proud heritage of an age-old culture.

One cannot but be struck by the unbounded admiration and affection with which the writer has treated the subject of this remarkable portraiture. To him Rabindranath is not merely a poet or a philosopher, but a seer who is literally an embodiment of the vision of a new world order. He describes the Poet as 'the apostle of enlightened humanity,' 'the bright day star which announces a new morn,' and one who is 'still loftier than the world suspects.' To those who have known Rabindranath Tagore intimately and followed his devoted worship in the temple of the Muses, to those who have seen how he has created modern Bengal and raised it in the estimation of the world will not fail to appreciate the glowing tribute which the learned Professor has paid to one of Bengal's greatest sons.

KHAGENDRANATH MITRA

Brahmanaparicaya.—By Mahendrachandra Kavyatirtha Sankhyarnava. Published by Sudhindrakumar Bhattacharyya, 49 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Double crown, 8+68 pages, cloth bound. Annas eight only. 1935 B.S. To be had at D. M. Library, 42, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

A belief has gained ground among the people of Bengal that there ruled in Bengal a king named Ādiśūra, who brought a number of Brahmins and high class Kāyasthas and granting them lands made them settle down in Bengal and the belief finds its support in the *Kulajis* kept by the ghatakas of this province. They also point out that Bhaṭṭa-nārāyaṇa, the author of the famous drama *Venisamhāra*, was one of those Brahmins. But doubts are entertained as to the authenticity of this story by others, who allege, as their reason, that in Bengal there was no dearth of Brahmins and Kāyasthas. At the time when such a controversy rages, we are very glad to receive this work by Pandit Mahendrachandra Kavyatirtha Sankhyarnava, who has examined very deeply this question and his researches in this direction have brought out incontrovertible proofs from authentic documents which, we feel assured, will lay at rest this dispute about the existence of King Ādiśūra in Bengal and the Brahmins brought by him.

The learned author has pointed out some obvious mistakes in the interpretations and readings of the *Silimpur Edict* of Dr. Radhagovinda Basak and the *Subhāṅkara Plate* of Prof. Padmanath Bhattacharyya and shown that in the above-mentioned Edict and Plate, it is written in unequivocal language that a group of highly educated Brahmins did come from Śrāvastī of Kanauj to Bengal and that these Brahmins are the ancestors of the Rādhiya and the Bārendra Brahmins of the present day. There had been a controversy between the author and the late Prof. Padmanath Bhattacharyya and their laborious discussions are to be found in different journals and periodicals; and the present publication mainly embodies, with some additions, the result of this controversy. In this controversy, the laurel of victory may, with justice, be claimed by the author, who has expended much labour and painstaking diligence in interpreting the correct meaning of the Plates and the reading of the authors appears to us to be correct and convincing.

From a careful perusal of this book any and every historian is sure to be convinced of the following facts:

1. That the interpretations and readings of the Garuḍa pillar Edict in the *Gauḍalekhamālā*, Silimpur rock Edict in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII and the Subhāṅkara Plate, etc., in the *Kāmarūpa-sāsanāvalī* are faulty, misleading and one-sided.

2. That a group of highly talented Brahmins came from Kanauj and settled in Bengal about the eighth century A.D.

3. That the so-called *sāmpradāyika* Brahmins (the *Nāgara* Brahmins according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, cf. *The Indian Antiquary*) of Sylhet seem to have originally been none other than the so many *Sāmparadānika* Brahmins, who were offered to the service of Haṭṭanātha Śiva, as evidenced by the *Bhāṭera* Copper-plates.

Cf. Nānāparijanām stasmai janajātiranekaśaḥ,
Prādāt Śrī-haṭṭanāthāya Śivāya śivakīrtanaḥ.

To conclude, it is gratifying to note that Pandit Mahendrachandra's first-hand researches in his *Brāhmaṇaparicaya* will mark a new epoch in ancient Indian history and culture. He has rendered a great service to the country. And we hope that henceforward no doubt will linger in the minds of the researchers as regards the existence of King Ādiśūra of Bengal and of the Śūra dynasty, as also the story of the Brahmins with their attendants brought from Kanauj to Bengal by the king, in consequence of the great paucity of such learned Brahmins, who could perform the much complicated Vedic *yajñas* according to Vedic prescriptions.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

East versus West : A denial of contrast.—By P. Kodanda Rao, with a Foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Published by George Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.

Till the advent of the Industrial Revolution which changed the social and economic structure in England and then in most parts of Europe, there was little to differentiate the East from the West. The Industrial Revolution, however, quickly spread to other parts of the world and to-day the civilization of most parts of the globe is the civilization of the machine age. Apostles of British Imperialism and race superiority incessantly preached that "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet" and hampered the way to a better understanding among the nations without which modern civilization, now nobody's exclusive possession, is bound to meet with its inevitable doom.

At this present crisis of civilization Mr. Kodanda Rao has done well to publish a work exposing the fallacies inherent in such terms as East and West and Occidental and Oriental civilizations. Since the world is round geographically, the terms East and West mean nothing. Japan is East of Europe as well as West of Europe. Culturally again no definite line can be drawn to distinguish the East from the West.

The author rightly points out that "Civilization is not property..... Civilization is a common heritage..... Civilization is one and is indivisible into Eastern and Western ; its elements are a function over time, decreasingly of space but never of race."

If this work, with its appeal to the intellectual world, serves, in the smallest degree, to banish popular conceptions of the irreconcilability of races and cultures and helps to bring about better understanding between nations, the author will be reckoned to have rendered a great service to humanity.

A. P. D. G.

Ourselves

[I. Asutosh Day.—II. Statistics as a new subject for Degree Examinations.—III. A New Endowment.—IV. Basanta Lecturer for 1932.—V. Dr. Niharrajan Ray.—VI. All-India Radio, New Delhi.—VII. Chicago University Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration.—VIII. D.P.H. Examination.—IX. Extension of Affiliation.—X. Women's College, Calcutta.—XI. Report on the Junior Military Certificate Examination, April, 1940.]

I. ASUTOSH DAY

The Sixteenth Anniversary of the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was commemorated on the 25th May, 1940. The day was observed by all the departments of the University.

In the morning there was a meeting at the foot of Sir Asutosh's statue, Chowringhee Square, with Sir M. N. Mukherji as President. It was attended in large numbers by members of the general public. After songs by Mr. Sanatkumar Chatterjee and the girl students of the Asutosh College, Sir M. N. Mukherji offered a prayer bringing the function to a close.

In the afternoon another meeting was held at the foot of Sir Asutosh's bust in the Darbhanga Building. Sir S. Radhakrishnan presided. The meeting opened with 'Mangalacharan' hymns recited by MM. Pramathanath Tarkabhusan, after which songs specially composed for the occasion by S. Kalidas Roy were sung by Mr. S. K. Chatterjee. Sir Sarvapalli made a brief speech recalling his first meeting with Sir Asutosh, and paying tribute to his great services in the cause of this country, especially its language, history and culture.

The meeting concluded with *kirtan* songs sung by S. Ratneswar Mukherjee and his party.

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II. STATISTICS AS A NEW SUBJECT FOR DEGREE EXAMINATIONS

Our University is taking steps for introducing Statistics as a new subject for Degree Examinations. A syllabus has been prepared by eminent scholars under the direction of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, President, Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts. The course of studies in Statistics will be adopted when finally approved by Government.

III. A NEW ENDOWMENT

Pandit Aphoycharan Jyotirbinode, Calcutta, has offered to place at the disposal of our University the sum of Rs 1,350 for the creation of an endowment for the annual award of a gold medal to be called the "Kalidas Memorial Medal" in memory of the donor's son, who lost his life in a train collision on the 17th April, 1939. The Medal is to be awarded from this year to the student who passes the Matriculation Examination in the first division, standing first from the Calcutta Training Academy. The donor has offered an additional sum of Rs. 50 for the purpose.

The offer has been accepted with thanks.

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IV. BASANTA LECTURER FOR 1939

Dr. John B. Grant, M.D., M.P.H., Director, All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta, has been invited by the University to deliver a course of two lectures as Basanta Lecturer of the University for the year 1939.

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V. DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY

Dr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A., D.Litt. Phil. (Leyden), Dip. Lib. (Lond.), has been appointed Secretary to the University Students' Information Bureau with effect from the 1st June, 1940, in succession to Prof. Phanindranath Ghosh, M.A., Ph.D., Sc.D., F.Inst.P.

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VI. ALL-INDIA RADIO, NEW DELHI

Our University has appointed a committee with authority to nominate a student who will work as an unpaid apprentice at the All-India Radio, New Delhi, for learning Radio Engineering. The Controller of Broadcasting, All-India Radio, has promised to offer all necessary facilities to the student whom this University will nominate to enable him to study the subject.

VII. CHICAGO UNIVERSITY FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

On the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Chicago University which will be held in September, 1942, our University has conveyed its good wishes to the Director of the Celebration.

VIII. D.P.H. EXAMINATION

The University has accepted a recommendation made by the Director, All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, to the effect that the D.P.H. Examination, Parts I and II, be held in October and November (after the Pujas) and in April respectively.

This year as a transitional measure the D.P.H. Examination, Part II, which was held in April would be held once more in July.

IX. EXTENSION OF AFFILIATION

Subject to approval by Government, the Bangabasi College, Calcutta, has been affiliated in the following new subjects:—(1) Commercial Geography and (2) Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-keeping to the I.A. standard and (3) in Bengali (Second Language) and (4) Hindi (Second Language) to the B.A. Pass standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1940-41.

X. WOMEN'S COLLEGE, CALCUTTA

Subject to approval by Government, the Women's College, Calcutta, has been affiliated to the I.A. and B.A. (Pass) standards with effect from the commencement of the session, 1940-41, in the following subjects:— I.A.—English, Bengali (Compulsory), Bengali (Second Language), Elements of Civics and Economics, Logic, Sanskrit, History and Mathematics; B.A.—English, Bengali (Compulsory), Bengali (Second Language), History, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Political Economy and Political Philosophy, Sanskrit and Mathematics.

XI. .REPORT ON THE JUNIOR MILITARY CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION.
APRIL, 1940

Twenty-four candidates were registered for the Examination, of whom only one was absent. The total number of candidates who passed the examination is twenty-one. The percentage of pass is 87·5. In 1939 it was 61·7.

